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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

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POLISH REVOLUTION AND WAR, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN NOVEMBER, 1830, TO ITS TERMINATION IN SEPTEMBER, 1831.

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and Character.—His Views in regard to the Revolution.—Chłopicki's military Preparations.—Strange Conduct of Constantine.—Unsuccessful Negotiations with Nicholas.—Preparations and Conference of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.—Secret Views of Austria and France at this juncture.—Great Britain declines to join France in interfering in favor of Poland.—Chłopicki resigns the Dictatorship on the Meeting of the Diet, 20th December, and is reappointed.—His first Acts after his Appointment.—Menacing Proclamation, and vast Preparations of the Czar.—Manifesto of the Polish Diet.—Chłopicki's vain Efforts to bring about an Accommodation.—The Czar is dethroned by the Diet.—Statistics of the Strength of Russia at this period.—Statistics of the Kingdom of Poland.—Statistics of Austrian and Prussian Poland.—Statistics of Lithuania and Russian Poland.—Military Forces on the opposite Sides.—Strategetical Advantages of the Poles.—Advance of Diebitch toward Warsaw.—Position and Forces on the opposite Sides.—Battle of Grochow.—Battle of Praga.—Desperate and bloody Nature of the Conflict.—Results of these Battles.—Splendid Success of Dwernicki on the Polish right.—Parallel of Grochow and Sieroczyn with Inkermann and Balaklava.—Operations of Dwernicki on the left Bank of the Vistula.—Skrzynecki appointed Generalissimo by the Diet.—His Biography and Character.—Ineffectual Attempts at a Negotiation, and vigorous Preparations of Skrzynecki.—Skrzynecki's Plan of Operations.—Forces at his Disposal.—Skrzynecki's brilliant Success in the Centre.—Total Defeat of the Russians.—Great Success of the Poles in the Pursuit.—Chances which now awaited Skrzynecki.—Opinion of Prondzynski and oth-

ers, which is not adopted.—Victory of the Poles at Iganie.—Cholera breaks out in the Polish Army, which is arrested in its Advance.—Bad Success of Sierawiki on the right.—Defeat of Dwernicki in Volhynia, who is obliged to take Refuge in Galicia.—Insurrection in Podolia and the Ukraine, and its final Discomfiture.—Operations in the Centre.—Expedition of Chrzanowski into Volhynia, and its Defeat.—March of Skrzynecki against the Russian Right.—Diebitch marches against the Polish Rear.—Battle of Ostrolenka.—Repulse of the Poles.—Its Results.—Death of Diebitch and the Grand-duke Constantine.—Suspension of Hostilities of the two Armies, and Appointment of Paskiewitch to the Command.—Insurrection in Lithuania, and final Defeat of Giełgud.—Battle of Wilna, and Defeat of the Poles.—Desperate State of the Poles, and Plan of Paskiewitch.—Paskiewitch's Plans and Forces, and Preparations of the Poles.—Paskiewitch crosses the Vistula.—Fall of Skrzynecki, who is succeeded by Dembinski.—Massacres in Warsaw.—Preparations and Forces on both sides for the final Struggle.—Victory of Ramorino over Rosen and Golowin.—Assault of Warsaw.—Vain Attempt at Negotiation.—Fall of Warsaw.—The Remainder of the Polish Troops take Refuge in Austria and Prussia.—Results of the War to both Parties.—Conduct of Nicholas in Poland after the War, and in the Cholera.—Reflections on the Fall of Poland.—Excess of Democracy in Poland ruined every thing.—Democracy has doubled the Strength of Russia, and prevented the Restoration of Poland.—Unity of the East is its Strength, Divisions of the West its Weakness.—Restoration of Poland essential to Independence of Europe.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASIA MINOR AND GREECE: THEIR SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND STATISTICAL STATE—TURKEY.

In the stationary nations of Western Europe, where the inhabitants have in a manner taken root in the soil, and the broad Atlantic alike forbids the entrance, and for long precludes the further migration of man, the contests of the species are chiefly social or religious. It is difference of faith or of political privileges which arms one part of the people against the other; and foreign wars, not less than internal discord, arise chiefly from the efforts which one part of the nation makes to alter the creed or shake off the institutions which have been imposed upon it by the other. But in the Eastern states, and where nations have been exposed in successive ages to the inroads of different tribes, issuing from that great nursery of migratory man, the table-land of Central Asia, the case is widely different. External wars, not less than internal convulsions, there arise, for the most part, from the violent superinduction of one race of men upon another—of a new horde upon the original settlers. The attempt to effect this induces, in the first instance, the most terrible wars of invasion; for what will men not do to prevent the inroad of a barbarous invader into their lands, their hearths, their temples?—in the last, the not less frightful civil dissensions in the efforts which a long course of oppression at length rouses the subjected people to make, to throw off the yoke of their oppressors.

“ Proud of the yoke, and pliant to the rod,
Why yet does Asia dread a monarch's nod,
While European freedom still withstands
The encroaching tide that drowns her lessening
lands?
And sees far off, with an indignant groan,
Her native plains and empires once her own.”*

The two great moving powers of mankind are the unseen but constantly acting springs of all these changes. Providence, to carry out the work of human progress and the dispersion of mankind, has impressed, in an equally indelible manner, upon the tribes of Central Asia, the passion for migration, and upon the inhabitants of Western Europe the love of freedom. From the first has arisen the peopling of Europe and the dispersion of the Asiatic race through the Old World; from the last, the civilization of America and Australia, and the settlement of

the European race in the New. If we would find a parallel to the vast swarms of Celts, Scythians, Goths, Huns, Saxons, Arabs, and Turks, who have successively invaded Europe and Africa from the eastward, and continued their devastating advance till they were stopped by the waves of the Atlantic, we must come down to the present day, when still greater hosts of civilized emigrants issue annually from the harbors of Great Britain and Germany, to seek in Transatlantic wilds or Australian steppes the means of livelihood and the pleasures of independence, till they are stopped by the waters of the Pacific. But the inroad of civilized is more fatal to the original inhabitants than that of savage man; the fire-water of the Christian destroys the species more effectually than the cimeter of the Osmanli. The last spares some, and permits in the end a mingled race of victors and vanquished to spring up together on the conquered lands; the first utterly extirpates the original race, and leaves only its remains, like those of the mammoth, to excite the wonder of future generations of men.

From these passions acting with equal force, and with the same consequences, upon distant lands in different stages of human existence, have arisen the greatest and most renowned wars, the most melancholy devastations, the greatest impulse to exertion, which have formed the subject of poetry and history from the earliest ages to the present time. From the time when the genius of Homer first sung the effort of Greece to repel the predatory inroads of Asia, and Iphigenia offered herself a willing sacrifice, that the Grecian maidens might sleep in peace, secure from the Eastern ravishers,* to these times, when, after a frightful but glorious struggle, the classic land of Hellas has been again liberated from its oppressors, and the Athenian damsels are secure from the slavery of the Turkish harems, the greatest struggles of mankind have been be-

* “ Das ganze grosse Griechenland hat jetzt Die Augen auf mich Einzige gerichtet. Ich mache seine Flotte frei—durch mich Wird Phrygien erobert. Wenn fortan Kein griechisch Weib mehr zittern darf, gewaltsam Aus Hellas sel'gem Boden weggeschleppt Zu werden von Barbaren, die nunmehr Für Paris Frevelthat so fürchterlich Bezahlen müssen.”

SCHILLER, *Iphigenie in Aulis*, Act. v. scene 5.

* GRAY.

tween the invading and conquering East and the defensive but indomitable West.

Defeated at Salamis and Plataea, long kept at bay by the discipline of the Legions, pierced to the heart by the strength of the Empire, the East in the end asserted its superiority over the West.

West, and resumed its place as the great aggressive and conquering power. Its swarms, long pent up, at length burst forth; the Goths broke through the barriers of the Danube and the Rhine, and fixed their lasting abode in the decaying provinces of the Roman empire; the Arabs issued from their fiery deserts with the Koran in one hand and the cimeter in the other, penetrated through Africa and Spain into the heart of France, and were only arrested by the enthusiasm of the Crusades on the shores of Palestine; the Huns and Slavonians spread over Eastern Europe, and settled themselves in the plains of Poland and Hungary; the Turks stormed Constantinople itself, and subdued the finest provinces of the Eastern Empire. Europe may boast its courage, its freedom, its energy, and every quarter of the globe attests its industry or its prowess; but history tells a different tale, and points to Asia as the cradle of the lasting conquerors of mankind. It required the genius of Alexander to advance his phalanx into the centre of Asia, the energy of England to urge her standards into the mountains of Cabul; but neither were able to effect a permanent settlement in the regions they had overrun; while, without military genius, discipline, or warlike resources, the Eastern tribes have in every age settled themselves as permanent conquerors in the European fields. Where will the traveler find, in the Asiatic realms, a trace of the European race—where, in the European, are the descendants of the Asiatic not to be found?

From this ceaseless pressure of the East on the West has arisen not merely wars of invasion, but social conflicts, in the east of Europe, entirely different from those which have divided the West.

Western nations. The barbarians who, issuing from Asia, succeeded in establishing themselves in Europe, formed permanent settlements, appropriated the land in whole or part to themselves, and transmitted it, as they hoped, in peace to their descendants. But they were not permitted to remain in quiet possession of their new acquisitions; another swarm followed in their footsteps, and they were themselves overwhelmed by the waves of conquest. Thence succeeded the fiercest and most enduring conflicts which have ever divided mankind—those where different conquering races settled in the same territories, and contended with each other for its government, its lands, its revenues, its women. The strife of RACES is more lasting, their enmity more inveterate, their hostility more persevering, than that of parties. The animosity of the Magyar against the German, of the Pole against the Russian, of the Italian against the German, of the Celt against the Anglo-Saxon, of the Greek against the Turk, is more fierce and indelible than that of the democrat against the aristocrat, or the republican against the royalist. Like the color of the hair or the tint of the

visage, it is transmitted unchanged from generation to generation; unlike the fleeting fervor of cities, which is readily diverted by new objects of pursuit, it slumbers undecayed in the solitude of rural life, and, after the lapse of centuries, bursts forth with undiminished fury, when circumstances occur which fan the embers into a flame. The most animating and heart-stirring events which are recounted in the succeeding pages have arisen from the conflict of races, which, as more wide-spread and lasting, have in a great degree superseded that of social change.

Placed on the confines of Europe and Asia, the regions which formerly formed

part of the Byzantine, and now compose the TURKISH EMPIRE, have in every age been the chief seat of these frightful contests. The coasts of the Euxine, the isles of the Archipelago, the shores of the Danube, the mountains of Greece, have from the earliest times been the battle-field between Europe and Asia. When the vast stream of the Crusaders poured across the Hellespont, they wound unconsciously around the tombs of Achilles and Ajax; they trod the fields of the Scamander, they drank at the fountain at the Scæan gate. The environs of Jerusalem have been the theatre of the greatest and most heart-stirring conflict which has occurred since Titus drew his trenches round the devoted city. The plains of Bessarabia, broken only by the Scythian tumuli, are whitened by the bones of those swarms of warriors whose names, as a Russian poet expresses it, “are known only to God;” the walls of Byzantium, which for a thousand years singly sustained the fortunes of the Empire, yielded at length to the fierce assault of the Osmanlis; the island of Rhodes has witnessed the most glorious conflict that ever occurred between the enthusiasm of the East and the heroism of the West; the straits of Thermopylæ have in our day been signalized by second acts of devotion; the Ægean Sea has reddened with other conflagrations than that of Salamis; the Russians and the Turks are now combating on the banks of the Danube, at the same spots where, fourteen hundred years ago, the hordes of the Goths broke into the decaying fields of Roman civilization.

From this peculiarity in their geographical history has arisen the great variety of different races who now inhabit the vast provinces of the Turkish empire, and the inextinguishable hatred with which they are animated against each other. The Persians, the Romans, the Goths, the Russians, the Arabs, the Vandals, the Franks, the Venetians, the Christians, the Mohammedans, have at different times contended, and alternately obtained the mastery in its vast dominion. They have all left their children in the land. Besides the descendants of the original Greeks, whom the King of Men ruled at the siege of Troy, or Alexander led to the conquest of Asia, there are now to be found in it the bold Wallachian, who has fearlessly settled in the land which has been desolated by the wars of three thousand years; the free and independent Servian, who has never ceased to contend, even amidst Turkish bonds, for the freedom of his native steppe; the patient and

6.
Strife of races
peculiarly ve-
hement in the
Turkish em-
pire.

5.
Wars of
races in the
east of Eu-
rope.

7.
Variety of
races in the
Turkish do-
minions.

industrious Bulgarian, who has often found protection and happiness in the recesses of the Balkan; the fierce and indomitable Albanian, who, since the days of Scanderbeg, has maintained a desultory warfare with his oppressors in his native mountains; the effeminate Syrian, who bows his neck, as in ancient days, to every invader; the unchanging Israelite, who has preserved his faith and usages inviolate since the days of Abraham; the wandering Arab, whose hand is still against every man, and every man's against him; the passive and laborious Egyptian, who toils a slave on the banks of the Nile, from whence his ancestors, under Sesostriis, issued to conquer the world. And over all are placed as rulers the brave and haughty Osmanlis, who govern, but do not cultivate the land, and who, in Europe, not more than three millions in number, maintain their sway over four times that number of impatient and suffering subjects.

To govern dominions so vast, and inhabited by so great a variety of different and hostile nations, must, under any circumstances, have been a matter of difficulty; but in addition to this there was superadded, in the case of Turkey, a still more fatal and indelible source of discord, which was the difference of RELIGION. Turkey, even in Asia, is not, properly speaking, a Mohammedan country. The Seven Churches were established in Asia Minor in the days of the Apostles; the Empire of the East had embraced the faith of the Gospel four centuries before Christianity had spread in Western Europe. We are accustomed, from its ruling power, and its position in the map, to consider Turkey as a Mohammedan state, forgetting that Christianity had been established over its whole extent a thousand years before Constantinople yielded to the assault of Mohammed, and that the transference to the creed of Mohammed was as violent a change as if it were now to be imposed by foreign conquest on France or England. Even at this time, after four centuries of Mohammedan rule, Christianity is still the faith of three-fourths of the whole Turkish empire in Europe, and one-fourth in Asia. Cast down, reviled, persecuted, the followers of Jesus, from generation to generation, have adhered to the faith of their fathers: it still forms the distinguishing mark between them and their oppressors: more even than difference of race it has severed the two great families of mankind; and when the Greek revolution broke out, the cry was not "Independence to Greece," but "Victory to the Cross."

The system of government by which the Turks for four centuries have maintained themselves in their immense dominions, and kept the command of so many and such various races of men, is very simple, and more suited to Oriental than European ideas. It is neither the system which distance and the extreme paucity of the ruling nation has rendered a matter of necessity to the English in India—that of conciliating the great body of the rural cultivators, and drawing from them disciplined battalions which might establish their dominion over their former oppressors—nor that of penetrating the wilds of nature with the light of civilization,

and conquering mankind to pacify and bless them, like the legions which followed the eagles of Rome to the extremities of the earth. It is more akin to the establishment and system of government of the Normans in England, where the people were not only conquered, but retained in subjection by force, and sixty thousand horsemen annually assembled at Winchester to overawe and intimidate the subject realm. Their number is small compared to the entire population of the country. Three millions of Osmanlis in Europe are thinly scattered over a territory containing twelve or thirteen millions of Christian subjects; but they are all armed, and ready to become soldiers; they are in possession of the whole fortresses, harbors, and strongholds of the kingdom; they have the command of the government, the treasury, the capital, and the great cities: the Christians are scattered over the country, and depressed by centuries of servitude; the Turks are concentrated in towns, and rendered confident by the long exercise of power.

What renders the government of the Christians, though so superior in number, by the Mohammedans more easy in Turkey, is the variety of tribes and races of which the subjected population is composed, their separation from each other by mountains, seas, and entire want of roads, and the complete unity of action and identity of purpose in the dominant race. The Greeks are not only a different race, but speak a different language from the Bulgarians: the Servians are a separate tribe from the Wallachians, the Albanians from both. The Greek of the Fanar* has nothing in common with the peasant of Roumelia; the Armenian with the Syrian; the Egyptian with the Cappadocian; the Jew with the Albanian. These different nations and tribes have separate feelings, descent, and interests; they are severed from each other by recollections, habits, institutions; vast ranges of mountains, in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, part them; roads, or even bridges, there are none, to enable the different inhabitants of this varied realm to communicate with each other, ascertain their common wrongs, or enter into any common designs for their liberation. On the other hand, the Turks, in possession of the incomparable harbor and central capital of Constantinople, with the Euxine and the Black Sea for their interior line of communication, are a homogeneous race, speaking one language, professing one religion, animated by one spirit, swayed by one interest, and enabled, by means of the government couriers, whose speed compensates the difficulty of transit, to communicate one common impulse to all parts of their vast dominions. The example of the English in India is sufficient to show how long the possession of these advantages is capable of enabling an inconsiderable body of strangers to subdue and keep in subjection a divided multitude of nations, a thousand times more numerous.

The military strength of the Turks, which was long so formidable to Europe, and more than once put Christendom within a hair's-breadth of destruction, is derived *entirely* from

* The quarter of Constantinople where the richest and most intelligent of the Greeks reside.

the Osmanlis. It is a fundamental maxim of

11. The military strength of the empire entirely derived from the Turks. their government, that the Mussulmans alone are to be armed, or called on to combat either foreign or domestic enemies; the Christians are to be made to contribute to the expense of armaments, and uphold by their industry the strength of the empire, but by no means to be intrusted with the duty of defending it in the field. The former is the generous war-horse, which, sedulously trained to military exercises, is released from all toil till the glorious dangers of war commence; the latter is the humble beast of burden, which is worn out in the meaner occupations of peace, and follows at a distance his proud compeer to the field, to bear his burdens and provide for his subsistence. As the military strength of the empire thus depends solely on the Osmanlis, it is drawn from a comparatively limited body, and depends entirely on their spirit and courage. Yet is this difference between the Turks and other homogeneous nations greater in appearance than reality. Except in periods of extraordinary excitement, when the whole nation, under the influence of an ungovernable impulse, runs to arms, the military strength of every people is derived from a portion only of its inhabitants. The *military caste* is seldom more than a third or a fourth of the whole number; and if, as in Turkey, that proportion is all trained to arms as a profession, and engages in no other, it is fully as much as the labor of the remainder of the people can maintain in idleness, ever ready for the toils of war.

As the Turks are the military caste upon whom the whole strength in war of the Ottoman empire depends, so the Christians are the *industrious* class upon whom its whole riches and material prosperity rest. The natural and inevitable ascendancy of mind over matter, of intelligence over strength, never appeared more strongly than in the destinies of the Greek people. Still, as in ancient times, they have asserted the dominion over their conquerors; if the sword of the Osmanlis, as of the Romans, has subdued their bodies, their minds have again reasserted the ascendancy over their oppressors. The Greeks at Constantinople seem rather the allies than the subjects of the Turks. The same is the case in most of the other great towns of the empire; and their presence is indispensable, their superiority still more manifest, in the divans of all the pachas. The Turks, who long, above all things, after repose, and know no excitement but love and war, leave the whole management of affairs to the Greeks: civil administration, negotiations, pacific situations, letters, the arts, commerce, manufactures, industry, navigation, all are in their hands. The Turks command, and are alone intrusted with military power; but the Greeks direct the commander, often in military, always in civil affairs. The seamen of the Archipelago, skillful now as when they rolled back the tide of Persian invasion in the Gulf of Salamis, have the entire commerce of the empire in their hands; for although the Turks are admirable horsemen and most formidable soldiers by land,

¹ Lam. vii. 325, 326.

they have a superstitious aversion to the sea,¹ and often find it easier,

as Gibbon observes, to overrun an empire than to cross a strait.

As the Turks are thus the indolent, luxurious, dominant race, and the Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians the laborious, hard-working, servant race, they have respectively undergone the usual fate of mankind in such positions in society. The masters have diminished, the slaves have multiplied. The lazy rulers, with their sabres, their horses, their harems, their coffee-houses, their life of repose and enjoyment, are unable to maintain their own numbers; the despised and insulted subjects, with their plows, their shuttles, their oars, their single wives and cottages, have overspread the land with their descendants. They have increased in some places as fast, and from the same cause, as the reviled Catholic Celt under Protestant and Orange domination did in Ireland. In the level country, indeed, where the horsemen of the Osmanlis have found it easy to extend their ravages, and the pachas their oppression, the human race has in many places wholly disappeared, and the mournful traveler, after traversing for days together the richest plains, studded with the ruins of ancient cities, now left without a single inhabitant, has repeatedly expressed a dread of the entire extirpation of the human species in the very garden of nature, the places in the world best adapted for its reception.* But this is sometimes the result rather of a migration than an absolute diminution of inhabitants. In the mountains where the janizaries have not been able to penetrate, or the regions where the tyranny of the pachas has been exchanged for a fixed tribute—in Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, the fastnesses of Albania, the Taurus, and Lebanon—the human race is increasing with great

* "En général, pour les productions, le paysan en Turquie ne demande à la terre que ce dont il a rigoureusement besoin pour sa subsistance, et le reste est livré à l'abandon. La partie qui avoisine les côtes, jusqu'à une distance de quinze à vingt lieues, est plus généralement la mieux cultivée; mais au-delà l'on marche souvent, pendant plusieurs heures, à travers de vastes espaces en friche, remplis de broussailles et de mauvaises herbes, dont la vigueur de végétation atteste la fécondité et la richesse productive du sol. A voir ce délaissement de l'agriculture dans la Roumélie, on serait tenté de croire à la réalité de ce dicton, beaucoup plus commun parmi nous qu'en Turquie, que les Turcs ne se considèrent que comme campés en Europe, et qu'ils détachent, peu à peu, leurs pensées des provinces qu'ils sentent leur échapper pour les rapporter de préférence sur cette terre d'Asie, qui fut le berceau de leur nation. Cependant, si nous portons nos regards de l'autre côté des détroits, l'aspect ne change pas: même fertilité partout, et même désolation. Si l'on excepte quelques riches plaines de l'Asie Mineure, vous n'apercevez presque nullepart quelque trace de culture. De vastes solitudes, coupées à de lointains intervalles par quelques tentes de tribus Kurds ou Turcomans, des forêts de pins et de chênes, que le gouvernement livre à la discrétion de quiconque veut les exploiter, sur la réserve de trois pour cent, sur la vente du bois; le désert presque à la sortie des villes, de loin en loin échelonné parfois à des distances de neuf ou dix heures de marche; des villages, dont le misérable aspect contraste péniblement avec la richesse de la végétation qui les entoure. Voilà ce qui s'offre à la vue du voyageur sur cette terre, qui portait jadis tant de villes fameuses—Pergame, Sardis, Troie, Nicomédie, et toutes les autres dont le nom seul a survécu. M. de Tchitchatchef mentionne une plaine qui s'étend sur un surface de 600 milles géographiques carrés, et qui offre à peine 50 milles cultivés. La production annuelle de céréales en Asie Mineure évaluée à 705,100,000 kilogrammes, ou 9,263,000 hectolitres (5,500,000 quarters), et représentant une valeur de 75,000,000 francs (£2,000,000), atteindrait aisément le quintuple, et même le décuple."—UBICINI, 366, 367.

13. Great and rapid increase of the Christians compared to the Turks.

rapidity, cultivation is daily extending into the wilds of nature, and the beautiful spectacle is presented to the eye of the charmed traveler of industry overcoming the difficulties with which it is surrounded, and man existing in simple innocence, surrounded with the comforts of unsophisticated nature.

M. Lamartine, whose brilliant imagination is accompanied with a close observation of external things, and whose travels are suspected to be poetical dreams only because they exhibit sketches from nature, colored with the tints of his poetic mind, has given the following picture of Servia, where, ever since its formidable insurrection in the commencement of the present century, independence, under the tutelary arm of PRINCE MOLOSCH, has been practically established: "The population in Servia amounts now (1836) to 1,000,000 souls, and it is rapidly increasing. The mildness of the climate, which resembles that between Lyons and Avignon; the riches of the deep and virgin soil, which covers the surface every where with the vegetation of Switzerland; the abundance of rivers and streams which descend from the mountains, circulate in the valleys, and often form lakes in the spacious woods; the felling of the forests, which at once, as in America, furnishes space for the plow and materials for the houses of those who hold it; the mild and pure manners of the people; their wise and protective institutions, the reflection, as it were, of the best in Europe; the supreme power concentrated in the hands of a man worthy of his mission, Prince Molosch—all these elements of prosperity and happiness promise to advance the population to several millions before a century is over. Should that people, as it desires and hopes, become the kernel of a new Slavonic empire by its reunion with Bosnia, a part of Bulgaria, and the warlike Montenegrins, Europe will see a new empire rise from the ruins

of Turkey, and embrace the vast and beautiful regions which extend between the Danube, the Balkan, the Euxine, and the Adriatic.¹

"The traveler can not quit this beautiful region, as I have done, without saluting with regrets and benedictions its rising fortunes. Those immense virgin forests, those mountains, those plains, those rivers, which seem to have come fresh from the hands of the Creator, and to mingle the luxuriant youth of nature with the youth of man; those new houses, which seem to spring out of the woods, to stretch along the side of torrents into the most sequestered nooks of the valleys; the roll of the revolving mills, busied with the cutting of wood; the sound of the village bells, newly baptized in the blood of the defenders of the country; the songs of the youths and maidens, as they lighten their toil; the sight of the multitude of children who issue from the schools or from the churches, the roofs of which are not yet finished; the accents of liberty, of joy, and of hope in every mouth; the look of spring and gladness in every countenance; the sight of those mountains which stand forth shaded with primeval forests; the fortresses of nature, and of that Danube, which bends as if to embrace so beauteous a region,

and waft its productions to the east and the north; the prospect of the mosque every where in ruins, and the Christian churches rising in every village—all those speak the youth of nations, and we mingle our prayers with the song of the freeman.

"When the sun of Servia shines on the waters of the Danube, the river seems to glitter with the blades of the yatagans, the resplendent fusils of the Montenegrins: it is a river of liquid steel which defends Servia. It is sweet to sit on its shore, and to see it waft past the broken arms of our enemies. When the wind of Albania descends from the mountains, and engulfs itself in the forests of Schamadia, cries issue from them as from the army of the Turks at the rout of Mosawa. Sweet is that murmur to the ears of the freed Servians. Dead or living, it is sweet after the battle to repose at the foot of that oak which expands in freedom as we do."¹

But examples like that of Servia, of which there are several in the Turkish dominions, particularly in Bulgaria, and the valleys of Lebanon, are the exceptions, not the rule. Generally speaking, the country is retrograde, and exhibits the usual and well-known features of decaying societies. Roads there are none, except bridle-paths, often impassable for any save daring horsemen: harbors choked up; walls falling into ruin; bridges broken down, and never repaired; villages wholly deserted, or consisting of a few huts among extensive ruins; rich plains in a state of nature, or traversed only by the wandering Arab, who seeks shelter in the remains of former magnificence—are the general features of the country. The Turkish empire is perishing, literally speaking, from want of inhabitants; and while the philosophers of Europe were contemplating with dread the productive powers of its overflowing inhabitants, the travelers in Asia were anticipating the entire disappearance of the human race, in the regions where it was first created, and where the most ample means have been provided for its increase. The Ottoman dominions present from day to day a wide void for anarchy and barbarism to rule in; territories without inhabitants, tribes without rulers, plains without culture. No foreign interposition is necessary to complete its downfall; it is working out its own ruin; the colossus is falling without even a hand being stretched forth to hurl it to the ground. The population, thrown back upon itself, is expiring from its own impotence—in many places it no longer exists. The Musulman race is reduced to nothing in the sixty thousand square leagues which compose its immense and fertile domain; excepting in the capital, and a few great cities, there is scarcely a Turk to be seen. Gaze over that vast empire, its fertile fields, and seek the Ottoman race—you will nowhere find it, except in large towns. The senseless, or rather murderous government of the Ottoman has in most places created a desert. The conquered races have generally increased, while the conquering is daily disappearing.²

Statistical facts of unquestionable veracity prove that these observations are not the mere

14.

Picture of the Servians by Lamartine.

16.

Lamartine, Voyages dans L'Orient, viii. 41, 42.

16.

General decrease of population in Turkey.

¹ Lamartine, Voyages en L'Orient, vii. 12.

15. Continued.

²

Lamartine, Voyages dans L'Orient, viii. 331, 332.

offspring of a heated imagination, but the sober deductions of reason. The Ottoman dominions, which are nearly the same of Turkey, with those which, on the partition of the Empire, fell to the lot of the emperors of Constantinople, contain 60,000 square geographical leagues, or 540,000 square miles—above four times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and more than three times that of France. The benignity of the climate, luxuriance of vegetation, and warmth of the sun, have rendered the plains of extraordinary fertility, often yielding eighty and a hundred for one, while in England ten to one is reckoned a large crop, and at the same time made the rocky slopes, here abandoned to furze or heath, capable of yielding the finest crops of grapes and olives. Magnificent forests, furnishing inexhaustible resources for ship-building, clothe the mountain sides; and the *Ægean* lies in the midst of the empire, studded with islands of ravishing beauty, inhabited by skillful and hardy sailors, as if to furnish the means of communication between its most distant extremities. Its capital is Constantinople, the finest harbor in the world, and so advantageously situated for foreign commerce that it in every age has engrossed the most lucrative traffic which man carries on—that between the East and the West. The greatest rivers of Europe, Asia, and Africa—the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile—are its streams, and waft the varied productions of its industry to distant quarters, where they may find a ready vent. Yet with all these immense advantages, which supported the Byzantine empire for a thousand years after the Western had fallen, the Ottoman empire now contains less than thirty millions of inhabitants, not a third of its population in former times, or a fifth of what it is capable of maintaining; and such as it is, this scanty population is daily declining. Turkey in Europe, with a territory more than twice as large as Great Britain, contains only ten millions of inhabitants,* of whom

* The following is the estimated population of Turkey in Europe, according to M. Hassel and Malte Brun:

I. CHRISTIANS.		II. MUSSULMANS AND JEWS.	
Greeks.....	3,090,000	Turks.....	2,350,000
Slavonians.....	2,000,000	Tartars.....	275,000
Arnauts.....	700,000	Jews.....	312,000
Armenians.....	85,000	Gypsies.....	120,000
Wallachians.....	1,375,000		3,057,000
Total native Christ.	7,250,000		
—M. HASSEL and MALTE BRUN, vii. 844.			
Military force of Turkey in time of peace.....		79,500	
Military force of Turkey in war {	infantry.....	100,000	
	regular cavalry....	24,000	
	irregular do.....	100,000	
			224,000

—VON HAMMER, ii. 273.

More recent writers, favorable to Turkey, have represented the population of the country as much more considerable, but still with the same excess of Christians over the Turks in Europe, and of the Turks over the Christians in Asia. The following is the estimate of M. Ubicini, the latest and best informed writer on the subject, of the inhabitants of the entire empire, according to their religions :

	In Europe.	In Asia.	In Africa.	TOTAL.
Mussulmans.....	4,550,000	12,650,000	3,800,000	21,000,000
Greeks.....	10,000,000	3,000,000	...	13,000,000
Catholics....	640,000	260,000	...	900,000
Jews.....	70,000	80,000	...	150,000
Divers others.....	...	...	...	300,000
				35,350,000

—UBICINI'S *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 25.

little more than three millions are 1 Malte Brun, Mohammedans, certainly not a vii. 842, 843; third of what it contained in an- Von Hammer, ii. 273. cient days.¹

There must have been some grievous faults on the part of government and institutions in Turkey, which, with such advantages, has produced so fearful a diminution of inhabitants. Nor is it difficult to see in what those faults consist. It is common to it with all the states in the East. There are no elements of freedom, no guarantees against oppression in the land. The rule of the Osmanlis is not more oppressive than that of other Asiatic states; but it is entirely despotic, and there is no check on the abuse of power by the sultan or the inferior governors of provinces. It is the practical application of the principles of government acted on in Turkey which has occasioned such a fearful chasm in the population, and weakened so remarkably the strength of the empire. 1. The first of these principles is, that the sultan nominates at pleasure, and removes at will, all the civil and military functionaries of the empire. He is absolute master of their fortunes and their lives; but the difficulty of carrying his mandates into execution in the distant pachalies, renders this power often more nominal than real; and the sultan, destitute of adequate regular troops to enforce his mandates, is obliged to bribe one pacha to depose another, by the promise of his power, his treasures, his harem, and oblivion for his crimes. 2. The second principle is, that every depository of power can delegate it entire and uncontrolled to his subordinates in office; so that every aga or janizary within his territory is as despotic as the sultan in Constantinople. It is a common saying in Turkey, that the sword of the sultan does not fall upon the dust; and neither does it: but the sword of the sultan falls upon the pacha, and the sword of the pacha falls upon the aga, and the sword of the aga upon the janizary, and the sword of the janizary upon the peasant. Each is invested with uncontrolled power over all beneath him; and as there is no popular representation, or check of any sort on power, it may readily be imagined with what severity it falls on the humblest classes. It was well expressed in a letter, written by Odysseus to Mohammed Pacha, explaining the reasons which induced him to take up arms at the commencement of the Greek Revolution: "It was the injustice of the viziers, waywodes,

According to their races, the inhabitants stand thus :

	In Europe.	In Asia.	In Africa.	TOTAL.
Turks.....	2,100,000	10,700,000	...	12,800,000
Greeks.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	...	2,000,000
Armenians.....	400,000	2,000,000	...	2,400,000
Jews.....	70,000	80,000	...	150,000
Slavonians.....	6,200,000	...	...	6,200,000
Romains.....	4,000,000	...	...	4,000,000
Albanians.....	1,500,000	...	...	1,500,000
Tartars.....	16,000	...	...	16,000
Tsiganis.....	214,000	900,000	3,800,000	4,914,000
Arabs.....	...	235,000	...	235,000
Syrians.....	...	...	...	...
Druses.....	...	30,000	...	30,000
Kurds.....	...	1,000,000	...	1,000,000
Turcomans..	...	85,000	...	85,000
	15,500,000	16,050,000	3,800,000	35,350,000

—UBICINI, 22.

cadis, and baloukbashis, each of whom closed the book of Mohammed, and opened a book of his own. Any virgin that pleased them, they took by force; any merchant in Negropont who

¹ *Odysseus to Mohammed Pasha*, Nov. 15, 1822; *Gordon's Greek Revolution*, i. 466; *Malte Brun*, vii. 706.

was making money, they beheaded and seized his goods; any proprietor of a good estate they slew, and occupied his property; and every drunken vagabond in the streets could murder respectable Greeks, and was not punished for it."¹

3. A third principle of government, which proved not less destructive in practice than the first, is, that the lives and property of all the inhabitants in his dominions are by the right of conquest the property of the sultan, and may be reclaimed by him at pleasure.

19. The lives and property of all belong to the Sultan. It is true, this extreme right is kept in abeyance, and not in general acted upon; but its reality is never doubted, and it forms a fearful principle to fall back upon, when arbitrary acts have been resolved upon, or the public treasury stands much in need of replenishing. The whole Christians, whether Greeks or Armenians, and the Jews, as well as other similar "dogs," stand in this situation. They purchase their lives annually by payment of a capitation tax, known by the significant name, "Redemption of the price of heads," but the application of the principle to immovable property produces still more disastrous consequences. It is held that no one, not even the Turks, can enjoy the *hereditary right* to landed estates; they never can be more than usufructuaries or life-renters. If the owner dies without a male child, the sultan is the heir, to the exclusion of the daughters; if there are sons, their right of succession is redeemed by the payment of a tenth of the value, but that tenth is estimated by the officers of exchequer. The persons holding office under the sultan in any degree are subject to still greater uncertainty; all their property of every description belongs on their death to the sultan, and must be redeemed at an arbitrary rate. So great is the apprehension entertained of this right, that no one ventures to expend money on heritable property. If a house, a roof, or an arch fall, it is suffered to remain in ruins. Whatever property can be accumulated is invested in movable effects—jewels or money—which, being easily concealed, are more likely to escape the Argus eyes of the tax-gatherers. The only way in which property in perpetuity can be settled in Turkey, is by bequeathing it for pious purposes to a mosque, the directors of which, for a moderate ransom, permit it to be enjoyed by the heirs of the testator.²

20. Great extent of land in Turkey held in mortmain. In consequence of this insecurity of land-tenure in Turkey, and of the mosques affording the only security that can be relied on, a very large proportion of the heritable property in the country has come into the hands of these ecclesiastical trustees; some estimate it as three-fourths, none at less than two-thirds of the entire surface. This species of property, being subject neither to taxes nor confiscation, is largely resorted to in every part of the em-

pire; but as it rests in the hands of priests and lawyers, in the double fangs of ecclesiastical power and legal subtlety, with nothing but a usufruct or life-rent right of enjoyment in the trustee or real owner, it is of course utterly fatal to any expenditure of money on, or improvement of, landed property in Turkey. This is one great cause of the general dilapidation of buildings, roads, and bridges in the rural districts, and the entire want of any thing like expenditure of capital on lasting improvements. Add to this, that, by a fundamental law of the empire, landed property, even when not in the hands of a mosque, can be alienated to or held by a Turk alone. No Christian, be his fortune in money what it may, can become a landed proprietor; when they really do so, it can be done only by holding in name of a Turk. This necessarily is fatal to the improvement of land, for it excludes from its purchase the entire Christian population, the only one possessed of capital, energy, or resources, and confines it to the dominant Ottomans—like the Normans, a race of warriors who utterly despise all pacific pursuits, and know no use of land but to wrench the last farthing out of the wretched cultivators.¹

¹ *Michelus*, Ottoman Empire, 178; *Ubicini*, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 270.

Turkey, in consequence of this extraordinary and anomalous position of its landed property, and of the want of any durable interest in the dominant race of the state in its prosperity, has long been the victim of the old imperial policy, inherited by the Ottomans from the ancient masters of the world—that of sacrificing the interests of production in the country to those of consumption in towns. The magnitude and importance of Constantinople, the extreme danger of any serious discontent among its turbulent inhabitants, the number of sultans who have fallen victims to insurrections among the janizaries, have contributed to impress upon the Ottoman government, at all hazards, the necessity of keeping down the price of provisions. Every thing is sacrificed to this object. Goods of every sort, including grain, imported, pay an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent.; all goods exported pay an *ad valorem* duty of 12 per cent. This strange policy, akin to that of the Popes in modern, and the Emperors in ancient Rome, springing from dread of the old cry of "*Panem et Circenses*" of the Roman populace, is of itself sufficient to account for the ruinous state of agriculture in the Turkish empire. Constantinople is fed from Alexandria, Odessa, and Galatz, not Roumelia. The Turkish government at one period went so far as to prohibit exportation from Wallachia and Moldavia to any other place than Constantinople; and yet so great are the agricultural resources of these provinces, that, since this restriction has been removed, the exportation of grain from Galatz and Brahamlow, the chief harbors, has increased at the rate of 200,000 quarters a year, and now amounts to 5,000,000 quarters annually.²

² *Ubicini*, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, 280, 281, 285.

There results from this general life-tenure and insecurity of property in Turkey the most scandalous venality on the part of persons holding office, and the most rapacious exactions

on the unfortunate persons subjected to their authority. Every one feeling his situation precarious, his property life-rented only, hastens to make as much of and expend as little upon it as possible. The situations of vizier, pacha, cadi, and the like, are sold to the largest bidder, and the purchasers, who have often paid a high price for these offices, seek to make the best use of their time to repay the purchase-money, and leave something considerable in a movable form, capable of being concealed to their families. It is true, if the oppression of any one pacha has become intolerable, the complaints of his subjects, despite all the tyrant's vigilance, sometimes reach the ears of the sultan, and a terrible example is made. The bowstring is sent to the culprit, his head is exposed on the gates of the seraglio, with an inscription detailing the crimes of which he has been guilty; his property, wherever it can be discovered, is seized for the sultan's use, his harem dispersed, and the most beautiful of its inmates transferred to the royal seraglio. But no redress is thereby afforded to the sufferers by his oppression; the fruit of his rapacity is conveyed to the treasury at Constantinople, not restored to its original owners. Hence it is a common saying in Turkey, that "the pachas are so many sponges put over the ground, in order to suck up the wealth of the inhabitants, that it may be the more readily squeezed into the sultan's coffers." It is impossible to suppose that the process of squeezing will be very vigilantly watched by the rulers of the empire, when it is foreseen that, if carried to a certain length, it will be likely to terminate in such a result.¹

To these manifold evils must be added another, which, in its practical results, is often the greatest of the whole; and that is, that the central government at Constantinople has no adequate force at its command to enforce its mandates, or compel a just administration on the part of its remote satraps. The regular military force at the disposal of the sultan is so small, in comparison to the immense extent of his dominions, that he is often unable to find troops under his immediate control to punish or restrain his rebellious or oppressive vassals; and thus he has no resource but to punish one pacha by the forces of another—that is, to destroy one culprit by creating a second. This can only be done for an adequate consideration; and that consideration in general is, either the gift of the culprit's pachalic, or oblivion for some huge delinquencies on the part of the officer to whom the execution of the sultan's decree has been intrusted. In either case, the system of oppression continues, or rather is increased; for the executioner is secured of long impunity by the lustre of his recent victory over his victim. This system, so well known in Scottish history, and, indeed, in that of all the feudal monarchies of Europe, is still in full vigor in Turkey, and was exemplified early in the Greek revolution, by the dethronement and decapitation of Ali Pacha by the forces of his rival, Kourchid Pacha, who hoped to succeed to his pachalic, but was him-

self in his turn the victim of the jealousies of the government. It is evident that, though this system conduces at times to the signal punishment of a guilty or rebellious satrap, it is utterly inconsistent with any thing like regular or good government, and only chastises crime by providing for its unpunished continuance in future times.

Justice is venal in the Ottoman, as, indeed, it is in all Oriental states. The judges, both high and low, are taken from the *Oulema*, a sort of incorporation of persons learned in law and jurisprudence; and if they were persons of probity, their influence would be very great. But they are so venal in their conduct, and so arbitrary in their decisions, that no weight whatever can be attached to their judgments. All judges—the mollah, the cadi, and simple naib—pronounce sentences, both in civil and criminal cases, without appeal; thence, of course, an infinite variety in the judgments pronounced, and an entire impossibility of rectifying an unjust decision. The cadi, in flagrant cases, may be deposed, bastinadoed, and his fortune confiscated; but the only effect of that is to enrich the sultan or the officers of his treasury, but by no means to rectify the injustice done to the unhappy suitor. The Turkish jurisprudence consists in a few maxims from the Koran, and a few traditional principles handed down in the courts; written statutes, collections of decisions, they have none; witnesses are examined, and oaths administered on both sides, and at the end of a few minutes or hours the decision, which is final and irreversible, is pronounced. The defendant or culprit, if poor, is bastinadoed; if rich, or a Frank, he is amerced in a pecuniary fine called an "avararia;" if a thief or a robber, he is hanged. Every thing is done as swiftly as it was in the camp of Othman; and so strongly is the military impress still retained in the empire, that the chief judges of the empire in Europe and Asia bear the name respectively of *Kadi-laskar*, or judge of the army.¹

So powerful are these causes of evil, that they must long since have led to the entire dissolution of the Turkish empire, were it not that they have been combated by circumstances, which have, in a great degree, neutralized their influence, and prolonged its existence long after, under other circumstances, it must have terminated. The first of these is the *weakness of government* itself, the principal, often the only, shield to innocence and industry in the East. As much as this weakness impedes the regular administration of affairs, and often secures impunity to crime in the depositaries of power, does it prevent their previous abuse of its authority, and shield the people when nothing else could save them from its excesses. The inhabitants are often saved from oppression, not because the pachas want the inclination, but because they want the power to oppress. Industry is sometimes left at peace, because the tyrants can not reach it. The military force of the empire being entirely confined to the Osmanlis, and they being in many places,

22. Universal venality in the holders of office.

¹ Porter's Travels, 79, 80; Malte Brun, vii. 707.

23. Ruinous weakness of the Executive.

24. Venality and corruption of justice.

¹ Volney, ii., Letter ii.; Tournefort, ii., Letter xiv.; Malte Brun, vii. 709.

25. Contrary principles of good in Turkey. Weakness of power.

especially in the rural districts, not a tenth, sometimes not a twentieth part of the entire inhabitants, they are often without the means of enforcing their exactions; without any regular force to levy taxes or carry into execution their mandates, without money to equip a body of troops from the Turks in towns, they can not make their power felt in the remoter parts of their provinces.

The very desolation and ruin of the country, the want of roads, harbors, or bridges, the difficulty of reaching the distant places with an armed force, often proves the salvation of the inhabitants. This is particu-

26. And want of the means of communication.

larly the case in the mountain districts, which form so large a part of the territory of Turkey, both in Europe and Asia. Hence the smiling aspect of the villages and valleys in Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, the Lebanon, the Taurus, and some parts of Macedonia, which contrast so strangely with the desolation and ruin of the plains in their vicinity. The cavalry of the pachas pause at the entrance of the rugged valleys, where nothing but break-neck bridle-paths are to be seen, and sturdy mountaineers, armed with their excellent fowling-pieces, are ready to pour death upon the reckless invaders. They are happy to exchange the doubtful chances of warfare for the certainty of a regular tribute. The inhabitants of the plains, especially if they have made any money, flock to these asylums of industry in the midst of a wasted land; and hence the constant increase of inhabitants in the mountains, contrasted with the general depopulation of the plains, which has been observed by all travelers, and led to such opposite conclusions as to the ultimate destiny of the Eastern Empire. In the north of Europe, where commerce is indispensable to comfort, industry protected, and an exchange of surplus rude produce for foreign luxuries is essential to civilization, the formation of roads is always the first step in improvement; but in the East, where wants are few, and the benignity of the climate furnishes every luxury that man requires, this want is not experienced, and roads are rather dreaded as affording an entrance to oppression, than desired as giving the means of export to the productions of industry.¹

1 Vide Mante's Travels, Volney's Travels, Porter's Travels, Clark's Travels, Lamartine's Voyage dans L'Orient, Chateaubriand's Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem, and Urquhart's Spirit of the East.

Further, the character of the Turks, taken as individuals, has many estimable qualities, which have gone far to counteract the disastrous effects of their system of government. That they are brave and determined, and at one period were most formidable

27. Excellent qualities in the Turkish character.

to Europe, from their military prowess, need be told to none; but it is not equally well known how worthy they are, and how many excellent traits of character are revealed in their private life. They are not in general active or industrious—they have left the labors of the fields to the natives of the soil—the cares of commerce to the Armenians, and the islanders of the Archipelago. Like the ancient Romans or the medieval Knights, they deem the wielding of the sword or managing a steed

the only honorable occupation, and worthy of a freeman. But no one can mingle with them, either in business or society, without perceiving that few races of men are more estimable in the relations of private life. Fearless, honest, and trustworthy, their word is their bond, and they are destitute of the restless spirit and envious disposition which so often in western Europe and America at once disturb happiness and provoke to crime. Inactivity is their great characteristic, repose their chief enjoyment. Their wants, generally speaking, are few; their enjoyments such as nature has thrown open to all. To sit on a carpet, smoke a scented pipe, and gaze under shade on the dancing of the sunbeams on the waves of the Bosphorus, is their supreme enjoyment. Satisfied, if wealthy, with his own harem, which combines the ideas of home and pleasure, the Turk has generally no ambition to invade that of his neighbor; and the enormous mass of female profligacy which infests the great cities of western Europe is unknown. Nothing excites the horror of the Osmanlis so much as the details of the foundling hospitals, and fearful multitude of natural children in Paris and Vienna; they can not conceive how society can exist under such an accumulation of evils. Though capable, when roused either by religious fanaticism or military excitement, of the most frightful deeds of cruelty, they are far, in ordinary times, from being of a savage disposition; they are kind to their wives, passionately fond of their children, charitable to the poor, and even extend their benevolent feelings to dumb animals.¹

¹ Malte Brun, vii. 702, 704; Urquhart's Spirit of the East, i. 420, 427; Lamartine, Voyages dans L'Orient, viii. 356, 357.

To this it must be added, that though in practice the administration of government by the pachas is generally to the last degree oppressive and destructive, yet the system of government is by no means equally tyrannical, and in some respects is wise and tolerant, to a degree which may afford an example to, or excite the envy of the Christian powers. Though the Turks, when they stormed Constantinople in 1453, established the religion of Mohammed as the creed of the empire, yet they were far from proscribing other tenets, and to the religion of Jesus in particular they extended many immunities. They admitted its divine origin, confessed that the Koran embodied many of its precepts, and claimed only for their own faith that of being the last emanation of the Divine Will. They did not at first trample upon or oppress their Christian subjects merely on account of their faith; on the contrary, the heads of the Greek Church were treated with respect, and its clergy maintained in their chapels and other places of worship. Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants were alike tolerated, though not admitted to power; it was the long, obstinate, and at last disastrous wars with the Christians, which rendered the "*Giaour*" so much the object of aversion, and led to so many instances of savage oppression.² Still the original tolerant principles of the government have again asserted their supremacy over these transient ebullitions of rage, and by

28. The theory of the central government is comparatively mild.

² Malte Brun, vii. 712.

an edict of Sultan Mahmoud all his subjects, of whatever religion, were declared equal in the eye of the law.

An institution exists in Turkey, specially intended to protect the weak against the Institution strong, and which, despite the usual of Ayams. arbitrary nature of the government, sometimes had this effect. This is the institution of *Ayams*, a sort of popular representation, and which provides a functionary who, like the tribunes of the people, is specially charged with the protection of a particular class of the inhabitants committed to his charge. The duty of these functionaries, who are elected by the burghers and traders, is to watch over the interests of individuals, the security of burghs, combat the tyranny of the pachas, and effect a just and equal division of the public burdens. Every Mussulman, without exception, who is in trade, belongs to some incorporation, the heads of which are elected by its members, and whose duty it is to bring the strength of the incorporation to bear upon the defense of any individual of it who is threatened with oppression. These are the ayams; they are usually chosen from among the most wealthy and respected of the trade; are assisted by a divan, composed also of the most eminent of the trade; and they often discharge their duties with great courage and fidelity. Still, so venal is justice, and so arbitrary the administration of government in the Ottoman dominions, that even the ayams, supported by the whole strength of the incorporation, are seldom able to obtain redress but by the payment of a large sum of money. But nevertheless redress obtained in this way is better than no redress at all; for the sum usually paid to ward off the threatened exaction is larger than any single individual, unless very opulent, could afford to pay.¹

The ayams, however, are to be found chiefly in the towns, and among the Mussul-
30. The village man burghers. The great, indeed the system. only security of the inhabitants of the country, is to be found in the *village system*, which is universal in the East, and has proved the great preservative of rural industry in every age, amidst the innumerable oppressions to which it has from the earliest times been subject. This admirable system, which has been described in a former work in reference to Hindostan,² and in this to Russia,³ is established over the whole extent of Turkey; and wherever the industry of the peasants has survived the tyranny of the pachas, it has been mainly owing to its influence. It is, in fact, the natural resource of industry against exaction, of weakness to secure revenue, and of justice to partition burdens, and this is done with rigid impartiality. These little communities, though often extinguished through the exactions of the pachas, and the entire disappearance of the population in the plains, flourish in undisturbed security in the recesses of the mountains; and it is in their protection, and the shelter which they afford to industry, that the chief principle of vitality in the Ottoman dominions is to be found.⁴

¹ Tournafort, Voyage du Levant, ii., Letter xiv.; Volney, Voyage en Syrie, ii., Letter c.; Malte Brun, vii. 709, 710.

² Hist. of Europe, c. xlvii., § 19.

³ Ante, c. viii., § 29, 30.

⁴ Malte Brun, vii. 707, 708.

There can not be a stronger proof of the mal-administration and oppressive nature of the government in Turkey, than the extremely small amount of the public revenue, compared with its extent and material resources. The entire revenue of the empire is from 650,000,000 to 750,000,000 piastres (£6,000,000 to £7,000,000), not a seventh part of the public income of Great Britain, possessing in the portion taxed not a fifth part of the extent of surface, nor a tenth part of the natural riches and agricultural advantages of the Ottoman dominions. In ancient times they maintained four times their present inhabitants, and yielded five times their present revenue. Yet, trifling as it is, this revenue is felt as so oppressive by the inhabitants that it operates as a serious bar to industry. It is raised by a tithe on agricultural produce and animals, and a tax of 17 per cent. on incomes—in all 27 per cent. on landed property, a grievous burden, and crushing to industry. The Turkish government cuts up its own resources from the roots, by destroying the industry from which they must arise. "When a native of Louisiana," says Montaigne, "desires the fruit of a tree, he lays the ax to its root. Be-
31. Small revenue derived from Turkey.
1 Ubiçini, 275, 276.
hold the emblem of despotism."¹

Like all declining empires, and none more than its own provinces under the Byzantine rule, Turkey exhibits the symptoms of decline more strongly in the rural than the urban districts; and several great towns, besides the capital, exhibit considerable marks of prosperity, while the provinces around them are every day sinking deeper in the abyss of misery. The constant migration of the inhabitants from the country to the towns is the evil every where most strongly felt and complained of in Turkey, for it paralyzes all rural operations, and cuts up by the roots the ultimate resources of the state. The new-comers in towns pick up a subsistence by trade and manufactures, or fall as burdens on the charity of the mosques and opulent inhabitants. In the crowd they are overlooked by the tax-gatherers, and generally escape with the payment only of a trifling capitation-tax, a thing impossible when exposed to his rapacity in the solitude of rural life. Accordingly, while the provinces are every day more and more going to ruin, and large tracts of land are daily returning to a state of nature, the chief towns exhibit a considerable degree of prosperity, and often a surprising number of inhabit-
32. Great population of towns, and decline of the country.
2 Ubiçini, 361, 364.
ants.²

* The following is the population of the chief cities of the Turkish empire:

IN EUROPE.		IN ASIA.	
Constantinople...	700,000	Broussa.....	100,000
Adrianople.....	110,000	Smyna.....	156,000
Widdin.....	20,000	Koniah.....	33,000
Nicti.....	50,000	Angora.....	35,000
Bosna Serai.....	65,000	Sivas.....	40,000
Scutaria.....	35,000	Trebizond.....	55,000
Salonica.....	80,000	Erzeroum.....	100,000
Mytilene.....	80,000	Halib.....	100,000
Rhodes.....	38,000	Damascus.....	150,000
Janina.....	13,000	Diarbekir.....	60,000
Gallipoli.....	16,000	Moussoul.....	65,000
Varna.....	16,000	Bagdad.....	105,000
		Tripoli.....	25,000
		Bassora.....	60,000
		Medina.....	19,000

—UBICINI, 45, 49.

One evil of a very peculiar kind exists in Turkey, highly injurious to industry. This consists in the prodigious multitude of servants and idle retainers who are to be found in the establishments of the pachas and the affluent, and who consume the fruits of the earth, and the resources of the state, without contributing any thing either to the one or the other. The number amounts to 1,500,000—a burden nearly as heavy as a standing army to the same amount would be, and far more enervating to the state. It is the hope of getting into some of these great establishments, where they may be maintained in idleness and luxury at the expense of the rural cultivators who are toiling at the plow, which is the great inducement that attracts such multitudes from the country to the great towns. When once there, they never go back; rural labor is ever insupportable to those who have once tasted the varieties and excitement of urban life. But this vast abstraction of robust hands from country labor to urban indolence, an evil in every country, is doubly so in one like Turkey, laboring under the scourge of a scanty and declining rural population.¹

¹ Ubicini, 290.

It results necessarily from this peculiar and anomalous position of the Turkish empire, that its political and military strength varies extremely from time to time, and depends rather on casual fits of excitement or sudden fits of passion, than any lasting strength or permanent resources. When a sultan of great vigor or military capacity is at the head of affairs, and the nation is excited by the prospect of glory or pillage, or when the religious feelings of the people are violently excited against the infidels, nearly the whole race of the Osmanlis run to arms, and the grand-vizier finds himself at the head of a mighty host, which has often proved for the time irresistible by the utmost strength of the Western powers. It was thus that Rhodes was conquered in 1517 from its valiant chevaliers by Selim I.; and Vienna besieged by Soliman II., in 1529; and Candia conquered by Mohammed IV.; and Vienna again besieged, and saved from destruction only by John Sobieski in 1683. On many of these occasions the grand-vizier found himself at the head of 150,000 men, whose desperate onset in the field was equaled only by the skill with which they wielded their weapons. But as these efforts were founded on passing excitement, not durable strength or lasting policy, they were seldom of long duration: a single considerable reverse was generally sufficient to disperse the mighty host which was held together only by the fervor of fanaticism, or the lust of plunder; and the grand-vizier often found himself wholly deserted, a few days after he had been at the head of an army apparently capable of conquering the world.

Hence the history of Turkey presents the most extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, and has oscillated alternately from the most prosperous to the most adverse circumstances. Mohammed II. stormed Constantinople in 1453, and ere long he had subdued Greece,

and extended his dominion from the Adriatic to the Crimea; Selim I., in 1517, subdued Egypt, Syria, and Rhodes; and in 1529, Hungary, torn by civil dissensions, opened to Soliman II. the road to Vienna. Soon after Cyprus yielded to Selim, but here the star of the Crescent was arrested. The battle of Lepanto, in 1571, checked forever their naval progress; the siege of Malta put a limit to their conquests in the Mediterranean. Azof, in the north of the empire, acquired in 1642, was successively lost and regained; Vienna, again besieged in 1683 by 150,000 Turks, beheld their total defeat by the arms of John Sobieski. The Ottoman arms yielded in several campaigns to the scientific manœuvres and daring valor of Prince Eugene, and Austria made great acquisitions from them by the treaties of 1699 and 1718, but she lost them all by the disgraceful peace of 1739. Long victorious over the Turks under the banners of Marshal Mornich, the Russians, under Peter the Great, were reduced to capitulate, in 1711, on the Pruth, to the Ottoman forces, and purchase a disgraceful retreat by the abandonment of all their conquests. The Morea was conquered from them by the Venetians in 1699, though soon after regained, and the conquest of Bagdad seemed to announce their decisive superiority in Asia over the Persians. Yet were these great successes, which filled all Europe with dread, and seemed to presage for them almost universal dominion, soon followed by still greater disasters. The growing strength of Russia rose up in appalling vigor beside the at length declining resources of the Osmanlis. Romanzoff crossed the Danube, and carried the ravages of war to the foot of the Balkan; the fleet of Orloff made the circuit of Europe, and consigned the Turkish fleet to the flames in the bay of Tchesme; the Morea took up arms in 1783, and for a time acknowledged the sceptre of Russia; and nothing but the intervention of France and England preserved the empire from dismemberment, when threatened with the combined armies of Russia and Austria, two hundred thousand strong, immediately before the French Revolution. The war of 1808 still more clearly revealed the increasing weakness of the Ottomans. Russia alone proved more than a match for Turkey. Wallachia and Moldavia were by a formal ukase incorporated with the dominions of the Czar, and nothing but the invasion of Napoleon in 1812 obliged the cabinet of St. Petersburg to acknowledge for a brief season the Pruth as the frontier stream of the two empires.

One great cause of these extraordinary mutations of fortune is, that the Ottoman empire is not *one state*, in the European sense of the word; that is, a united dominion, ruled by one government, obliged to obey its direct mandates, and contributing all its resources to its support: it is rather an aggregate of separate states, owing only a nominal allegiance to the central power, and yielding it effective support only when the vigor and capacity of the ruling sultan, or the strong tide of passing enthusiasm, leaves them no alternative but to render it. The pachas, especially the more distant and powerful ones, are often in substance independent; they pay only a fixed tribute to the sul-

36. Independent position of the larger pachas, and consequent weakness of the central power.

tan, generally inconsiderable compared to the sum which they contrive to exact from their subjects; they are bound to send, in case of need, a certain body of troops to his support, but it is generally delayed as long as possible, and when it does arrive, like the contingents of the German princes, it seldom gives any effective aid to the forces of the empire. Many of the bloodiest and most desperate wars the Porte has ever carried on, have been with its own rebellious satraps. Czerny George and Prince Molosch, at the head of the strength of Servia, maintained a prolonged contest with the Ottoman forces, which terminated, in recent times, in its nominal submission and real independence. Ali Pacha, the "Lion of Janina," long set the whole power of the sultan at defiance, and was only subdued at length by treachery. Wallachia and Moldavia, under their elective hospodars, are only bound to pay a fixed tribute to the sultan, and are rather the subjects of the Czar than the Porte; and the Pacha of Egypt, by whose aid alone the balance was cast against the Greeks in 1827, brought the dominions of the Osmanlis to the verge of ruin a few years after, from whence they were rescued by the intervention, still more perilous, of Russia. The empire of the Turks would, from these causes of weakness, have long since fallen to pieces were it not for the jealousies of the European powers, who interpose, before it is too late, to prevent Constantinople from falling into the hands of any of their number, and the strength and incomparable situation of that capital itself, which, in modern as in ancient times, has singly supported the tottering fabric of the empire for more than one century.

37. **CONSTANTINOPLE**, one of the most celebrated and finely situated capitals in the world, has exercised almost a more important influence on the fortunes of the species than any other city in existence in modern times. It broke in pieces the vast fabric of the Roman empire, and was the principal cause of the fall of its western division; for after the charms of the Bosphorus had rendered its shores the head of empire, the forces of the West were no longer able to make head against the increasing strength of the barbarians. Singly, by its native strength and incomparable situation, it supported the Empire of the East for a thousand years after Rome had yielded to the assault of Alaric, and preserved the precious seeds of ancient genius till the mind of Europe was prepared for their reception. It diverted the Latin Crusaders from the shores of Palestine, and occasioned the downfall of the Empire of the East by the ruthless arms of the Franks; it attracted afterward the Osmanlis from the centre of Asia, and brought about their lasting settlement in the finest provinces of Europe. It has since been the object of ceaseless ambition and contention to the principal European powers. A kingdom in itself, it is more coveted than many realms. Austria and Russia have alternately united and contended for the splendid prize; it broke up the alliance of Erfurth, and brought the arms of Napoleon to Moscow; and in these days it has dissolved all former confederacies, created new ones, and

brought the forces of England and France to the Bosphorus, to avert the threatened seizure of the matchless city by the armies of the Czar.

It is no wonder that Constantinople has ever since its foundation exercised so great an influence on the fortunes of the species, for its local advantages are unique, and its situation must ever render it the most important city in the Old World. Situated on the confines of Europe and Asia, with a noble harbor, it at the same time centres in itself the trade of the richest parts of the globe; commanding the sole outlet from the Euxine into the Mediterranean, it of necessity sees the commerce of the three quarters of the globe pass under its walls. The Danube wafts to its quays the productions of Germany, Hungary, and northern Turkey; the Volga, the agricultural riches of the Ukraine and the immense plains of southern Russia; the Kuban, of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus; caravans, traversing the Taurus and the deserts of Mesopotamia, convey to it the riches of Central Asia and the distant productions of India; the waters of the Mediterranean afford a field for the vast commerce of the nations which lie along its peopled shores; while the more distant manufactures of Britain and the United States of America find an inlet through the Straits of Gibraltar. The pendants of all the nations of the earth are to be seen side by side, in close profusion, in the Golden Horn: "the meteor flag of England" and the rising star of America, the tricolor of France and the eagles of Russia, the aged ensigns of Europe and the infant sails of Australia. Hers is the only commerce in the world which never can fail, and ever must rise superior to all the changes of fortune—for the increasing numbers and energy of northern only renders the greater the demand for the boundless agricultural productions of southern Europe, and every addition to the riches and luxury of the West only augments the traffic which must ever subsist between it and the regions of the sun.

The local facilities, strength of situation, and beauty of Constantinople, are commensurate to these immense advantages of its geographical position. 39. Description of the city. Situated on a triangle, two sides of which are washed by the sea, it is protected by water on all sides, excepting the base, to which the whole strength of the place only requires to be directed. The harbor, called the "Golden Horn," formed by a deep inlet of the sea, eight miles in length, on the northern side of the city, is at once so deep as to admit of three-deckers lying close to the quay, so capacious as to admit all the navies of Europe into its bosom, and so narrow at its entrance as to be capable of being closed by a chain drawn across its mouth. The apex of the triangle is formed by the far-famed Seraglio, or Palace of the Sultans, in itself a city, embracing within its ample circuit the luxurious apartments in which the beauties of the East alternate between the pastimes of children and the jealousies of women, and the shady gardens, where, beneath venerable cedars and plane-trees, fountains of living water cool the sultry air with their ceaseless flow. The city itself, standing on this triangular

space, is surrounded by the ancient walls of Constantine, nine thousand eight hundred toises, or about twelve English miles, in circuit, and in most places in exactly the state in which they were left, when the ancient masters of the world resigned the sceptre of the East to the Osmanli conquerors. The breach is still to be seen in the walls, made by the cannon of Mohammed, by which the Turks burst into the city. In many places, huge plane-trees, of equal antiquity, overshadow even these vast walls by their boughs; and in others, ivy, the growth of centuries, attests at once the antiquity of the structure and the negligence or superstition of the modern masters of the city.¹

No words can express the beauty of the city of Constantinople, with its charming suburbs of Pera, Galata, and Scutari, when seen from the waters on the opposite shore of the Hellespont. Situated on a cluster of low hills, which there border the Sea of Marmora, it presents an assemblage of charming objects, such as are not to be seen in a similar space in any other part of the world. It has not the magnificent background of the Bay of Naples, nor the castellated majesty of Genoa; but in the perfection of the scene, the harmony of all its parts, and the homogeneous nature of the emotion it awakens, it is superior to either. The scene is perfect; the panorama, as seen from the bay, is complete. To the north, the majestic entrance of the Bosphorus—the waters of which are covered with *caïques*, while its shores exhibit alternately the wildness of the savage forest and the riches of cultivated society—kindles the imagination with the idea of unseen beauties; to the east, the suburb of Scutari, in itself a city, with its successive ranges of terraces and palaces, the abodes of European opulence and splendor; to the west, the superb entrance of the Golden Horn, crowded with vessels, and the dense piles of the city itself, rising one above another in successive gradations, surmounted by the domes of a hundred mosques, among which the cupola of St. Sophia and the minarets of that of Sultan Achmet appear conspicuous; while to the south the view is closed by the beautiful Point of the Seraglio, its massy structures guarded with jealous care, half obscured by the stately trees which adorn its gardens, and dip their leafy branches in the cool stream of the Dardanelles.²

A nearer approach, however, considerably dispels the illusion, and reveals, under this splendid exterior, in a larger proportion than usual the evils and sufferings of humanity. Built in great part of wood, in crowded streets and contracted habitations, it is, in ordinary times, in most places, dirty and unhealthy, and at times subject to the most dreadful conflagrations. The plague is its annual, frightful fires its almost triennial, visitant. On the 2d September 1831 a fire broke out, which, before it was extinguished, had consumed eighteen thousand houses, and turned adrift upon the world nearly a hundred thousand persons. Conflagrations, however, are so frequent, that, except when they extend

to these terrific dimensions, they excite very little attention. The population of the city varies much, from time to time, with the ravages of pestilence, or the terrors of conflagration. In one quarter—that of the *Fanar*—the principal Greek families reside, many of whom have acquired in trade and commerce very considerable fortunes. They are the “sad remains of the Byzantine noblesse, who, trembling under the sabre of the Mussulmans, give themselves the titles of princes, purchase from the Porte the temporary sovereignty of Wallachia and Moldavia, seek riches in every possible way, crouch before power, and convey to this day a faithful image of the Lower Empire.”³

The population of Constantinople, with its adjunct suburbs, is nearly 900,000; and the proportion of women to men is very nearly the same as in the capitals of western Europe, the former domiciled being 388,000, and the latter only 364,000. The former comprises 42,000 female slaves. This is a very curious fact, because it demonstrates that polygamy, as common sense might long ago have told us, is scarcely an evil affecting the mass of society, however dreadful with reference to the peace of families and education of youth; for the excess of women above men is not so great as it is in London or Paris, or any other of the capitals of Europe. Nature has chained man, in general, by the strongest of all laws—that of necessity—to a single wife. A harem, like a stud of racers or hunters, can be kept only by the affluent.²*

The quarter from which this magnificent city is most assailable is the sea; and the expedition of Sir John Duckworth in 1807, however unfortunate in its final results, from the tardiness with which its operations were conducted, yet revealed its inherent weakness, and proved that it might be brought to subjection, despite the castles of Europe and Asia, by the vigorous assault of a great maritime power.³ But in this respect the Turks had Europe, c. long the advantage of the Russians, from the admirable skill of the Greek sailors who manned their fleet. These hardy seamen, as expert now as when they rolled back the tide of Persian invasion in the Straits of Salamis, constituted the real strength of Turkey. Engrossing nearly the whole trade of the Euxine and the Archipelago, they had covered these seas with their sails, and been trained to hardihood and daring amidst their frequent storms. Their principal naval establishments,

* POPULATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1844.

	Military, etc.	DOMESTICATED INHABITANTS.		Total.
		Men.	Women.	
Mussulmans . . .	68,000	194,000	213,000	475,000
Armenians . . .	16,000	93,400	95,600	205,000
Do. united . . .	...	8,420	8,580	17,000
Greeks	32,000	48,000	52,000	132,000
Jews . . . . .	...	18,000	19,000	37,000
Strangers . . . .	...	...	...	29,000
	116,000	364,820	388,480	894,000

—UBICINI, 27.

40. Description of the city, as seen from the sea.

2 Lam. iii. 172; Malte Brun, vii. 722.

41. Defects of its interior.

1 Zallony, Des Fanariotes, Paris, 1824, p. 72; Malte Brun, vii. 723.

42. Population of Constantinople, and equality of the sexes.

43. Maritime forces of Turkey and Greece.

3 Hist. of Europe, c. xlv. § 64.

2 Ubicini, 27, 28.

Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, had become great seaports, where an immense commerce was carried on, and which, from the entire dependence of Constantinople upon their seamen for supplies in peace and defense in war, had for long practically enjoyed the blessings of independence. Their barks conveyed the 1,500,000 bushels of grain annually from Egypt and Odessa to the mouths of the Danube, which supplied the metropolis with food; their seamen manned the stately line-of-battle ships which lay at the entrance of the Bosphorus, to guard the approach to the capital from the assaults of Russia. The Czar had no seamen of his own who could compete on their native element with the incomparable Greek islanders; his vessels were for the most part manned by them: a war at sea between him and the Porte was like one between England and America; the same race of seamen were seen on both sides. Under the influence of these favorable circumstances, the islands of the Archipelago had made unexampled strides in population, riches, and strength; the level fields of Scio were covered with orchards, vineyards, gardens, and villas, where one hundred thousand Christians, freed from the Ottoman yoke, dwelt in peace and happiness; the rocks of Hydra and Ipsara bristled with cannon, which defended the once desert isles, where fifty thousand industrious citizens were enriched by the activity of commerce; while the trade of the islands, carried on in 600

¹ Ann. Hist. vessels, bearing 6000 guns, and navy. 388, 389; igitated by 18,000 seamen, maintained Pouqueville, the busy and increasing multitude in 172, 180. comfort and affluence.¹*

The chief military strength of Turkey, as is well known, till very recent times, consisted in the JANIZARIES, a sort of standing army of great vigor and courage, established in the capital and the principal towns of the empire. They were originally formed from the sons of Christians, chiefly in Armenia and Circassia, who were torn from their parents in early life, circumcised; and bred up in the Mohammedan faith. Being thus severed from their families, and accustomed to look up alone to the sultan as their military chief, they formed for long a numerous and faithful body of guards, the terror of Christendom, and the cause of the most brilliant triumphs in former days gained by the Ottoman arms. They were possessed of the privilege, after twenty years' service, of settling as tradesmen in any town of the empire, still remaining, however, liable to be called out occasionally if the service of the state required it, and retaining their arms and military accoutrements. Thus they were on a footing very much resembling in this respect, though by no means in others, the foot-guards in London, who, on the days in which they are not on duty, pursue their ordinary pacific avocations. About 25,000 to 40,000 of these troops usually were stationed in Constantinople and

its vicinity. Their numbers over the whole empire exceeded 200,000, and they constituted the entire infantry of the army until the recent changes of Sultan Mahmoud. Of this number there were, in 1776, 113,403 men actually enrolled and in the service, and their number down to the end of the century was still 100,000.* In time, however, there arose among them the usual vices of household troops; if they rivaled the Prætorians in valor, they did so not less in arrogance and insubordination. Conscious of their own strength, having no rival force to dread, they aspired to dictate to the government, and to select their own prince of the imperial house for a sultan. They would submit to no changes or improvements in discipline. Many of the most formidable revolts in Turkish history originated with them; and the overturning of their camp-kettles, the well-known signal of the commencement of such disorders, was more dreaded by the Divan than the approach of a hostile army. Sultan Mahmoud, the then reigning sovereign, as some check on their violence, had greatly augmented the topjees, or artillerymen, who were at last raised to 20,000 men; but the janizaries were still in unbroken strength in their barracks, and, being highly discontented at the preference given to the topjees, there was already pre-¹ Ubicini, 442, 444; Malte Brun, vii. 844; Gordon, Greek Revolution, i. 17. sagged the terrible catastrophe by which their power was terminated.¹

The great military strength of the Turks, as of all Oriental nations, consisted formerly in their cavalry. Accustomed to Turkish ride from their infancy, the Turks are daring and skillful horsemen, and in the use of the sabre decidedly superior to any nation of Christendom. Traveling of every sort is performed on horseback, and, from constant practice, a degree of skill and hardihood is acquired in the management of their steeds rarely attained either in the *manège* or the hunting-field of western Europe. The Turkish cavalier plunges into ravines, descends break-neck scours, ascends precipices, and scales hill-sides, from which the boldest English hunters would recoil with dread. Seated on their high saddles, with a formidable peak before and behind, with stirrups so short that their knees are up to their elbows, and the reins of a powerful bit in their hands, the Turkish horseman pushes on with fearless hardihood at the gallop, confident in his sure-footed steed, and in his own power, if occasion requires, instantly to pull him back on his haunches. With equal readiness he gallops with his redoubtable sabre in his hand, up to the muzzles of the enemy's muskets, or charges his heaviest batteries, or plunges down a precipitous path on which a chasseur can with difficulty keep his footing. Woe to the enemy which incautiously advances into a rocky country without having his flanks and rear adequately explored! Two or three tur-

* "M. Pouqueville evalua la Marine marchande de toutes les isles Grécques a 615 bâtimens, sans compter les Polacres, barques pontées, montées par 17,526 marins et armées de 5847 canons. On a vu dans la discussion de la loi des grains en France, qu'en 1817 et 1818 il n'y avait moins de 400 ou 500 bâtimens Grecs employés au transport des grains de la Mer Noire."—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 388, note.

* Eton gives the following as the military strength of Turkey in the end of the eighteenth century:

Cavalry	181,000
Janizary infantry	207,000
	388,000
Deduct for garrisons, &c.	202,000
Disposable	186,000
—ETON'S <i>Survey of Turkish Empire</i> , 372.	

bans are first seen cautiously peeping above the summit of the ravines, or through the brush-wood by which the bridge path is beset; for a few seconds they disappear, when suddenly a rush is heard, the clatter of sabres and hoofs rings on all sides, and these redoubtable horsemen, with deafening shouts, precipitate themselves from all quarters on the unfortunate battalion which has advanced into the toils. The

glorious victory of Bajazet over the French chivalry at Varna, in 1453, and of the Grand Vizier over Peter the Great, on the Pruth, in 1711, was mainly gained by the aid of the incomparable horse.¹

But the Osmanlis have lost this great advantage by the results of the wars with Russia during the last century. By the successive acquisitions of the Crimea, Oczakow with its territory, and Bessarabia, the Russians have

not only got a valuable sea-coast, on which they have built the rising harbor of Odessa, the Dantzie of the Euxine, but they have gained the advantage, inestimable in Eastern war, of having got the nomad tribes on their side—of having arrayed against Asia the forces of Asia itself. Immense has been the influence of this decisive change on the relative positions and fortunes of the great contending powers on the banks of the Danube. The territory thus acquired by Russia, the Scythia of the ancients, is precisely that from whence the clouds of horsemen have issued who have determined so many important events in history—who repelled the invasion of Cyrus—who destroyed the army of Darius—who rolled back the phalanx of Alexander. What the Russians have gained by these important acquisitions the Turks have lost, and this has entirely altered the relative positions of the contending parties. The fate which befel Peter the Great on the Pruth in 1711—that of being starved out in the midst of his armed squares by clouds of light-horse—would now be the inevitable fate of any Turkish army which should advance into the same plains; and, strange to say, in the present (1853) war with the Russians, the principal deficiency which the Turkish have experienced is in light horse.²

Deprived of the powerful aid of their light horse, the main strength of the Turkish armies is now to be found in the skill with which they manage their arms, the perfection of their mark, either with muskets or cannon, and the facility with which the same men can, from their previous habits of life, discharge the duties either of a foot-soldier or cavalier. Every Turk is armed—the more easy in circumstances, magnificently so. Most of the better class have either a horse, or have been trained from infancy to the duties of horsemanship. If a spahi loses his steed, he throws himself into the ranks of the infantry, seizes the first firelock he can find, and makes a steady grenadier; if a janizary loses his musket, he mounts the first horse he can seize, and uses his redoubtable cimeter as skillfully as any cavalier in the army. This thorough command of all the exercises of war, which is universal in the Turk-

ish population, who are, literally speaking, a nation of warriors, renders them at once more formidable as individuals, and less so in masses, than the soldiers of western Europe, who have no such individual prowess to fall back upon, and trusts only to his steadiness in the ranks, and standing shoulder to shoulder with his comrades. If worsted in a serious encounter, the Turks, in their own country, and knowing its by-paths, generally disperse; the Russians, far from their home and kindred, fall back upon their fellow-soldiers, and combat, back to back, to the last man. The Ottoman array, like the Vendéans or Spaniards, dissolves upon defeat, and the late commander of a mighty host finds himself surrounded only by a few attendants. "When you have once given the Turks a good beating," said one who knew them well (Prince Cobourg), "you are at ease with them for the whole campaign." But the armed force often reassembles as quickly as it had dissolved, and, again issuing from their homes and their retreats, the undaunted Turks enter a second time on the career of glory and plunder.¹

The Turkish armies are little to be apprehended now in pitched battles in the open field, and their strength consists rather in the defense of a woody, broken, or intricate country, where the individual courage and skill in the use of arms which they possess may be brought into play. We read frequently, in the ancient wars of the Ottomans with the Austrians and Russians, of bodies of seventeen, twenty, or twenty-five thousand men defeating a hundred and a hundred and fifty thousand Turks; and this would probably still be the fate of a Turkish array, should it venture to meet the disciplined battalions of Europe in the open field. But the case is very different when they come to fight in a broken or woody country. The rolling fire of the Russian square generally, in the plains, repels the fierce charge of the Turkish swarm; but the case is widely different when the Osmanlis are posted on the rocks or in the thickets of the Balkan, where they can at leisure, and comparatively free from danger, take aim at their adversaries. There their cool and practiced eye and steady hand tells with desperate effect upon the hostile columns, and the brave and steady array of the Muscovites often melts away before the deadly fire of an unseen but indomitable opponent.²

It results from the same circumstances, that the Turks are the most formidable of all enemies in the defense of fortified places. The Turkish system of fortification and mode of defense is essentially different from those of western Europe. It has few outworks, often none; and scarce any of the appliances which the genius of Vauban invented to add to the natural strength of places. There are neither ravelins, nor lunettes, nor covered-ways around their fortified places. The town, in the form which the natural circumstances of the ground has given it, is surrounded by a high and strong wall, in front of which lies a deep ditch. A few bastions or round towers here and there project beyond the general line, and form kind of sa-

¹ Veterani, 34; Valantini, Guerre contre les Turcs, 12, 13.

^{46.} The advantages of the Turks in this respect are now lost.

² Valantini, 12, 15, 19.

^{47.} In what the strength of the Turks now consists.

¹ Valantini, 12, 13.

^{48.} Where are the Turks now strongest in war?

² Veterani, 74, 80; Valantini, 29, 30.

^{49.} Turkish fortifications, and mode of defending them.

lient angles, often filled with enormous gabions. Along the crest of the parapet is placed a line of gabions, between which are the embrasures, from behind which the besieged fire in perfect security on the besiegers. Along the parapet are also placed, at certain distances, square loopholed blockhouses, built of brick, intended to sweep the ramparts in the event of the breach being mounted, which often occasions a serious loss to the besiegers. They have a way also of stationing musketeers at the bottom of the ditch, who communicate with each other, and effect a retreat, in case of need, by a subterranean passage worked out below the ramparts.¹

¹ Valentini, 63, 64.

Their mode of defending these fortified towns is as peculiar, and as different from the European, as the fortifications themselves. They disquiet themselves little with the enemy's approaches, seldom even fire at the working parties in the trenches, but occasionally amuse themselves with discharging round shot from their guns at single figures in the distance. Even the breaching of the rampart, considered as so serious a matter in ordinary European war, gives them very little uneasiness. Their whole efforts—and on such occasions they are great indeed—are concentrated on the interior defenses within the rampart, which is chiefly valued as affording a covering to their construction. The whole approaches to the interior of the city are there retrenched in the strongest manner: huge barricades of wood bar the entrance into the streets; while at every door, every window, every aperture, are stationed two or more Turks, armed with their excellent fusils, who, with deadly aim, open a close and sustained fire on their assailants. The house-tops, which are all flat, are crowded with musketeers, who in like manner rain a shower of balls upon the enemy. So great is the effect of this concentric fire, that in general the head of the assaulting column is swept away the moment it reaches the summit of the trench; for the fire is quite incessant, as each Turk has two muskets, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, which they aim with practiced skill. If these dangers are surmounted, and the assaulting column succeeds in making its way into the streets or gardens within the rampart, a danger not less formidable awaits them; for it is instantly assailed on all sides by a mass of Turks, with their cimeter in their right hand, and their short sword in their left, with which they cut at their opponents, and parry their thrusts; and in that mortal strife it has been often proved that the European bayonet is no match for the Turkish sabre. So deadly are these methods of defense, that several repelled assaults of ill-fortified Turkish towns have cost more to the besiegers than the entire reduction of the best-constructed citadels of Vauban and Cohorn.

² Hist. of Europe, c. lxix. § 79.

³ Valentini, 61, 62.

Witness the unsuccessful assault on Roudschuck in 1810, which cost the besiegers 8000 men;² and that of Brahilow in 1828, which was repulsed with the loss of 3000 men killed and wounded.³

A very simple cause explains this obstinate defense of fortified cities by the Turks: it is Necessity. The whole male inhabitants capable

of bearing arms are arrayed in defense of the place. A city of 30,000 citizens will array on its walls 10,000 warriors; each of whom, trained from infancy to the use of arms, and splendidly equipped with his own weapons of defense, forms at once a valuable soldier. They fight desperately, because, like the citizens of towns in antiquity, they have nothing to hope in the event of capture. The male inhabitants will all be put to the sword, the young women sold for slaves, or swept into the Turkish harem; the entire fortunes of the inhabitants drawn into the coffers of the sultan or victorious pacha. The commander himself, if he escape death at the hands of the assailants, is almost sure to meet it at those of the sultan. Misfortune is punished in the same way as misconduct, and no amount of previous skill or valor in defense, can save the governor who has lost his fortress from the bowstring. Thus the Turks in fortified towns make a resolute defense, for the same reason that the Russians do in the open field: they have no hope of safety in flight, their only chance is in standing resolutely together.¹

¹ Causes of the obstinate defense of fortified cities by the Turks.

¹ Valentini, 64, 65.

Although the Turks, prior to the great change made by Sultan Mahmoud in the military organization of the empire, had few regular troops, and none disciplined after the European fashion, yet the vast feudal militia they could at any time call out was extremely formidable, from the perfect arms, and entire command of them, which every member of it possessed, and the individual courage by which they were animated. The Russians and Austrians, at least till the more recent wars, were almost always greatly inferior in number; and as so large a proportion of the Turkish armies in those days was cavalry, this disproportion, by enabling the enemy to surround them, often exposed the Christian forces to the greatest danger, especially as the scene of conflict generally was the level country on the banks of the Danube. They were thus driven by necessity to adopt the tactics which could alone, in the open field, enable them to resist such formidable and superior enemies. This consisted in constantly forming square when the moment of decisive action arrives. These squares were generally of five or six battalions each, with artillery at the angles, capable of firing on either side which might be assailed. They advance into battle drawn up in this form, and the squares moving forward in the *oblique* order in echelon; so that the leading square is protected at least on one side and rear by the fire of those which follow it. If broken, the square endeavors to form a still smaller body in the same array, and often becomes reduced to knots of a dozen men—for the troops are all aware that flight is instant death under the sabre of the Osmanlis, and their only chance of salvation is in the rolling fire which issues from the sides of their steady squares.²

² Russian mode of fighting the Turks.

² Valentini, 18, 19.

Notwithstanding the declining military strength of the Turkish empire, it is by no means easy of conquest, for nature has furnished it with a triple line of defense, which it is difficult even for the greatest military skill and

strength to overcome. The first of these consists in the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, which, from their physical conformation and the habits of their inhabitants, oppose great obstacles to an invading army. The greater part of the country, the Scythia of the ancients, consists of wide level plains, and which afford comparatively few resources for a considerable army. There are few roads in the country, and such as exist are speedily cut up, and become nearly impracticable by the passage of any large quantities of artillery or carriages over them. The constant wars between the Turks and Russians, of which this country has long been the theatre, has rendered the inhabitants for the most part averse to tillage. They trust in a great degree to the spontaneous productions of the soil and growth of nature, which covers the earth in spring with a luxuriant herbage, and in summer with crops of the richest hay. But in autumn even this resource fails; the long droughts parch the surface of the soil; vegetation is burnt up, huge gaps and crevices appear—and an invading army, the prey of fevers and contagious disorders, finds neither water nor resources in the thirsty soil wherewith to subsist the troops. Hence it is that it has at all times been felt of such importance to pass over this wasted *land debatable* in spring, when the herbage of the plains might afford subsistence for the horses and herds of cattle which accompanied the army; and that the fate of a campaign is so much dependent upon possession of the coast, and command of the sea, in order to insure getting up supplies by water.¹

The second defense of Turkey consists in the line of the Danube, which covers the whole northern provinces of the as a frontier empire. This noble river, which, stream. when it approaches Belgrade, on the frontiers of Turkey, is already twelve hundred yards broad, flows through the whole of Turkey with a rapid current, which renders the construction of bridges over it always a matter of difficulty, sometimes impossible. It is often intersected by large islands, but they do not facilitate the passage, for the current, broken by rocks, flows round them in foaming surges with extraordinary rapidity. The right bank, which forms the northern boundary of Bulgaria, is in general higher than the left, which limits the plain of Wallachia; and in many places bold rocks or steep banks of clay form, as it were, the natural ramparts of Turkey behind this formidable wet ditch. This barrier, naturally strong, is rendered doubly so by the resources of art and the desolate state of the country. Silistria, Brahamlow, Roudschuck, and Widdin, are the chief of the fortresses upon its banks, with the siege of which every war between the Russians and Turks commences, and which are never reduced but after a most obstinate defense, and a dreadful sacrifice of men. The waste of human life in these sieges, which are generally prolonged to the close of the season by the obstinate valor of the Turks, is much augmented by the unhealthy nature of the country on the banks of the Danube in the autumnal months, and the quantity of

grapes, which, growing amidst beds of roses on the sunny slopes, and eagerly devoured by the northern invaders, spread among them the destructive scourge of dysentery.^{1*}

The last and most important barrier of Constantinople is the BALKAN, which, stretching from east to west the whole breadth of Turkey, presents the very greatest obstacle to any invading army. This celebrated range, the Mount Haemus of antiquity, is far inferior to the Pyrenees, the Alps, or the Caucasus in altitude and ruggedness; but it is superior to either in the difficulties which it opposes to the march of armies. This is often the case with comparatively low ranges of hills, which afford a stronger line of defense than mountains of the greatest elevation. The Alps never prevented the march of the French into Italy; the Caucasus was penetrated by the Russians; even the Himalaya was pierced by the battalions of Britain: but from the hills of Torres-Vedras the arms of Napoleon permanently recoiled; and it required two years of harassing warfare on the part of England, to expel six thousand naked savages in Kaffirland from the recesses of the Waterkloof. The reason is, that lofty mountain-ranges are always intersected by deep valleys, the crests of which can be surmounted at a comparatively moderate elevation, and with little difficulty; while inferior heights are intersected by gullies and water-courses, and generally covered with forests, brushwood, or thickets, which can only be cut through at an immense expense of time and labor. This is exactly the case with the Balkan, which, running nearly parallel to the line of the Danube at from forty to fifty miles to the south, presents a wooded and intricate ridge about thirty miles broad, which must be crossed before the plains of Roumelia are reached, or Constantinople is approached. It is not in general higher than the Vosges Mountains near Kaiserslautern, the Mont Tonnerre in the Limousin, or the Lammermoors in Scotland; but, nevertheless, it took two centuries of almost ceaseless warfare before the Russians crossed this formidable barrier. The very desolation of the country and benignity of the climate augment its defensible character. It is traversed only by bridle-paths, which, without any regard to a gradual slope, ascend hills and descend gullies inaccessible to chariots or artillery; and where the rocky heights on either side are not covered with forest or brushwood, they are laid out in thick orchards, which oppose almost the same impediment to an advancing army.† In their wooded intricacies, the superiority of the Russian tactics and discipline is in a great measure lost: war can no longer be conducted by the action of masses, but comes to depend on individual hardihood and

* "With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows."

GRAY.

† Its woody character was the same in ancient times, as is attested in the well-known lines of Virgil—

"O, quis me gelidis in vallibus Haemi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!"

VIRGIL, *Georg.* lib. ii.

skill; and in the prolonged struggles and hand-to-hand conflicts, the deadly aim and perfect skill in the use of arms of the Mussulmans have often proved fatal to the most powerful columns of the Muscovites.¹

So great are these difficulties, that, notwithstanding the rapid decline of the Ottoman power during the last century, it was not till the year 1829 that the Russian forces succeeded in passing the Balkan and reaching Adrianople, and then it was only with an army not exceeding 25,000 men. The best military authorities have declared that the passage of the Balkan need not be attempted with less than 140,000 men, which large force would only leave 60,000 disposable to advance upon Constantinople.² When

this barrier, however, is surmounted, the defenses of Constantinople are

carried; and unless a force capable of keeping the field and repelling the enemy in the open country exists, nothing remains to the Turks but submission. From the southern face of the Balkan to the gates of the capital the country is entirely open, and for the most part uncultivated. Luxuriant herbage, coming up to the horses' girths, at once attesting the riches of the soil, and showing the oppression of the government, continues up to the gates of the capital. In this open and level country there is no defense whatever against an invading army, especially if it possesses the superiority in light horse which the Russians, ever since their conquest of the nomad nations, decisively enjoy. If a hostile army reaches Constantinople, the conquest of the city is easy, and can not be long averted. The ancient walls still remain in imposing majesty, but they are in many places mouldering, and, by cutting off the aqueducts which supply the city with water, it may easily be starved into submission. The old cisterns, of enormous magnitude, constructed by the Romans, man emperors to guard against this danger, still exist; but they are in part filled up, and are no longer water-tight, and could not now be applied to their destined purpose.³

It results from these peculiarities in the physical situation of Turkey, that the command of the sea, or the support, or at least the neutrality of Austria, is essential to a successful irruption into the plains of Roumelia by the forces of the Czar.

No amount of force, how great soever, at the command of the Muscovite generals, can relieve them of this necessity; on the contrary, it only renders it the more imperious. Turkey is defended by the effects of its own oppression: it has rendered its territory a wilderness, through which the enemy, without supplies brought by the Danube or the sea, can not pass. External support is indispensable. It is impossible by land-carriage to bring up the requisite supplies for a large army from Sevastopol and Odessa—a tract of nearly seven hundred miles, in great part without roads practicable for wheel carriages. Equally impossible is it to find in the desert plains of Roumelia the requisite supplies for the support

of an army capable of threatening Constantinople. The Russians in modern Turkey, like the Romans of old in invading Caledonia, and for the same reason, must advance by the sea-side. Accordingly, in 1828, in addition to the fortresses on the Danube, it was deemed essential, before attempting to cross the Balkan, to reduce the seaport of Varna. The support of Austria, however, may render it possible to dispense with the assistance of a fleet on the Euxine, if the command of all the fortresses on the Danube has been obtained; because from the rich plains of Hungary ample supplies even for the largest army may be obtained, and from these fortresses, as a secure base, ulterior operations to the southward might be conducted. Thence it was that the Emperor Nicholas so readily and powerfully intervened in favor of the Emperor of Austria in 1849; he knew that he would march through Hungary to Constantinople.¹

The principal defense of the Balkan, against an enemy approaching from the north, consists in the fortified camp of SCHUMLA. This celebrated stronghold has borne so important a part in all the last wars between the Turks and Russians, that a description of it is indispensable to the understanding of the last and most important of them. It is a considerable town, containing thirty thousand inhabitants, lying upon the northern declivity of the Balkan, and, seen from the plains of Bulgaria as you approach it from the northward, resembles a triangular sheet spread upon the mountains, as Algiers does when seen from the blue waters of the Mediterranean. It is not regularly fortified like the fortresses of Flanders, but still it is very strong, and can not be reduced but by a very large army. A promontory of the Balkan, in the form of a horse-shoe, surrounds its sides and rear, which is covered with thick and thorny brushwood, extremely difficult of passage, and affording an admirable shelter to the skilled Turkish marksmen. The town itself is surrounded by a deep ditch and high wall, flanked by the square towers for musketeers which are peculiar to the Turkish fortresses. It forms the centre of the intrenched camp, which shuts it in on every side. Its great extent, the steep declivities, wooded heights, and rocky precipices which surround it, render it extremely strong, and the nature of the adjoining hills, impassable for artillery, secure it from the dangers of bombardment. A stream of pure and perennial water flows through its centre, amply sufficient for a garrison of any amount. All the roads from the north over the Balkan, whether from Roudschuck, Silistria, or Ismael, intersect each other in this fortress, which thus becomes a strategical point of the very highest importance; and, garrisoned by thirty thousand janizaries, it is equally impossible to pass, and difficult to reduce.²

If its natural defenses are alone considered, the ASIATIC PROVINCES of Turkey are more bountifully dealt with even than its dominions in Europe. The CAUCASUS—the continuation of the great mountain-range which, under the name of the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Carpathians, and the Himalaya, runs like

¹ Malte Brun, vii. 728, 729; Valentini, 48, 49.

^{56.} Country between the Balkan and Constantinople.

² Valentini, 55, 56.

³ Ubicini, 366, 369; Clarke's Travels, vii. 247, 251; Walsh's Constantinople, 272.

^{57.} The command of the sea, or the support of Austria, is essential to the success of Russia.

¹ Valentini, 49, 52.

^{58.} Schumla.

² Valentini, 48, 49.

^{59.} Asiatic defense of Turkey. The Caucasus.

a stony girdle around the globe—forms a vast barrier between the Black Sea and the Caspian. Inaccessible to mortal foot, alternately glittering in a cloudless sun, and enveloped in impenetrable mists, there

“The palaces of nature, whose vast walls
Have pinnacled in clouds their snowy scalps,
And throned eternity in icy halls
Of cold sublimity, where forms and falls
The avalanche, the thunderbolt of snow,”*

have from the earliest times formed the subject of imaginative mythology and fabled terrors to the inhabitants of Europe and Asia. On their shivering summits the fancy of Æschylus made Prometheus expiate his generous self-devotion; in their dark caverns the Argonauts sought the Golden Fleece. The poetry of Persia, the tales of Arabia, make perpetual mention of these awful piles of rock, the abode of genii and magicians, which seemed to them to bound the habitable globe, and form the appropriate scene of punishment for the rebellious spirits. They have been rendered familiar to the childhood of all in the charming tales of Scheherezade; they have, in our own time, been the theatre of deeds of heroism rivaling the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and the triumph of Morgarten. Nor is Sacred History wanting to complete the interest of the mountains which have formed the subject of so many fabled adventures; for on one of their summits the ark rested, and on the sides of Ararat the rainbow shone

“Which first spoke peace to man.”

In a military point of view, the Caucasus forms a more important barrier than either the Alps or the Pyrenees; for, equally with them, it runs from sea to sea, and it is more inaccessible, and less penetrated by passes than either. Generally speaking, it consists of two vast ranges, running, like those of the Finster-Aarhorn and Monte-Rosa, opposite to each other, and both terminating in a peak of surpassing magnitude and elevation. The Elbruz is the culminating point of the northern of the two ranges, and Mount Ararat of the southern. Each is about 15,300 feet in height, or as nearly as possible the elevation of Mont Blanc.† The medium elevation of the two chains is about 10,000 feet, and their summits are so rugged and sharp that, except in a few places where they are intersected by deep and narrow ravines, forming the well-known passes through them, they are wholly impassable even by foot-soldiers. Seen from the vast steppes which stretch to the northward from its front toward Tartary, the Caucasus presents a vast barrier, rising insensibly from 1200 to 10,000 feet in height. Immense downs, covered with grass, unbroken by tree, shrub, or rock, compose the summits of the first range, which in general does not exceed 4000 feet in height; but their sides are furrowed by frightful ravines, whose torrents descend

with irresistible violence amidst broken scaurs and rugged thickets. But in the interior range the character of the mountains changes: far above the traveler's head dark forests clothe their shaggy sides; their summits start up into a thousand fantastic and inaccessible peaks, which repose in icy stillness on the azure firmament.¹

Few passes accessible to troops or wheel-carriages traverse this terrific barrier. The principal one, through which the great military road of Georgia passes, is that of Vladicaucase, or Dariel, which is defended by fortified block-houses at all the stations, and which, at its highest point of elevation at the mountain of the Holy Cross, is 1329 toises, or 7974 feet above the level of the sea; being about the height of the Great St. Bernard in Switzerland. The pass, in approaching that summit, forms the *Pila Caucasæ* of the ancients, and is called by the Persians “The Iron Gate.” The next in point of importance, and which forms the great Russian line of communication to the eastern parts of Georgia, is that which goes by the shore of the Caspian, through the famous *Gates of Derbend*. This celebrated pass, the *Pila Albanæ* of the ancients, is formed by the meeting of a perpendicular precipice, 1400 feet in elevation, the last face of the Caucasus, and the waves of the Caspian. It is called now the “Gates of Derbend,” which signifies narrow passage. The Turks call it Demirkapi, or the “Gates of Iron.” It is strongly fortified, and forms the western end of this great natural barrier; these fortifications, like the wall of China, having been erected in ancient times by the kings of Persia, to avert the incursions of the Tartars. They never had this effect, however, for any length of time, any more than the wall of Antoninus had that of repelling the incursions of the Caledonians, or the rampart of Trajan those of the northern Germans. The chief incursions of the Tartars, which proved so frightful a scourge to Persia and Asia Minor, those of Genghis Khan and Timour, were effected by this pass, through which repeatedly three and four hundred thousand of these ruthless barbarians have passed on horseback, carrying their force at their saddle-bows, bent on southern devastation and plunder.²

ASIA MINOR, which, in every period of history, has borne an important part alike in Asiatic and European annals, is a country of great extent, intersected with a variety of mountain ranges, and in its valleys and plains abounding with all the choicest gifts of nature. The climate in the valleys of Georgia, which stretch to the south, is mild and temperate. Sheltered from the chilly blasts of the north by the huge rampart of the Caucasus, all the productions of the temperate zone come to maturity; and with them are blended, where the valleys approach the plain of Mesopotamia, the palm-trees, pomegranates, and dates of the tropical regions. It is on these sunny slopes that the Garden of Eden is placed by Scripture, and from thence that the human race set out in its pilgrimage through the globe. On the banks of the Kara,

¹ Fonton, Guerre des Russes dans l'Asie Mineur, i. 3.

^{61.} Description of the passes through the Caucasus.

² Fonton, 10, 15; Malte Brun, vii. 62, 63.

* BYRON.

† The Elbruz has been only once ascended. In 1829, M. Kupfer, of the Academy of St. Petersburg, with two other gentlemen, ascended to a point only six hundred feet below the summit, but could not reach it, owing to the slipperiness of the melting snow. In the night, however, a shepherd, named Killar, taking advantage of the frost, surmounted the difficulties, and reached the summit, from whence he was seen by the Russian detachment under General Emanuel, which was stationed in the valley.—FONTON, p. 5.

which descends through the rival chains of Elbruz and Ararat to the Caspian, the beauty of nature realizes all that the imagination of Milton has conceived of the charms of Paradise; and it is rivaled by the surpassing loveliness of those of the Kuban, which forces its way through rocky precipices from the western shoulder of Elbruz to the Black Sea. Vines, olives, apricots, peaches, and all the more delicate fruits, are there found in profusion; while green pastures nourish innumerable flocks on the mountain sides; and the finest crops of wheat, maize, and barley, reward the labor of the husbandmen at their feet. The beneficence of physical nature may be judged of by the extraordinary perfection of the animals of all kinds which are found in that favored region, and the exquisite beauty of the women, celebrated over all the world as combining all that is most perfect in the human figure. Erzeroum is the capital of this beautiful region, as of the whole of Asia Minor. It is a city containing a hundred thousand inhabitants; the seat of a pacha of three tails, or of the highest grade; and of an importance second only to Constantinople in the government and defense of the empire.¹

Although Turkey has repeatedly been threatened by Russia from the side of Asia Minor, and the greatest danger she has ever run, as will appear in the sequel, has arisen in that quarter, yet the military resources of that part of the Ottoman dominions are very great, and such as, if ably led and fully drawn forth, would seem capable of enabling it even to assume the offensive in that direction. The Pacha of Erzeroum has, in time of war, twenty thousand regular troops at his disposal, to which, when the strength of the Osmanlis is fully called forth, two hundred thousand hardy and brave irregulars may be added, all admirable horsemen, and, though undisciplined, thoroughly trained individually to the use of arms. The formidable nature of this force arises from the fact, that the Mussulmans in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey form a decided majority of the inhabitants; they compose twelve millions out of sixteen millions of its entire population. Though not capable of moving in masses under fire, or meeting the disciplined battalions of Russia in the open field, these hardy irregulars are most formidable in the defense of woody fastnesses or rocky heights, often extremely so in a swarm charge, and inferior to none in the world in the tenacity with which they maintain walled towns.²

The nature of the country in Asia Minor, especially between the Caucasus and its capital, Erzeroum, adds immensely to its defensible nature against a northern invader. Extremely mountainous, intersected in all directions by ranges of hills, in general rugged and precipitous, and yet so twisted and interwoven with each other that it is a matter of necessity often to cross over them, it is as impervious to regular European troops, burdened with artillery and chariots, as it is easy of passage to the Turkish hordes, who are seldom troubled with any such encumbrances. Fortresses strong, ac-

cording to Oriental ideas, and very difficult of reduction to an invader without artillery, guard the most important passes, or crown the overhanging cliffs. Few roads, and most of them practicable only for horses or foot-soldiers, traverse this rugged region. That by the coast stops at Trebizond. Only one road fit for carriages traverses the centre of the country by Kars to Erzeroum, and it is defended by several formidable forts. Altogether, Asia Minor presented the greatest possible difficulties to an invading army; and they were much augmented by the tyrannical nature of the Turkish government, which had rendered great part of the country a perfect desert, and in all so thinly inhabited as to be incapable of furnishing the supplies necessary for a large army.¹

The Caucasus has, from the earliest times, been the abode of tribes inured to privations by necessity, stimulated to exertion by suffering. It is a mis- sian tribes. take to suppose that the great migrations of the human species have descended from its snowy ridges. Mountaineers seldom emigrate, at least in inland situations, though they often plunder the vales beneath; it is the herdsmen of the plains who traverse the globe. The very rigor of their climate, the churlishness of the soil, the hardships of their situation, attach them the more strongly to their native land.

"No product here the barren hills afford,
But man and steel, the soldier and his sword;
No vernal bloom their torpid rocks array,
But winter, lingering, chills the lap of May.
Yet every good his native wilds impart,
Imprints the patriot passion on his heart;
And e'en those hills that round his mansion rise,
Enhance the bliss his scanty fund supplies.
Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;
So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar,
But bind him to his native mountains more."²

Much surprise has often been expressed in western Europe at the inability of the Russians, after above a century of conflicts, thoroughly to subdue the inhabitants of the Caucasus; but the wonder will cease when it is recollected what difficulty the Romans, even with the strength of the Cæsars, had to subdue the inhabitants of the Alps, who guarded the very gates of Italy, and how long, in our own day, the naked Kaffirs, who never could bring six thousand men into the field, withstood the strength of Britain. The Caucasians have done no more with the Russians than they have done with all their neighbors for three thousand years: plunder is to them the condition of existence; the spoil of the vales at their feet, their chief excitement in war, their main source of riches in peace; and the rugged inaccessible nature of their country enables them long to carry on their depredations with impunity. The Russian army of the Caucasus, generally thirty thousand strong, is inured to constant conflicts with the mountaineers; the great military roads through the range are only kept open by large bodies of men; strong forts are placed at every station, and the very lazarettos loopholed and guarded, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.²

Based upon a correct appreciation of the immense advantages which they derive from their own unity, and the weakness to which their neighbors are exposed by their divisions, the Russian policy in regard to all of them has for a century and a half been directed to one object. This is to avoid direct conquest or flagrant usurpation, and never hazard an extension of territory till the circumstances of the people, from whom it is to be wrested, have rendered them incapable of resistance. To accomplish this, their system is to foment discord and divisions among the inhabitants of the adjoining states, and protect the weaker against the stronger, till all effectual means of resistance have been destroyed, or the Muscovite strength is invoked to terminate their contests, or defend a portion of the people from the tyranny of the rest. The maxim "*Divide et Impera*" is not less the rule of conduct of the cabinet of St. Petersburg than it was of the Roman senate, and now is of the English government in India. By this means, the appearance of direct aggression is in general avoided, the path of conquest is prepared before it is attempted, and the dominant power is frequently on the defensive when hostilities actually commence, or it takes up arms only on an urgent and apparently irresistible appeal for protection from some suffering people in its vicinity. It is, in truth, the natural and usual policy of the strong in presence of the weak, of the united when surrounded by the divided; and so great is the advantage which in these respects they possess, that they can in general drive their future victims into the commencement of hostilities, and themselves maintain the semblance of moderation, while perseveringly pursuing a system of universal conquest.

The situation of Russia, and the political and religious circumstances of the people by whom she is surrounded, have contributed no less than her internal unity and strength to the advantages she has derived from the prosecution of this policy. Placed midway between Europe and Asia, she touches on the one side the states torn by the social passions of Europe; on the other, those divided by the divisions of religion and race which distract Asia. United in ambition and feeling herself, she is surrounded by countries disturbed by every passion which can afflict or desolate the world. In Poland, the path of conquest had been prepared for her by "the insane ambition of a plebeian noblesse," as John Sobieski called it, and the divisions of a people in whom it was hard to say whether the passion for freedom, or the inability to bear its excitement or exercise its powers, have been the most conspicuous. In Turkey she found above seven millions of Christians oppressed by little more than three millions of Turks; and by raising the standard of the Cross, and preaching a crusade, she could at any time, at once, rouse to the highest pitch the religious enthusiasm of her own subjects, and proportionably distract the feelings and weaken the strength of her opponents. In Asia, where the Mussulmans were three to one, she enjoyed almost equal advantages, though of an opposite description; for the Christian religion had taken refuge in

the hills of Georgia from the sabres of the Turks or the cimeters of the Persians; and the constant attacks, of which they were the objects, from one or other of these powers, naturally led to her protection being invoked by her suffering co-religionists between the Euxine and the Caspian, and the valor and hardihood of the hills being arrayed under her banners against the ambition and fanaticism of the plains.

Peter the Great, who fully appreciated these advantages of his situation, first made use of them, and gave the earliest example of the system of INTERVENTION. Passionately desirous of trade and commerce, and sensitively alive to the disadvantages under which his subjects labored from their inland and remote situation, it was his great object to extend his frontiers to maritime stations. By the conquest of Courland and Livonia, and construction of St. Petersburg, he accomplished this in the north; by the conquest of the Crimea his successors effected it in the south; by the interventions in the Caucasus and Georgia they brought their standards down to the Caspian. All these conquests, which entirely altered the position of Russia, and from a remote inland rendered it a first-rate political power, were effected by Russia taking advantage of her central situation, and steadily directing her energies to these objects. The oppression of the inhabitants of Georgia, who were Christians, by their formidable Mussulman neighbors in Persia and Turkey in Asia, gave Peter a pretext for intervening in the affairs of the Caucasus; "not," as the Russian historians express it, "in order to extend the limits of his empire by distant foreign conquests; but in order to prove the facility with which Russia could push its dominions to the shores of the Caspian, to consolidate its conquests, extend its influence, establish regularity in the relations of different states, and permit the growth, under its powerful shield, of an order of things accessible to the development of commercial relations."¹

Inspired with these ideas, Peter set out ten years after his disaster on the Pruth, at the head of 30,000 men, for the Caucasus, and, passing through the Gates of Derbend in less than a year, made himself master of the whole country between the Euxine and the Caspian, as far as Astrabad. The Caucasus resounded with his exploits: the conquerors of Pultowa were irresistible to these rude mountaineers; for the first time in history the hill tribes of Central Asia felt the superiority of European arms and discipline. Persia and Turkey were alike compelled to yield to his ascendancy; and by the treaties of 1723 and 1724 the Russian dominion was extended to the mouth of the Araxes and the shores of the Caspian. Subsequently, and for nearly seventy years, the mountains of the Caucasus were the theatre of almost incessant contests between the Russians, Turks, and Persians, who contended with each other for their possession; and not less with the Caucasians themselves, who seldom allowed the dominion of any to extend beyond the fortified posts which they

66.
Russian
policy of
intervention.

68.
Intervention of
Peter the Great
in the affairs of
neighboring
states.

¹ Fonton,
79, 83.

69.

Establishment of the
Russians in the
Caucasus and on
the Caspian.

occupied. But at length an important event took place, which cast the balance decisively in favor of Russia, and established the Muscovite dominion in a durable and solid manner to the south of the mountains. This was the bequest of George XIII., Prince of Georgia, who, himself a Christian, and feeling that his Christian subjects could only be protected from Musulman oppression by the tutelary arm of Russia, bequeathed his whole dominions

¹ Fonton, 85, 93. to the Czar Paul by testamentary deed, dated 28th October, 1800.¹

The death of Paul, which took place shortly after this event, caused some delay on the part of the Russian government in the acceptance of this magnificent bequest; but at length the Emperor Alexander, by his manifesto of 12th September, 1801, declared his willingness to accede to it, from

a sense of duty, and a desire to protect the Christian population of the country.* As this great acquisition brought the Russians into direct contact with Turkey and Persia beyond the great mountain-range which had hitherto separated them, it led to a decisive change of policy on the part of the cabinet of St. Petersburg on the Caucasian frontier. The first object was to secure and strengthen the central military road across the mountains by Vladi-Kaukas, and that was effected, though at the expense of almost continual hostilities ever since with the mountain tribes; with Turkey and Persia also she was involved in almost constant warfare, but there the weight and discipline of the Muscovites ere long made themselves felt. The fortress of Gandja was stormed in 1803, and the whole western range of the Caucasus subjected to Russia; and at length, after various vicissitudes of fortune, in the course of which her generals had often great difficulty in making head against the forces of Persia and Turkey, Derbend, with its important Gates, were carried and strongly fortified, Baka reduced, Anapa on the Euxine battered by a Russian fleet, and the Muscovite power established in a solid manner on all the western slope of the Caucasus, as far as the frontiers of the pachalic of Erzeroum. The peace of Bucharest with Turkey, in March, 1812, and of Gulistan with Persia, on 12th October, 1813, gave durable acquisitions of great value to Russia, both in Europe and Asia—for in the former it brought her frontier forward to the Pruth, and rendered her master of the mouths of the Danube; while in the latter it gained for her the important district between the Araxes and the Akhaltakh range, as far as the chain of Allaghez. These acquisitions, besides a territory of great extent, rendered the Russians masters of the whole southern slope of the Caucasus,² and brought their outposts with-

in a comparatively short distance of the great frontier Persian fortress of Erivan.

As the territories thus acquired by the Russians, both toward Persia and Asia Minor, however, were almost entirely mountainous, inhabited by semi-barbarous tribes, passionately enamored, like all mountaineers, of freedom, and long inured to the practical enjoyment of its blessings and its discord, under the nominal rule of Persia and Turkey, they brought them into almost constant hostilities with the Caucasian tribes. These rude but gallant mountaineers were not long of discovering the weight of the Muscovite yoke. Immense was the difference between its systematic exactions, supported by regular armies traversing great military roads, every post of which was strongly fortified, and never abandoned, and the occasional and transitory irruptions of the pachas to which they had been accustomed, who retired after their spoil had been collected, and were not seen for years again. Hostilities in consequence broke out on all sides; the power of Russia was soon confined to the fortresses occupied by its own troops, many of which yielded to the fierce assault of the mountaineers; and it was even with great difficulty that they succeeded in maintaining the great military lines of the Vladi-Kaukas and the Gates of Derbend. The courts of Ispahan and Constantinople were not slow in perceiving the advantages which this state of things promised to afford them, especially as Turkey appeared at that period about to be involved in hostilities with Russia on the Danube. They fomented the irritation, and aided the incursions of the tribes to the utmost of their power; and at length an open war broke out between Russia and Persia, in which the question at issue was, which was to become master of the Caucasus. The prospect was sufficiently dark for Russia; her army beyond the Caucasus, which the Czar could bring into the field, consisted only of eight battalions of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and some thousand irregulars, in all not ten thousand combatants; while that of the Persians was of triple the strength, consisting of 16,000 regular infantry, 12,000 regular cavalry, and 8,000 irregulars, besides 24 pieces of ¹ Fonton, 108, 116. cannon.¹

But then was seen, as in India under the guidance of Clive and Wellington, ^{72.} what can be done by the vigor and capacity of one man. The little ^{Battle of Elizabeth-pol, Aug. 8, 1826.} Russian army was commanded by a hero destined to distinguished celebrity in future times, GENERAL PASKEWITCH. Skillfully bringing all his guns to bear on the Persian centre, he opened upon it a concentric fire of such severity that it was already shaken, when the Russian battalions, advancing with the bayonet, completed its rout. Driven back in wild confusion, the whole centre took to flight, and the wings, which had never yet fired a shot, finding themselves separated and deserted, fled in confusion. The whole artillery and baggage of the conquered fell into the hands of the victors, and the Persian ² Fonton, 116, 117. forces were soon driven out of the Russian territory.²

* "Ce n'est pas pour accroître nos forces, ce n'est pas dans la vue d' intérêt, ou pour étendre les limites d'un empire déjà si vaste, que nous acceptons le fardeau du trône de Géorgie; le sentiment de notre dignité, l'honneur, l'humanité seule nous ont imposé le devoir sacré de ne pas résister aux cris de souffrance partis de votre sein, de détourner de vos têtes les maux qui vous affligent et d'introduire en Géorgie un gouvernement fort, capable d'administrer la justice avec équité, de protéger, la vie, et les biens de chacun et d'étendre sur tous l'éclat de la loi."—*Proclamation de l'Empereur*, 12th Sep., 1800. FONTON, 94.

Early next year operations recommenced, and the Russians, being considerably reinforced, were able to bring 16,000 men into the field. The effect was decisive. Sardar-Abad and Nakhichevan were taken, ERIVAN carried by assault, and Tabriz opened its gates.

Threatened with destruction, the Persians had no resource but in submission, and on 29th October, 1827, a peace was concluded between the courts of St. Petersburg and Ispahan, on terms eminently advantageous to the former. By this treaty the Muscovite dominions in Asia were greatly augmented. The Khanat of Talish, the province and great fortress of Erivan, were ceded by the Persians, and the Muscovite dominion came to include the holy mountain of Ararat. In addition to this, Persia ceded the important harbor of Anapa on the Black Sea to Russia, with its adjacent territory. These names will convey but little ideas to a European reader; but it will aid the facility of conception to say that it gave the Russians the entire dominion of the Caucasus, and as thorough a command of the entrances into Persia as would be given to France by the acquisition of the whole of Switzerland and Savoy, with the fortresses of Alessandria and Mantua, and the harbor of Genoa, for an irruption into Italy.¹

The system of intervention, so successfully practiced by the Russians in Asia,

74. Affairs of Wallachia and Moldavia was not less ably taken advantage of in Europe. The peculiar situation of the provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, which adjoined the southern provinces of Russia, gave them great advantages for the prosecution of that system. Although the two former provinces had been conquered by the Turks, yet they had never been thoroughly reduced to subjection, and were rather in the condition of tributary states than provinces of the empire. They paid an annual tribute to the Porte, but they were governed by their own rulers, or "hospodars," as they were called, who were nominated by the Sultan; and as the great majority of the inhabitants were Christians, they were chosen in general from the descendants of the princes of the old Byzantine empire, who dwelt at the Fanar in Constantinople. Servia, a strong mountainous and wooded country, had long aspired after, and in some degree attained, the blessings of independence. Under their intrepid leader, Czerny George, its inhabitants had, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, waged a long and bloody war with the Ottomans; and although it terminated, on the whole, to their disadvantage, and the Turks remained in possession of the principal fortresses in the country, and compelled a tribute from the inhabitants, yet their subjection was more nominal than real; the power of the Osmanlis did not in truth extend beyond the range of the guns of their fortresses; and in the rural districts the people, nine-tenths of whom were Christians, practically enjoyed the blessings of self-government and independence.

Subsequent to the time of Peter the Great, the Russians had repeatedly made such good use of this distracted state of the northern provinces of the Ottoman empire, as to have

more than once brought it to the verge of dissolution. After the victories of Marshal Munich in 1739, and of the Austrians and Russians under Prince Cobourg in 1789, and the taking of Belgrade, the Russians were earnestly counseled by their general to march direct upon Constantinople, and rouse a national war by proclaiming the independence of the Greeks under a Christian prince;* and although the intervention of the other European powers prevented that design from being carried into execution at that time, yet it was only postponed. Peace between Russia and Turkey is never more than a truce; the designs of the cabinet of St. Petersburg on Constantinople are unchanged and unchangeable. The Empress Catherine christened her youngest grandson, brother of Alexander, *Constantine*, because for him she destined the throne of Constantinople, and that of St. Petersburg for the elder brother. Although the designs of immediate conquest were laid aside for the present, the foundation was established for future inroads in the right of intervention, stipulated for the cabinet of St. Petersburg in the affairs of Wallachia, Moldavia and Servia, by the treaties between the Russians and Turks in 1774, 1792, and 1812. The Divan, pressed by necessity, glad to avert or postpone the cession of fortresses or provinces, and not foreseeing the use which would be made of this right, acceded to it without difficulty, and thereby gave the Russians the means, at any time when they might deem it expedient, of availing themselves of some real or imaginary grievance, under which the Christian inhabitants of Turkey might be thought to labor, to declare war upon the Porte. All the subsequent wars between the two powers have taken their rise from these treaties.¹⁴

* "Après la victoire qu'il avait remportée à Stawout-jancé, près Choczim, entre le Dneister et le Pruth, le Maréchal Munich écrivit de Jassy aux conseillers de son Impératrice, 'qu'il fallait profiter des circonstances favorables, et marcher réunis aux Grecs, sur Constantinople, que l'élan, l'enthousiasme et l'espérance de cette nation, ne se retrouveraient peut-être jamais portés à un pareil point.'"—VALENTINI, 192.

† This right of *intervention*, which has ever since borne so prominent a part in the differences and diplomatic relations of Russia and Turkey, is founded on the treaties of Kainardji in 1774, Jassy in 1792, and Bucharest in 1812. By these treaties, Russia, after having conquered, restored to the Porte, first the whole, and afterward a large part of Bessarabia, upon the following among other conditions: 1. The Porte engaged to protect the Christian religion and churches, without hindering in any manner the free exercise of the former, or putting any obstacle in the way of repairing the latter, or building new churches. 2. To restore to the convents, or the persons from whom they had been taken, their lands in the districts of Brahamov, Choczim, and Bender, and to hold the ecclesiastics in that consideration which their sacred office required. 3. To have regard to humanity and generosity in the levying of taxes, and to receive them through deputies to be chosen every two years. 4. That neither the pacha nor any other person should be entitled to levy taxes, or make exactions of any description, excepting such as were authorized by decree or custom. 5. That the natives should enjoy all the advantages which they had in the reign of Mohammed IV. 6. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be allowed to have *chargés-d'affaires* with the Sublime Porte, of the Christian communion, to watch over the interests of the Principalities, and their agents were to enjoy the privileges of ambassadors by the law of nations. 7. The ministers of Russia were to be permitted to make representations in favor of the Principalities, and complain of the infraction of these

75. Russian system of intervention regarding them.

¹ Valentini, 57, 58; Gordon's Greek Revolution, i. 12, 18.

The court of St. Petersburg made great efforts in the latter part of the eighteenth century to raise the population of the southern provinces of Turkey against their Ottoman oppressors.

With such success were their exertions attended, that more than once the Morea, Albania, and the Isles, were roused into insurrection against the Turks, and for some years the Morea was practically independent. The effect of these insurrections, which were all in the end suppressed, was to the last degree disastrous to the inhabitants of the country, but it produced an inextinguishable and indelible hatred between them and their oppressors. At the period of its final subjugation by the Turks in 1717, the Peloponnesus was supposed to contain 200,000 inhabitants, but during the course of the century many fearful calamities contributed to thin their number. In 1756 a dreadful plague appeared, which carried off one-half of them. Before they had well recovered from this calamity, the ill-conducted expedition of Orloff in 1770 occasioned still heavier misfortunes, for the inhabitants were excited to rebellion, and after having expelled the Turks at first, they were abandoned by the Russians, and overwhelmed by a horde of Albanians, who exercised unbounded cruelty and rapacity over the whole country for the next ten years. In 1780 these severities produced another insurrection; and the Empress Catherine, by sending her fleet into the Mediterranean, effected a powerful diversion in favor of the Greeks; but they were again abandoned by their allies, the Ottomans renewed their oppression, the plague reappeared in 1781; and such was the devastation produced by these concurring causes, that the inhabitants were reduced to 100,000 souls. Disheartened by these repeated desertions and misfortunes, the Greeks in the next war, which broke out in 1789, refused to move, and the Empress transferred her intrigues to Epirus, where her agents succeeded in stirring up an insurrection of the Souliotes, who gained a brilliant victory over ALI PACHA, the Lion of Janina, as he was called, while the islanders carried on for some months a brilliant but fruitless contest with the navy of Constantinople.¹

¹ Gordon, i. 30, 31.

These repeated and unsuccessful insurrections had produced a more universal and bitter feeling of exasperation in Greece against the Osmanlis than in any other part of the Ottoman dominions. Deeds of cruelty had been mutually inflicted, deadly threats interchanged, which could never be

treaties whenever circumstances might require it. 8. Russia restored the islands in the Archipelago which she had conquered, stipulating for the inhabitants the same privileges, and for herself the same right of intervention, as obtained in regard to the Principalities. 9. The treaty of Bucharest, in 1812, stipulated that the Servians should have the right of administering their own affairs, upon paying a moderate contribution to the Porte. It was natural and laudable in the Russian government to make these stipulations in favor of their co-religionists in Turkey, especially when subjected to such a ruthless and despotic government as that of the Ottomans; but it was evident what innumerable pretenses for interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey these claims were calculated to furnish. In truth, they inserted the point of the wedge which might at any time split the Ottoman empire in pieces.—See the treaties in SCHÖELL, *Traité de Paix*, xiv. 67, 503, 539.

either forgotten or forgiven. The savage disposition and arrogant temper of the Turks, which is often obliterated during the tranquillity of peace, reappeared with terrible severity during these disastrous contests. Not a village in the Morea but bore testimony to the ravages of the Ottoman torch; not a family but mourned a father, brother, or son, cut off by the Turkish sabre, or a daughter or sister carried off to the captivity of the Turkish harems. The Turks had almost as great injuries to avenge; for in the political, not less than the physical world, action and reaction are equal and opposite; and the cruel law of retaliation is the invariable and unavoidable resource of suffering humanity. The disposition of the Greeks, light, gay, and volatile as their ancestors in the days of Alcibiades, rendered them in a peculiar manner accessible to the influence of these feelings, and turned the ardent spirit of ancient genius into the inextinguishable thirst for present vengeance.¹

¹ Gordon, i. 32, 33.

The first dawn of the Greek revolution appeared in the dubious hostility, and at last open rebellion, of Ali Pacha. * Insurrection This celebrated man, at once one of

* Ali Pacha was born in a little village of Epirus, from which he took his name. His father, Veli-Bey, having been despoiled of his share of the little paternal inheritance by his elder brothers, engaged as a private soldier in one of those bands of nomad adventurers common in Albania, where men became alternately heroes and banditti. Having risen to command among his comrades, Veli-Bey re-entered his native village at the head of his band, and burned his brothers in the house which had been the subject of contention between them. After this he was appointed Aga of Tebelen, and married the daughter of a bey, named Chamco, a woman of great beauty, and a savage energetic character, in whose veins some of the blood of Scanderbeg is said to have flowed. She transmitted to her son Ali, who afterward became the pacha, the energy, the passions, and the ferocity of her race.

Veli-Bey died young; but his widow Chamco, who was endowed with a masculine energetic spirit and indomitable courage, resolved to preserve for her children, by intrigue, the force of arms, and the influence of her beauty, which was still at its zenith, the power which her husband had acquired in Tebelen. She left her retreat in Tebelen, put on the dress of the other sex, and placing herself at the head of a band of the mountain chiefs of Albania, who were devoted to her by admiration for her courage and the influence of her charms, ventured to measure her strength with the enemies of her husband's house, who contended with her for the command in Tebelen. She was defeated and made prisoner; but, like the Greeks of old, she subdued her conquerors by her charms, and being ransomed by a young Greek whom she had captivated by her beauty, she re-entered Tebelen, where she occupied herself for several years in the education of her son Ali and his sister. In one of his first expeditions he was defeated, like Frederick the Great and Wellington. "Go, coward!" said she, presenting to him a staff, "that trade befits you better than the career of arms."

Ashamed of his defeat, Ali fled from his paternal home, discovered a hidden treasure in the ruins of an old chateau, where he had taken refuge for the night, enrolled thirty banditti under his standard, with whom he pillaged the adjacent country. Surprised by the troops of Coud Pacha of Albania, he was brought into his presence in order to be beheaded; but his youth and beauty softened the heart of the ferocious chief, who pardoned him, and restored him to his mother in Tebelen. He then married the daughter of Delvino Emine, an alliance which at once gratified his love and forwarded his ambition. In consequence of it, he was secretly engaged in the first efforts of the Greeks to achieve their independence in 1790, when they reckoned on the support of Russia. This attempt, however, proved abortive, and it led to Ali's father-in-law being strangled by the Turks. He was succeeded in the pachalic of Delvino by the Pacha of Argyro-Kastro, to whom he gave his sister Chainitza in marriage. She, however, was enamored of Soliman, her husband's younger brother; and Ali having advised his sister to poison her husband, in order that she might espouse the object of her affection, and she having refused to do so, he insti-

the most heroic, the most tyrannical, and the most cruel of modern times, had, at the head of his brave and faithful, but half-savage Albanians, long maintained a doubtful neutrality, but real independence, with the Porte, and it was the extreme difficulty with which he was at last subdued which opened the eyes of Europe most effectually to the decline of the Ottoman power. He preserved a studious neutrality between the Sultan and the rebellious vassals and indomitable mountaineers; with thirty thousand disciplined Mussulmans under his orders, and yet maintaining a secret correspondence with the discontented Greeks, he rendered himself an object of importance to, and was courted by, both parties. He turned his hostility, at the instigation of the Porte, against the Souliotes, who had taken up arms in favor of the Russians, and reduced them to subjection with great slaughter; and on occasion of the conflicts of the Sultan with the janizaries, he advanced to the gates of Adrianople at the head of eighty thousand men. Such was his influence at this time with the Divan, that his two sons, Veli and Mouctar, were appointed to important commands in the Morea; while he himself, secure in his inaccessible fortress in the lake of Janina, revolved in his mind dark schemes of conquest and independence. At length the Sultan, having received intelligence of his designs, and dreading his daily increasing power, summoned him to Constantinople to answer some charges preferred against him; and upon his refusal to obey the summons, he prepared, with all the energy of the Ottoman character, to reduce him to submission. Chourchid Pacha, a neighboring satrap, received the

gated Soliman himself to murder his brother, which he did, and Ali made over his sister to him over the dead body of her husband.

The Sultan having afterward become suspicious of Selim, Pacha of Delvino, Ali's steady friend and protector, and his designs having come to the knowledge of Ali, he resolved to make his own fortune by the ruin of his benefactor. For this purpose he invited Selim to his house, murdered him as he was drinking a cup of coffee, and sent his head to Constantinople. For this signal service he was rewarded with the pachalic of Thessaly. He there soon accumulated great treasures by every species of extortion and oppression, with the fruits of which he bought the pachalic of Janina, in one of the richest and most delicious valleys of Epirus, where he constructed an impregnable fortress, amassed immense treasures, and collected a formidable army. He aided the Porte with these forces in suppressing the insurrection of the Souliotes, but still preserved in secret his old connection with the Greeks, and often drank in private to the health of the Virgin. Yet, still keeping up his system of hypocrisy, he marched with twenty thousand men against the Pacha of Widdin, who had declared for the Greeks, and destroyed him at the very time when he was encouraging in his palace the poetry of the Greek Rhigas—the Tyrtaeus of the modern war of independence. During one of his expeditions, his eldest son, Mouctar, being intrusted with the government in Janina, excited the jealousy or suspicions of Ali by an intrigue with a beautiful young Greek named Euphrosyne. Having sent his son off on a distant expedition, Ali surrounded in the night the house of Euphrosyne, and seized her, with fifteen other young women, her companions, who were all thrown into the lake. His wife Emine threw herself at his feet to implore the lives of some of them; instead of according it, he discharged a pistol at the wall so near her, that she fell down dead of fright at his feet. Soon after, he was seized with such admiration for a young Greek girl of twelve years of age, whose village he had delivered to the flames, that he brought her to his harem, espoused her, and inspired such a passion, though five times her age, in her youthful breast, that she remained faithful to him in all his subsequent misfortunes.—*Biographie Universelle*, Supplement, i. 172 (Ali Pacha); and LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, vii. 337, 345.

command of an army of forty thousand men, with which he approached Albania; but the reduction of that province proved not so easy as he had expected: and when the Greek revolution broke out, he had already been two years engaged in ceaseless hostilities with its indomitable mountain-eers.¹

GREECE, which rendered itself immortal in ancient story, and is, perhaps, destined to be hardly less memorable in modern events, is a country of extremely small dimensions compared to the great figure it has made in human affairs. Including the Cyclades, its entire population, in 1836, was only 688,000 souls; its superficies 2470 square geographical leagues, or 21,430 square miles; being less than Scotland, and not half the size of Ireland. The density of the population is only thirty-one to the square mile; while in England it is three hundred—a fact speaking volumes as to the oppressive nature of the Turkish government. Owing to the benignity of the climate, however, and the advantages of its situation for maritime purposes, it is extremely fruitful, and yields an amount of produce far beyond what could have been anticipated from its scanty population; for its value amounted, within the straits of Thermopylæ, in 1814, to 60,000,000 piastres, or £3,000,000 nearly. This amount, which must be considered very large, when the extreme scantiness of the population and mountainous nature of the greater part of the soil is taken into account, is mainly owing to the genial warmth of the sun, which renders rocky slopes, which in northern Europe would produce only furze or heath, capable of bearing rich crops of grapes, maize, and olives.²

Though so limited in extent, and deficient in inhabitants, however, Greece is extremely defensible in a military point of view, and second to none in the culty of subjugation by an army with the artillery and carriages of modern warfare. The mountains are extremely steep, covered with forests, sharp-pointed stones, or brakes of thorny plants, and intersected by numberless deep ravines, the beds of winter torrents. Their chains are so numerous, and intersect each other in so many directions, that it is quite impossible to get through the country without passing over some of them. The roads, good enough as long as they pass over the little plains—for the most part the bottoms of ancient lakes, with which the country abounds—become mere rugged paths the moment they enter the hills, bordered by precipices, and continually open to a plunging fire from above, where the enemy may be placed, often unseen, in prickly thickets or rugged cliffs. An invading enemy must either weaken itself at every step by detachments, or expose itself to have its communications cut off by the inhabitants, who retire before its advance into sequestered caverns and monasteries of solid construction, placed in accessible situations, and against which cannon can rarely be brought to bear. To transport artillery or heavy equipages is a prodigious labor, rendered the more toilsome, as the bridges

¹ Lac. iii. 92.
² 343, 345.

⁷⁹ Statistics of Greece.

⁸⁰ Pouqueville, Grèce en 1814, 72, 85; Malte Brun, vii. 874; Gordon's Greece, i. 73.

were nearly all broken down, and never restored. The Turkish government never think of repairing any thing. Add to this, that every straggler is destroyed by the armed peasants, whose ordinary mode of life, and endurance of privations, make them excellent guerrillas. By the possession of the sea, these difficulties, as in the early part of the Persian invasion, may be overcome; but the skill and courage of the Greek sailors gave them the command of that element; and the Turks, never at home in naval warfare, were distinguished by nothing but cowardice and incapacity in their maritime contest with the islanders of the Archipelago.¹

¹ Gordon, i. 58, 59.

A celebrated English traveler has left the following account of the celebrated land of Hellas: "The last moments of this day were employed in taking once more a view of the superb scenery exhibited by the mountains of Olympus and Ossa. They appeared upon this occasion in more than usual splendor, like one of those imaginary alpine regions suggested by viewing a boundary of clouds, when they terminate the horizon in a still evening, and are gathered into heaps, with many a towering top shining in fleecy whiteness. The great Olympian chain, and a range of lower eminences to the northwest of Olympus, form a line which is exactly opposite to Salonica; and even the chasm between Olympus and Ossa, constituting the defile of Tempe, is hence visible. Directing the eye toward that chain, there is comprehended in one view the whole of Pieria and Bœotia, and with the vivid impressions which remained after leaving the country, memory easily recalled into one mental picture the whole of Greece. In this imaginary flight the traveler enters the defile of Tempe from Pieria, and as the gorge opens toward the south, he sees all the Larissæan plain; this conducts him to the plain of Pharsalia, whence he ascends the mountains south

of Pharsalus; then crossing the bleak and still more elevated region, extending from those mountains toward Lamia, he has Mount Pindus before him, and, descending into the plain of the Sphærchius, passes the straits of Thermopylæ. Afterward, ascending Mount Ceta, he beholds, opposite to him, the snowy point of Lycœrea, with all the rest of Parnassus, and the towns and villages at its base; the whole plain of Elatina lying at his feet, with the course of the Cephissus to the sea. Passing to the summit of Parnassus, he looks down upon all the other mountains, plains, islands, and gulfs of Greece, but especially the broad bosom of Cithæron, Helicon, Parnes, and of Hymettus. Thence roaming into the depths, and over all the heights of Eubœa and of Peloponnesus, he has their inmost recesses submitted to his contemplation. Next resting upon Hymettus, he examines, even in the minutest detail, the whole of Attica to the Sunian promontory; for he sees it all, and the shores of Argos, Lœcyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, and Athens. Thus, though not in all the freshness of its original colors, yet in all its grandeur, doth GREECE actually present itself to his mind's eye; and may the impression never be obliterated." What a list of names! what magic in their very sound! And was it surprising that the resurrection of a country fraught with such recollections thrilled like the sound of a trumpet through the heart of Europe?

"Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild;
Sweet are thy groves, and verdant are thy fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
And still his honied wealth Hymettus yields;
There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain-air;
Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
Still in his beam Mendel's marbles glare;
Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair."*

* ВѢРОУ, *Childe Harold*.

CHAPTER XIV.

GREEK REVOLUTION—BATTLE OF NAVARINO—ESTABLISHMENT OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE.

ALTHOUGH the Greeks had for four centuries groaned under the dominion of the Osmanlis, and the heel of conquest had perhaps crushed them with more severity than any other nation in Europe, yet they had preserved the elements of nationality, and kept alive the seeds of resurrection more entirely than any other people. Amidst all the severities of Turkish rule they had retained the great distinctive features of nationality, their country, their language, their religion. As long as a nation preserves these, no matter how long the chains of servitude may have hung about it, the means of ultimate salvation are not lost, the elements of future independence exist. The very severity of the Ottoman rule, the arrogance of their Turkish masters, the difference of language, religion, manners, laws, between the victors and the vanquished, had tended to perpetuate the feelings of the subjugated people, and prevent that amalgamation with their oppressors which, though it softens at the time the severity of conquest, does so only by preventing its chains from being ever thrown off. They had lost all—all but the sense of oppression and the desire of vengeance.

Notwithstanding the oppressive government and boundless exactions of the Turks, the Greeks in some places had come to enjoy a very high degree of prosperity, and various circumstances had contributed in the early part of the nineteenth century to increase in them to a great extent the material sources of national strength. The islanders of the Archipelago had come to engross the whole coasting trade of the Levant; their traffic was carried on in 600 vessels, bearing 6000 guns, and manned by 18,000 seamen.* Hydra and Ipsara, the chief seats of this flourishing commerce, had become large towns, strongly fortified, containing each 30,000 inhabitants on their barren rocks, the refuge, like the sand-banks on which Venice was built, of independence in the hour of disaster; while the beautiful fields of Scios, peopled by 80,000, exhibited every feature of a terrestrial paradise. Fanned by the charming breezes of the Archipelago, illuminated by its resplendent sun, surrounded by a placid sea, which reflected its azure firmament, and was checkered by the white sails of innumerable barks—these islands seemed to realize all that the fancy of the poet had figured of the abodes of the blessed:

1. Elements remaining of Grecian resurrection.

2. Recent favorable circumstances in the condition of Greece.

"The Isles of Greece, the Isles of Greece,
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all except their sun is set."*

The Turkish pachas never set their feet in these blessed abodes of industry and freedom. Secretly afraid of the naval strength of the Greeks, and aware that their sailors constituted their own entire maritime power, the sultans of Constantinople had long commuted their right of dominion for a fixed annual tribute, which was collected by themselves, and, being regularly paid, took away all pretext for further intrusions. And thus the islands of Greece had long been remarked by travelers as a sort of oasis in the social desert with which they were surrounded, and as making manifest the general Turkish oppression by exhibiting the happiness which man could reach in those blessed spots when emancipated from its influence.¹

As a natural consequence of this extraordinary and sudden influx of material prosperity, there had arisen in the islands of Greece, and even in some of the principal towns of the continent, an ardent thirst for knowledge, and an anxious desire to be readmitted into the European family, to which they felt they belonged by religion, language, and recollections. Crushed and trodden under foot by the Asiatics, their hearts were still European; ruled in their bodies by the Mussulmans, their souls were free with the Christian. The mosque was seen in the cities, but the monastery still stood erect in the mountains. The Crescent flamed in the eastern, but the Cross was arising in the western sky. To assuage the thirst for knowledge which arose with an extended intercourse with foreign nations, and a rapid increase in the means of purchasing it, there had sprung up schools in many of the principal cities of Greece, and translations of several of the best modern works had already been printed in the Greek tongue.† They incredibly augmented the general fervor. The newly-instructed Greeks found to their astonishment that they were the descendants of a people, inhabited a country, and spoke a language celebrated beyond any other in the literature of western Europe, and from the genius of which nearly the whole illumination of the world had sprung. The image of ancient free-

3. Recent spread of information, and passion for independence.

* BYRON, *Don Juan*, Canto iii.

* This trade had augmented in the most surprising manner, and been attended with extraordinary profits, in consequence of the Continental blockade during the last ten years of the war, and the vast commerce which was carried on through Turkey into Hungary, and all the centre of Europe, which had come to exceed £3,000,000 of exports from Britain.

† "Outre les Ecoles déjà fondées à Salonique, au Mont Athos, à Chio, à Smyrne, à Kydonie, à Bucharest, à Jassy, et même à Constantinople, où se rendaient des professeurs formés dans les meilleures écoles d'Allemagne et de France, il y avait dans les villes un peu considérable de la Grèce, des lycées, des gymnases, des bibliothèques, et jusque dans beaucoup de villages, des écoles d'enseignement mutuel, malgré la répugnance de la Porte Ottomane et même, dit-on, du clergé Grec."—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 378.

dom, the triumphs of ancient art, the glories of ancient warfare, which had come down to them in their own country only through the dark and uncertain streams of tradition, now stood clearly revealed in the works of their own ancestors, written in their own tongue, and preserved with pious care by the Christians of the West. The contest between the European and the Asiatic was seen to have been as old as the siege of Troy; the animosity of the Christians against the Mussulmans to have burst forth with inextinguishable ardor during the fervor of the Crusades. No one doubted that, on the first hoisting of the standard of independence, the Christian nations would crowd as zealously around it as the tribes of Hellas had done round

¹ Ann. Hist. iv. 378; Gordon's Greek Revolution, i. 37, 38; Lac. iii. 91, 92.

that of the King of men, and join them in the assault of Constantinople as zealously as they had followed Godfrey of Bouillon to the breach of Jerusalem.¹

Though these, however, were the secret feelings of the Greeks, they did not

4. Formation of the Society of the Hetairists. venture to express them openly; the sabre of the Turk was still suspended over their heads, and it

might at any moment fall, and involve them in one common ruin. Unarmed, at least on the continent, with all their fortresses in the hands of the Mussulmans, and the only military force in the country at the disposal of their oppressors, it was evident to all that open insurrection would be the signal for general ruin. Great hopes were entertained that something would be stipulated in their favor at the Congress of Vienna; but jealousy of Russia, of which it was thought infant Greece would merely be an appanage, prevented any thing of the kind being attempted in that assembly. In these circumstances, the Greeks took refuge in the usual resource of the weak in presence of the strong: they formed *secret societies*. A great association was formed of Greeks, not only in their own territory, but in Constantinople, Bavaria, Austria, and Russia—the object of which was to effect, as soon as circumstances would permit the attempt to be made, the entire independence of Greece by their own efforts. Several distinguished Russians were members of this society; in particular, Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek by birth, and whose situation as private secretary to the Emperor Alexander nat-

² Ann. Hist. iv. 377; Gordon's Greek Revolution, i. 42, 43; Lac. iii. 91. urally encouraged the hope that the objects of the society were, in

5. Different gradations in the Hetairists. Like all other secret societies, this of the Hetairists had several different gradations. The first class, into which all Greeks without exception, who desired admission, were eligible, were

only informed that the object of the society was to ameliorate the social condition of the Greeks. The next class, called the *Sytemenoi*, or Bachelors, were selected with more discrimination, and were apprised in secret that the object of the society was to effect an entire revolution, and severance from Turkey. The third class, which was termed the *Priests of Eleusis*, were cautiously informed that the period of the struggle approached, and that there existed in the Hetairia higher

classes than their own. Nearly the whole Greek priests belonged to this class, and it embraced no less than one hundred and sixteen prelates of their persuasion. The fourth class contained only sixteen names, and it was never known who they all were, which only augmented their influence; but it was known to contain Count Capo d'Istria's, and it was whispered that among it were many illustrious names, in particular the Czar, the Crown Prince of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Hospodar of Wallachia, and many other of the first men in the East. These were mere rumors, however—the real members of that select body, whoever they were, were too well aware of the influence of the unknown to permit their names to be revealed; but the course of events gives reason to think that some at least of these illustrious personages were in the association, and formed part of its highest grade. For very obvious reasons, the seat of the grand circle, or ruling committee, was in Moscow, and their orders were written in cipher, and signed with a seal bearing in sixteen compartments as many initial letters. The society had secret signs and modes of recognition, some common to all the members, others known only to the higher grades, each of which had separate signs, known only to themselves; and all contributed according to their means to the common objects of the society.¹

As Capo d'Istria bore so important a situation as private secretary to the Emperor

Alexander, he was very careful of the part which he ostensibly bore in the proceedings of the society. He took a share openly only in the measures for the extension of knowledge and the relief of suffering, aware that the impulse thus given would speedily lead to other objects in which it was not advisable for him to take a visible lead. Notwithstanding the usual levity of the Greek character, such was the intensity of the feeling from which the association emanated, that the secret of its existence was preserved in a most surprising manner. It was betrayed, indeed, by a faithless brother, a Zantide butcher, to Ali Pacha; but that astute potentate, who foresaw a storm brewing at Constantinople against him, and never doubted that the Emperor Alexander was at the head of the society, preserved the secret revealed to him as a claim for protection in time of need. The Mussulmans, surrounded on all sides by the association, remained in utter ignorance of its existence; and when the insurrection burst forth in 1821, they were taken as much by surprise, and were as much astounded as if the earth had suddenly opened under their feet.²

6. Extraordinary secrecy preserved regarding the affairs of the society.

The eyes of all the Hetairists were fixed on Russia, not merely from a community

7. of religion, but from the decided line of policy which for nearly a century past that power had adopted toward the Turkish empire. It was notorious to all the world that the cabinet of St. Petersburg had long been set on territorial aggrandizement in Turkey, and that the Porte had found in it the most formidable enemy of Islamism. Twice had Catherine excited an insurrection in Greece;

Their eyes are all fixed on Russia.

the Turkish fleet had been delivered by the Russians to the flames in the bay of Tchesmé; Constantine had been christened by that name, precisely because the Empress designed him for the successor of Constantine Palæologus, the last of the Cæsars; and the intervention of the European powers in 1789 had alone prevented that design being accomplished, and the Cross being restored to its original place on the dome of St. Sophia. It was impossible to doubt that the power which had in this manner so clearly evinced its disposition to extend its influence in the Levant, would avail itself of the present opportunity which appeared so favorable to shake the Ottoman power to the foundation, by establishing an independent state in Greece. It was equally evident that it was from Russia alone that any substantial support would be given on this occasion; for whatever were the inclinations of the inhabitants of the other European states, their governments were too strongly impressed with the danger to the independence of other nations from Russian power to concur in any measures which undermined the only empire against it in the East.¹

A very melancholy event, in the year 1819, had strongly awakened the sympathy of the inhabitants of western Europe, and revealed the ardent feelings with which the Greek people were animated in regard to their native soil. The town of PARGA, on the sea-coast of the mainland, opposite to the Ionian Islands, the last remnant of the once great territorial possessions of the Venetian republic, on the coast of Albania, had long been considered as a dependence of the state of which they had come to form a part; and in the interval between its cession to France, by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, and its transference to Great Britain by that of 1814, it had contained a French garrison, and its inhabitants had begun to taste the blessings of powerful Christian protection. The treaty of 1815, however, unfortunately made no mention of Parga; but, on the contrary, stipulated an *entire* surrender of the mainland of Turkey to the Porte. In consequence of this circumstance, the government of Constantinople demanded the cession of Parga as part of the mainland; and in this they were zealously seconded by Ali Pacha, within whose territory it was situated, and who was extremely desirous of getting its industrious and thriving citizens within his rapacious grasp. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Parga, justly apprehensive of the consequences of being ceded to that dreaded satrap, solicited and obtained a British garrison, which in 1814 took possession of it, and effectually preserved its inhabitants from Musulman rapine and rapacity. The inhabitants joyfully took the oath of allegiance to the English crown. Thenceforward they regarded themselves as perfectly secure un-

¹ Ann. Hist. ii. 450; Ann. Reg. 1819, 194.

When it was rumored, after the treaty of 1815, that Parga was to be ceded to the Turks, the inhabitants testified the utmost alarm, and made an urgent application to the British officer in command of the garrison, who, by order

of Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of the Ionian Islands, returned an answer, in which he pledged himself that the place should not be yielded up till the property of those who might choose to emigrate should be paid for, and they themselves be transported to the Ionian Islands. An estimate was then made out of the property of the inhabitants, which was found to amount in value to nearly £500,000; and the inhabitants were individually brought up before the governor, and interrogated whether they would remain or emigrate; but they unanimously returned for answer, that "they were resolved to abandon their country, rather than stay in it with dishonor, and that they would disinter and carry with them the bones of their forefathers." Commissioners had been appointed to fix the amount of the compensation which was to be awarded by the Turkish government to such of the inhabitants of Parga as chose to emigrate; but they, as might have been expected, differed widely as to its amount, and in the end not more than a third of the real value was awarded. Meanwhile, Ali Pacha, little accustomed to have his demands thwarted, and impatient of delay, repeatedly threatened to assault the town, and reunite it to his pachalic, without paying one farthing of the stipulated indemnity. At length, in June 1819, the compensation was fixed at £142,425; and Sir Frederick Adam gave notice to the inhabitants that he was ready to provide for their embarkation.¹

The scene which ensued was of the most heart-rending description, and forcibly recalled the corresponding events in ancient times, of which the genius of antiquity has left such moving pictures. As soon as the notice was given, every family marched solemnly out of its dwelling without tears or lamentation; and the men, preceded by their priests, and followed by their sons, proceeded to the sepulchres of their fathers, and silently unearthed and collected their remains, which they put upon a huge pile of wood which they had previously collected in front of one of their churches. They then took their arms in their hands, and, setting fire to the pile, stood motionless and silent around it till the whole was consumed. During this melancholy ceremony, some of Ali's troops, impatient for possession, approached the gates of the town, upon which a deputation of the citizens was sent to inform the English governor, that if a single infidel was admitted before the remains of their ancestors were secured from profanation, and themselves with their families safely embarked, they would instantly put to death their wives and children, and die with their arms in their hands, after having taken a bloody revenge on those who had bought and sold their country. The remonstrance was successful; the march of the Mussulmans was arrested, the pile burnt out, and the people embarked in silence, with their wives and children. The Mussulmans soon after entered, but they found only a single inhabitant in the place, and he was drunk, lying near the yet smoking pile.²

² Edinburgh Review, lxiiv., Art. 1; Ann. Reg. 1819, 195, 196; An. Hist. ii. 432, 433.

A scene so melancholy, and so unwonted in modern times, excited, as well it might, the most profound sympathy in Europe; and as it proved, by a decisive act, how deep were the feelings of nationality which slumbered under the weight of Turkish oppression, it strongly awakened the general feeling in favor of the Greeks. The affair was made the subject of warm debates in both Houses of Parliament; but it was too late. Parga had been delivered up to its oppressors; its inhabitants, like the Athenians in the days of Xerxes, had fled, and its deserted streets had become the abode of the pirate and wild animals. The Opposition loudly declaimed against the cession of this town and expatriation of its unfortunate inhabitants, as a breach of national faith, a surrender of the national honor on the part of England, which could never be effaced. But although it must ever be a matter of deep regret to every person animated with right feelings, that so deplorable a catastrophe should have taken place under the shadow of the British flag, and to those who had, in trusting sincerity, taken the oath of fidelity to the British crown, there does not appear to have been any direct breach of treaty in our conduct on this occasion. Parga had been either forgotten at the Congress of Vienna, when the general cession of Epirus to the Porte had been stipulated, or it had been intentionally ceded to that power. In either case we were bound by the faith of treaties to give it up; and its evacuation, however melancholy, was conducted with every possible regard to the interests and feelings of its inhabitants.¹

Matters were in this state, with the public feeling all over Europe strongly excited in favor of the Greeks, when the Spanish revolution of 1820 broke out, so frightful in political consequences in every part of the world. Followed as it speedily was by those in Naples, Sicily, and Piedmont, and by an extraordinary fermentation alike in France, Germany, and England, it produced such a commotion in men's minds as led, in the course of the next year, to the GREEK REVOLUTION. The inhabitants of Hellas, already prepared by the efforts of the Hetairists for an approaching convulsion, deemed the hour of their deliverance at hand; the friends of the Greeks, or *Philhellenes* as they were called, in every part of Europe encouraged these ideas, and secretly made subscriptions in money and contributions in arms to carry it into effect. The desire for liberty, the fervor of democracy, combined with hatred of the infidel in stimulating the Greeks to an effort to restore their long-lost nationality; and the strongest passions which can move the human breast, the love of freedom, the animosities of race, and the hostility of adverse religions, came for once to pull in the same direction.²

When this outbreak took place in the beginning of 1821, which deserves to be marked as one of the most disastrous eras the Ottoman empire has ever known, the Turkish dominions were in a very dilapidated condition. They had

lost the vigor of barbarism, and not gained the strength of civilization. Between the two they appeared destined to sink into the dust. Nominally extending over the fairest portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa; embracing in extent nearly the whole which, on the division of the Empire, fell to the lot of Constantine, their real dominion was confined to a much narrower circle. Egypt and Algeria were only in form subject to their sway; the Pacha of Bagdad could little be relied on; even the nearer provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, containing 2,000,000 inhabitants, and yielding a revenue approaching to a million sterling, were rather tributary states than real parts of the empire. Governed by hospodars selected by the Porte from the most wealthy Greeks of the Fanar, who looked to these appointments chiefly as the means of augmenting their fortunes, they had been subjected to innumerable burdens beyond what actually flowed into the coffers of the Sultan, and the inhabitants were so discontented that they not only formed no addition to the strength of the empire, but rather were a burden to its resources. They had been three times occupied by the Russian troops, and as often incited to revolt by their commanders, within the last half-century, and as often ceded back, on peace being concluded, to the Turks, with stipulations in their favor, which the Porte constantly found the means of eluding. Thus the Ottomans, as well as themselves, had come to regard their dominion over them as merely temporary, to be made the most of while it lasted. Their agriculture was annihilated by an ordinance prohibiting the export of their grain any where but to Constantinople, whither they sent 1,500,000 bushels of wheat annually; and only three commodities—wool, yellow berries, and hare-skins—were allowed to be exported. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how discontented their inhabitants were, and how they longed for the steady government and comparative freedom of industry which the Muscovites enjoyed. Servia, with its million of inhabitants, might be expected, at the first signal from Russia, to join its gallant youth to the Muscovite bands; and Albania, under the sceptre of the wily tyrant, Ali Pacha, was as likely to join the enemies of the Porte as to support its fortunes. The Turkish empire was rapidly approaching that state which characterized the last days of the Lower Empire, when the distant provinces had all fallen off or become independent, and the whole strength of the state consisted in the capital, and the provinces which immediately surrounded it.³

Add to this, that the military strength of the empire was in that state of decrepitude which invariably ensues when one method of carrying on war is substituted for another, and the national armaments are exchanged for those formed on the model of other states. The Turks were a nation of soldiers, and as every one of them was trained to the management of a horse and the use of arms, they were capable, when thoroughly roused, and deeply imbued with the military spirit, of forming immense armies, which had more than once proved extremely formidable to the eastern states of Europe. But

11. Debates on this subject in Parliament.

¹ Parl. Deb. xl. 1177, 1182.

12. Effect of the Spanish revolution on Turkey and Greece.

² Lac. iii. 93; Lam. vii. 345; Ann. Hist. iv. 373, 376; the hostility of adverse religions, came for once to pull in the same direction.²

13. State of Turkey at this period.

³ Ann. Hist. iv. 373, 376; Gordon, i. 92, 93.

14. Its weakness in a military point of view.

as the Turks in Europe were only a third of the entire inhabitants, and they alone were intrusted with arms, the military strength of the empire, at least in that quarter, rested on a very narrow foundation; and, such as it was, it had sensibly declined during the last century. The Turkomans had become citizens, and habituated to the enjoyments of peaceful life; the janizaries were in great part tradesmen, who were unwilling to exchange the certain profits of business for the uncertain gains of war. Then the feudal militia had become greatly less warlike and efficient than it had been in former days, and no regular army had as yet been formed to supply its place. Such as were enrolled were often more dangerous to their own government than its enemies. So unruly were some of its armed defenders, that it was hard to say whether the Sultan did not often run greater risks from their insubordination than from the open hostility of his enemies. Revolts of the janizaries had, in very recent times, brought the reigning family to the very brink of ruin, and been appeased only by abject submission on the part of the government; and though various efforts had been made to introduce the European discipline among them, yet they had been constantly eluded, and the attempt to enforce them led to such discontent, ¹ Val. 93, 96; as augmented the danger arising Fonton, 126, from their mutinous disposition 129. and arrogant habits.¹

The insurrection, the embers of which had so long been prepared by the efforts of the Hetairists, and which the Spanish revolution at length blew into a flame, broke out first in Wallachia. The reason was that these provinces were nearest to Russia, upon whose support the insurgents mainly relied. It was brought to a point by the death of Prince Alexander Suzzo, the hospodar of Wallachia, who expired on the 30th January, 1821. The Porte lost no time in appointing a new hospodar, Prince Charles Callimachi, the head of one of the most illustrious Greek families of the Fanar; but as the short interregnum which must ensue in some degree weakened the hands of government, the Hetairists resolved to take advantage of it to raise the standard of revolt. It began with a band of Greeks and Arnauts, one hundred and fifty in number, who assembled in Bucharest unknown to the Turks, and marched out of the town under the command of a brave officer, Theodore Vladimaruko, formerly a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian service, and who was so called from his having received the order of St. Vladimir from them. With this slender band he seized the small town of Czernitz, near the ruins of Trajan's bridge over the Danube, from whence he issued a proclamation, announcing that the hour of their deliverance was at hand, and calling upon the people to rise and shake off the tyranny of their oppressors. Such was the discontent which generally prevailed, in consequence of the oppressive exactions of the Turkish satraps, and the depression of the value of their produce by being confined to the

sand men, to whom were soon added two thousand Arnauts, who formed the police of Bucharest, but deserted to his standard.

Ere long another insurrection, equally formidable, broke out in Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. On the 23d February (7th March, new style), Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, an officer of distinction in the Russian service,* entered Jassy, the capital of that province, at the head of two hundred horse, from whence he issued a proclamation, calling on the Greeks of every denomination to take up arms, and promising them, in no obscure terms, the support of Russia.† The effect of this proclamation was prompt and terrible. Assured of the connivance, if not the support, of the governor of the province, promised the all-powerful protection of Russia, the whole Christian population of the town, whether Greek, Moldavian, or Arnaut, rose in insurrection, fell upon the Turks, great numbers of whom they massacred, and pillaged their houses. Similar excesses were perpetrated at Galatz, the chief seaport of the province, where great numbers of Mussulmans perished, and the town, being set on fire, was in part consumed. The vessels in the harbor, with the guns on board, fell into the hands of the Greeks, to whom they proved of essential service. The whole armed Mussulman force in the two provinces consisted of six hundred horse, who were unable to make head against the insurgents, who soon amounted to twenty thousand men. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost enthusiasm among the Greeks at Odessa, among whom Ipsilanti's proclamation was publicly read amidst deafening cheers, and large subscriptions to provide for the support of the insurgents were made. Ipsilanti, encouraged by these auspicious events, organized a battalion styled the Sacred Battalion, and which embraced the entire flower of the youth of the country. Their uniform was black, with a cross formed of bones in front, with the famous inscription of Constantine, "In this sign you shall conquer." †

* Prince Alexander Ipsilanti was descended from an illustrious Greek family of the Fanar, and his father had formerly been hospodar of Wallachia. The young prince was admitted early into the military academy at St. Petersburg, from whence he obtained a commission in the Imperial Guard, and lost an arm in the battle of Culm in 1813. He gradually rose in the Russian service to the rank of major-general; but he became, after the peace of 1815, wearied of the inactivity of pacific life, and entered warmly into the designs of the Greek Hetairists. His known bravery and experience, and the rank he bore in the Russian service, pointed him out to the Grand Arch as the proper person to command their armies, and he accordingly received the commission of generalissimo.—"Steward of the Stewards of the august Arch."—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 582; GORDON, i. 88.

† "Inhabitants of Moldavia! know that at this moment all Greece has lighted the torch of liberty, and broken the yoke of tyranny. It reclaims its inalienable rights. I go where duty calls me, and I offer you, as well on my own part as on that of all my countrymen assembled here, whom I have the honor to command, the assurance of protection, and of perfect security to your persons and property. Divine Providence has given you in Prince Michael Suzzo, your present governor, a defender of your rights, a father, a benefactor. He deserves all these titles, unite with him to protect the common weal. If some desperate Turks venture to make an incursion into your territory, fear nothing; for a great power is ready to punish their insolence."—ALEXANDER IPSILANTI. Jassy, 23d February, 1821" (old style).—*Annuaire Historique*, iv. 381.

² Gordon, i. 96, 98; Ann. Hist. iv. 377, 380. market of Constantinople,² that the peasants all flocked to his standard; and in a few days Theodore found himself at the head of twelve thou-

16. Ipsilanti's insurrection in Moldavia. March 7.

¹ Ann. Hist. iv. 381, 383; Gordon, i. 94, 109.

The great thing required to give consistency to the insurrection, and cause it to extend over the whole inhabitants of Greece, was to hold out some security for the support of Russia. To favor this idea Ipsilanti spread abroad the news of approaching aid from Russia, and made large requisitions in horses and provisions for the alleged use of the troops of that power. In a few weeks he was at the head of 1500 troops, chiefly horsemen, at the head of which he entered Jassy, and organized his little force in a regular manner, which, with the exception of the second battalion, 600 strong, all consisted of cavalry. Meanwhile, the fermentation was extreme throughout all Greece and the isles, and the utmost alarm prevailed at Constantinople. In vain the Russian minister, Baron Strogonoff, gave the Divan the strongest assurance that the imperial government were strangers to the movement, and would in no way whatever countenance it; in vain the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople issued a proclamation denouncing the insurrection in the most emphatic terms, and calling on all the Greeks to remain faithful in their allegiance to their sovereign. The Ottoman government, now thoroughly alarmed, persisted in regarding the danger as most serious, and in secret instigated by the agents of Russia; and on the 30th March a proclamation was issued by the Divan, ascribing the disorders which had broken out to the distrust which the malversations of the governors of provinces had inspired, and calling on all Mussulmans to forego all the luxuries of life, to provide themselves with arms and horses, and to recur to the life of their ancestors and of camps, the primitive state of the nation.¹

The first intelligence of these events was brought to the Emperor Alexander in April, at the congress of Laybach, engaged in deliberating with the other sovereigns on the affairs of Spain, Naples, and Piedmont. It may readily be conceived what a prospect was here opened to Russian ambition. The object which the cabinet of St. Petersburg had been laboring for a century to attain, seemed now to be placed within its grasp. Turkey, long sinking into decrepitude, now convulsed in its most important provinces by insurrection, seemed to be falling to pieces; the unanimous voice of the Greek nation called upon the Czar to take the lead in their deliverance; nothing, to all appearance, could prevent the conquest of Constantinople, and replacing the cross on the dome of St. Sophia. The other nations of Europe were so entirely occupied with their domestic troubles, and the social dangers with which they were threatened from the effects of the Spanish revolution, that no serious resistance to this conquest was to be anticipated from the jealousy which had hitherto alone prevented it. Every thing within and without conspired to recommend a forward movement of the Muscovite troops; and there can be no doubt that the crossing of the Pruth by their battalions would have been the signal for a universal insurrection

of the Christian population, and the entire expulsion of the Turks from their dominions in Europe.

It may readily be conceived that it must have been motives of no ordinary kind which induced the Emperor Alexander at this juncture to forego such manifold advantages, and remain neutral when he had only to give the signal, and the empire of the East must have fallen into his grasp. What those motives were is now known from the best of all sources—his own words, in confidential conversation with M. de Chateaubriand: “The time is past,” said he, “when there can be a French, Russian, Prussian, or Austrian policy. One only policy for the safety of all can be admitted in common by all people and all kings. It devolves on me to show myself the first to be convinced of the principles on which the Holy Alliance is founded. An opportunity presented itself on occasion of the insurrection of the Greeks. Nothing certainly could have been more for my interests, those of my people, and the opinion of my country, than a religious war against the Turks; but I discerned in the *troubles of the Peloponnesus the revolutionary mark. From that moment I kept aloof from them.* Nothing has been spared to turn me aside from the Alliance, but in vain. My self-love has been assailed, my prejudices appealed to, but in vain. What need have I of an extension of my empire? Providence has not put under my orders eight hundred thousand soldiers to satisfy my ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to establish the principles of order on which human society reposes.” In pursuance of these principles, Count Nesselrode declared officially that “his Imperial Majesty could not regard the enterprise of Ipsilanti as any thing but the effect of the exaltation which characterizes the present epoch, as well as of the inexperience and levity of that young man, whose name is ordered to be erased from the Russian service.” Orders were at the same time sent to the imperial forces on the Pruth and in the Black Sea to observe the strictest neutrality.¹

The publication of this resolution on the part of the imperial government was a death-blow to the insurrection in the provinces to the north of the Danube. The tumultuary bands which Theodore and Ipsilanti had raised proved wholly unequal to a contest in the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia with the strength of the Ottomans, now fairly aroused, and stimulated by every feeling of religious zeal and patriotic ardor. The fermentation soon became excessive in Constantinople. Large bodies of Ottomans daily crossed over from Asia Minor, all animated to the very highest degree with fanatical enthusiasm, and loudly demanding to be led instantly against the Giaours, whom they would exterminate to the last man. Nothing would satisfy the populace but liberty to massacre the whole Greeks in the capital; and it was only on the earnest remonstrances of the Russian, French, and English ambassadors, that the Divan was prevented from giving the reins to their fury. As

17. Ipsilanti's first measures.

18. Reasons which urged the Emperor Alexander to intervene in Turkey at this time.

19. Reasons which induced him to remain neutral.

20. Enthusiasm of the Turks, and measures taken against Ipsilanti.

21. Chateaubriand, Congrès de Vienne, i. 222; Ann. Hist. iv. 384, 385.

22. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

23. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

24. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

25. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

26. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

27. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

28. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

29. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

30. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

31. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

32. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

33. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

34. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

35. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

36. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

37. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

38. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

39. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

40. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

41. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

42. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

43. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

44. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

45. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

46. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

47. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

48. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

49. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

50. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

51. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

52. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

53. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

54. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

55. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

56. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

57. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

58. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

59. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

60. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

61. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

62. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

63. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

64. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

65. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

66. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

67. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

68. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

69. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

70. Ann. Hist. iv. 383, 385; Gordon, i. 102, 104.

it was, they hastened the march of the Asiatic troops through the capital to the Balkan and the Danube, and there was soon accumulated a force with which the Greeks in Moldavia and Wallachia, now discouraged by the policy of Russia, were unable to cope.¹

But while these serious preparations were in progress for crushing the insurgents to the north of the Danube, the insurrection had broken out, and already become formidable, in the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago. Colocotroni, formerly a major in the service of Russia, Peter Mavro, Michael, and other chiefs, who had been prepared for the event, had been collecting arms all winter in the caverns of Mount Taygetus; and having received orders from Ipsilanti no longer to delay their rising, they assembled their followers in the mountains, in the centre of the Peloponnesus, and raised the standard of revolt. In Patras, a strong and important fortress, the revolt burst forth under circumstances peculiarly frightful. The Christians rose in arms, and set fire to the Turkish quarter; the Ottomans retired to the citadel, from whence they kept up an incessant bombardment on the burning city: the contending parties fought with incredible fury in the streets; no quarter was shown on either side; and at length victory declared for the insurgents, in consequence of the arrival of the prelate Germanos with some thousand peasants, half-armed, headed by their priests singing psalms, and promising eternal salvation to such as died combating for the Cross. This reinforcement proved decisive: the Turks were on all sides driven back into the citadel; the town and harbor fell into the hands of the insurgents; the crucifix, amidst boundless joy, was raised in the Place of St. George, and a proclamation

was issued by the assembled chiefs, which concluded with the words—
“Peace to the Christians, respect to the consuls, death to the Turks.”²

The intelligence of this success spread like wildfire through the Morea, and every where caused the insurrection to break forth. With incredible enthusiasm the peasants assembled in their vales; old arms were searched for and brought forth; and a variety of skirmishes took place, with various success. The general result, however, was favorable to the insurgents. Gradually the Turks were driven back into their strongholds; and in a few days they possessed nothing in the Morea but the Acro-Corinthus of Corinth, the towns of Coron and Modon, the castle of the Morea, Tripolitza, Napoli di Romania, and the citadel of Patras. Attica followed the example: the Ottoman garrison of Athens, too weak to hold the city, shut itself up in the Acropolis, and the cross was re-erected in the city of Theseus. In the isles the flame spread with still greater rapidity, from the superior security which their insular situation and maritime resources afforded. The peasants in Crete rose, and compelled the Turks to take refuge in their strongholds; the whole islands of the Archipelago hoisted the standard of the Cross; and Hydra,

Spezzia, and Ipsara, the strongest and most powerful among them, fitted out armaments with incredible activity, to protect their shores, and intercept the commerce of the enemy.* The chiefs of Peloponnesus soon after assembled at Calamata, in the Morea, April 9. from whence they issued a proclamation, in which they stated that they had taken up arms “to deliver the Peloponnesus from the tyranny of the Ottomans; to restore to its inhabitants their liberty; to combat for it, for their religion, and for that land which had been illustrated by so much genius, and to which Europe is mainly indebted for the light and the blessings of civilization. We ask nothing in return but arms, money, and councils.”¹

The intelligence of these events succeeding one another with stunning violence, excited the utmost sensation at Constantinople both among the Greeks and Mussulmans. But the latter, who were a majority of the inhabitants, had the military force at their disposal, and were encouraged by the continual passage of armed and fanatical Turks from Asia toward the Danube, instead of being intimidated by so many and such threatening dangers, were only roused by them to fresh exertions, and inspired with more sanguinary passions. Instant death to the Christians was the universal cry among the Mussulmans. Unable to resist the torrent, and in secret not averse to measures of severity, which, it was hoped, might crush the insurrection in the bud, the Divan resolved on an atrocious act, which, more than any thing else, tended to spread and perpetuate the insurrection, and may be regarded as one of the principal causes which hastened the ruin of the Turkish empire. This was the murder of Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, a revered prelate, eighty years of age, who was seized on Easter Sunday, as he was descending from the altar, where he had been celebrating divine service, and hanged at the gate of his archiepiscopal palace, amidst the ferocious cries of a vast crowd of Mussulmans. The blameless life and exemplary character of this prelate, the proof of fidelity to the government which he had recently given by his proclamation against the insurgents, the courage he evinced in his last moments, while they were unable to move his enemies, enshrined his memory in the hearts of his grateful countrymen. His blood cemented the foundations of the Christian empire in the East; he might say, with the Protestant martyr at the stake, “We shall light a fire this day which, by the grace of God, shall never be extinguished.” After hanging three hours, the body was cut down and delivered to a few abandoned Jews, by

The insurrection spreads over all Greece.

* “The insupportable yoke of Ottoman tyranny hath weighed down, for above a century, the unhappy Greeks of Peloponnesus. So excessive had its rigor become, that its fainting victims had scarcely strength enough left to utter groans. In this state, deprived of all our rights, we have unanimously resolved to take up arms against our tyrants. Our intestine discord is buried in oblivion, as a fruit of oppression: we breathe the air of liberty; our hands, having burst their fetters, already signalize themselves against the barbarians.”—PETROS MAUROMIKIALES, 28th March, 1821. GORDON'S *Greek Revolution*, i. 183.

whom it was dragged through the streets, and thrown into the sea. The same night the body was fished up by some zealous Christian fishermen, by whom it was conveyed to Odessa, and interred with great pomp on the 1st July, in presence of all the authorities, and nearly the whole inhabitants of the place.¹*

This atrocious murder had been preceded and was soon followed by others equally ruthless, which demonstrated that the Ottoman government was either compelled or inclined to give the reins to the savage passions of the Osmanlis; and that no hope remained to the Greeks but in the most determined resistance. On the 16th, Prince Constantine Morousi, dragoman to the Porte, was seized, and instantly beheaded; and next day ten of the most illustrious persons in the Fanar shared the same fate. At Adrianople, the Patriarch Cyrille, one of the highest functionaries of the Greek Church, and with him eight other dignified ecclesiastics, were beheaded. The Christian churches were every where broken open, rifled of all their valuable contents, and exposed in their most sacred recesses to every species of profanation. Not a day passed that numbers of the Greek citizens of the highest rank were not murdered, their property plundered, and their wives and daughters sold as slaves. In ten days several thousand innocent persons were in this manner massacred. To such a length did these cruelties proceed, that, upon the unanimous representation of the European diplomatists, the grand-vizier was deposed, after having been only ten days in office, on the ground "that his conduct had been too severe." But the removal of this officer made no change in the system of severity which was pursued; on the contrary, it seemed to increase. On the 15th June, five archbishops, three bishops, and a great number of laymen, were hanged in the streets, without any trial, and four hundred and fifty mechanics transported as slaves to the Assyrian frontier; and at Salonica the battlements of the town were lined with a frightful array of Christian heads, the blood from which ran down the front of the rampart, and discolored the water in the ditch. Similar atrocities were perpetrated in all the great towns of the empire.¹

While these atrocious acts of cruelty were disgracing the Ottoman government, and arousing the indignation or awakening the commiseration of the brave and humane in every part of Europe, Sultan Mahmoud, with that mixture of energy with violence, of capacity with cruelty, which formed the distinguishing features of his character, was making head against internal difficulties still more serious than those arising from the Greek revolution, and laying the foundation of a newly organized and more efficient military force in the capital. His chief difficulty was with the janizaries, who, having been excited to the highest degree by the Greek revolution, took the lead in all the massacres and atrocities which were going forward; and, discontented with the removal of the former grand-vizier, who had given the full reins to their fury, loudly demanded his recall to office, and the heads of six of their principal enemies in the council. The Sultan at first tried to subdue them by his firmness; but, destitute of any other armed force, he soon found that such a course could lead to no other result but his own destruction. Accordingly, though more thoroughly convinced than ever of the necessity of getting quit of these unruly defenders, he resolved to dissemble in the mean time, and submit till his preparations for resistance to their thralldom were complete. In consequence of these resolutions, he distributed great largesses among the troops, to which the new favorite Babu-Bachi added others still more considerable; and the discontents of the entire bands were appeased by a decree, in virtue of which the body of janizaries was to be represented in the Divan by three persons chosen by themselves from among their number. This was followed, a fortnight after, by another decree of the Sultan, agreed to in full Divan, that a large body of troops should be organized in the European fashion, clothed and drilled like the soldiers of western Europe, and that the odious name of *Nizam Djedib*, which had cost the life of Sultan Selim by whom the attempt was first made, should be forever abolished.¹

Dreadful as were the cruelties in Europe with which the Turks in its outset met the insurrection, they were exceeded by those perpetrated in Asia, for there the fanatical spirit was more violent, the intercourse with the nations of western Europe less; and the Mussulmans, strong in the consciousness of superior numbers, as well as in the exclusive possession of arms, had no restraint whatever on their atrocities. The deeds of violence perpetrated in Smyrna, always distinguished by the fanatical spirit of its Mussulman inhabitants, threw all others into the shade. From the moment of the breaking out of Ipsilanti's revolt, the Christian inhabitants of that great and flourishing city, who were not more than sixty out of one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, were kept in a continual alarm by the dread of a general massacre, which was openly threatened by the Mohammedans; and at length, on the 15th June, it took place under circumstances of unheard-of horror. News having arrived of a defeat of the Ottoman fleet off Lesbos, a band of three thousand ruffians broke into the Greek quarter, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants. The men who could be reached were all put to death; the women, especially such as were young and handsome, sold for slaves. The magistrates were cut to pieces because they would not give a written order authorizing the general slaughter of the Christians. Several thousands fell under the cimeters of the Mos-

24. Succession of murders by the Turks.

25. Vigorous measures of Sultan Mahmoud.

26. Atrocious acts of cruelty in Asia Minor.

1 An. Hist. iv. 393, 394; Ann. Reg. 1821, 249, 250.

* The Turks alleged to the Russians, in subsequent correspondence on the subject, that the patriarch was put to death because letters, implicating him in the insurrection in the Peloponnesus, had been intercepted the evening before his execution. But this was a mere pretext; for they never could produce either the originals or copies, though repeatedly urged to do so. "*De non apparentibus et non existentibus*," says the civil law, "*eadem est ratio*." —Annual Register, 1821, p. 253.

lems; but, during the time required for such wholesale butchery, fifteen thousand of the better class of citizens got on board boats, and found shelter in the islands of the Archipelago. Such as could not escape in this manner, for the most part took refuge in the hotel of M. David, the French consul, whose rooms and gardens were soon filled with a weeping crowd of women and children imploring his protection. His janizaries refused to act against their compatriots, and the doors were on the point of being burst open, when that noble-hearted man, with a single companion, placed himself in the gate-way, and at the hazard of his life, and by the mere weight of character and courage, kept the assassins at bay till boats were got which conveyed the trembling crowd to the adjacent islands.¹

This melancholy catalogue of disasters, which proves of what mankind are capable when their passions are let loose by the remissness of government, or excited by its policy, may be concluded with an account of the calamities of Cyprus. That celebrated island, 146 miles in length and 63 in breadth, intersected along its whole extent by a range of central mountains bearing the classic name of Olympus, deserved, if any spot in the globe did, the appellation of an earthly paradise. Its population, however, which was above a million in the time of the ancients, from the effects of Turkish oppression had sunk, when the insurrection in the Morea broke out, to seventy thousand, of whom about one-half were Christians and the other Mohammedans. Separated by a wide expanse of sea from the mainland of Greece, and blessed with a delicious climate and mild character, the Cypriots remained strangers to the movement for two months after it had elsewhere commenced. The Mussulman forces in the island were very trifling; Famagusta, so renowned in the wars of the Ottomans with the Knights of Malta, almost in ruins, was garrisoned by only three hundred regular soldiers. In the end of May, however, the massacres commenced. The Porte sent a body of troops from the neighboring provinces of Syria and Palestine, ten thousand in number, who effected the ruin of the island. Instantly on landing they spread through all the villages, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre and plunder of the Christian inhabitants. The chief towns of the island, Nicosia and Famagusta, were sacked and burnt; the metropolitan, five bishops, and thirty-six other ecclesiastics, executed; and the whole island converted into a theatre of rapine, violation, and bloodshed. The atrocities did not cease till several thousand Christians had fallen by the sabres of the Mussulmans, and their wives and daughters had been conducted in triumph to the Mussulman harems.²

This dreadful series of atrocities, and especially the murder of the Patriarch, had the effect of spreading the insurrection through the whole of Greece. All saw that no hope remained but in the most determined resistance. The mountainous nature of the country and the entire want of roads rendered it possible to or-

ganize the insurrection with impunity in the hill fastnesses, and often enabled the insurgents to take a bloody revenge on their oppressors when they entered them. Besides the Morea, Attica, and the islands of the Archipelago, the flame spread far and wide wherever the Greek tongue was spoken, or Greek feelings cherished. The Souliotes all rose in Epirus, and in conjunction with the Ætolians made themselves masters of the fortress of Salona, and forced the troops of the pacha to shut themselves up in Picorsa and Arta. Six thousand men were soon in arms in Thessaly; the mountaineers of Olympus responded to the signal of freedom, and the insurrection spread even into the hill districts of Macedonia. Thirty thousand hardy mountaineers rose in the peninsula of Cassandra, and laid siege to Salonica, the seat of the pacha, a city containing eighty thousand inhabitants; and though they were repulsed in the assault of that place, they took a bloody revenge on the Mussulmans when they pursued them into their hills, and attempted to force the intrenchments which guarded their mountain passes, from which the Turkish hordes recoiled with great slaughter. Meanwhile the genius of poetry, roused as in the days of Tyrtæus at the call of patriotism, made the valleys and hills resound with heart-stirring strains;* and the necessities of men led to the formation of some sort of government amidst the general chaos. At Hydra a board of the principal inhabitants was formed, which soon obtained the direction of the islands: a council of military chiefs at Calamata gave something like unity to the

* “*Δεῦτε παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*”

Thus rendered by the kindred genius of Byron:

1.

“Sons of the Greeks, arise!
The glorious hour's gone forth,
And, worthy of such ties,
Display who gave us birth.
Sons of Greeks! let us go
In arms against the foe,
Till their hated blood shall flow
In a river past our feet.”

2.

“Then manfully despising
The Turkish tyrant's yoke,
Let your country see you rising,
And all her chains are broke.
Brave shades of chiefs and sages,
Behold the coming strife!
Hellenes of past ages,
Oh, start again to life!
At the sound of my trumpet, breaking
Your sleep, oh, join with me!
And the seven-hilled city seeking,
Fight, conquer, till we're free.
Sons of Greeks, &c.”

3.

“Sparta, Sparta, why in slumbers
Lethargic dost thou lie?
Awake, and join thy numbers
With Athens, old ally!
Leonidas recalling,
That chief of ancient song,
Who saved ye once from falling,
The terrible! the strong!
Who made that bold diversion
In old Thermopylæ,
And warring with the Persian
To keep his country free;
With his three hundred waging
The battle, long he stood,
And like a lion raging,
Expired in seas of blood.
Sons of Greeks, &c.”

—BYRON, iv. 219, 8vo. edit.

operations of the land forces; and at Athens the venerable walls of the Areopagus beheld a senate established which obtained the shadow of authority over an insurgent people.¹

But while the insurrection was thus gathering strength and acquiring consistency in Southern Greece, it received its death-wound in the provinces to the north of the Danube. The support of Russia was indispensable to its establishment in that quarter;

for the bands of the Wallachians and Arnauts, imperfectly disciplined and inferior in number, could never contend in the grassy plains with the admirable horsemen of the Osmanlis. This support the policy of Alexander, determined by terror of the Spanish and Italian revolutions, denied them. On the 9th April the Russian consul at Jassy issued, by command of the Emperor, two proclamations, which were decisive of his intentions regarding the insurrection. By the first, Ipsilanti and his partisans were

summoned forthwith to repair to the Russian territory, to await the chastisement which awaited them as the disturbers of the public peace, while by the second the whole Moldavians in arms were summoned forthwith to submit to the lawful authorities. At the same time the assemblies of Hetairists, which had been formed on the Pruth in Bessarabia, were ordered to be removed into the interior of Russia. Upon receipt of these proclamations, the hospodars of Wallachia waited on Prince Michael Luzzo, who still held the reins of government, entreating him to leave their territory, which he accordingly did two days afterward, taking refuge in Odessa: and a deputation was sent from the boyards

to Constantinople, imploring the Sultan to appoint a new hospodar.²

Ipsilanti was in his camp at Messid, on his march to Bucharest, when he received this disastrous intelligence; but he was not discouraged. "None of the sovereigns of Europe," he said, "will venture to declare against us.

Who among them will allow history to say of them that he has abandoned Greece at the moment when it was marching to defend that beautiful land against the attacks of barbarians whom civilized Europe abhors?" His followers received his address with loud acclamations, and continued their advance without interruption toward Bucharest, which he reached in a

few days, at the head of ten thousand men. From thence he continued his march toward the west, ostensibly to rouse the Servians, but really to be near the Austrian frontier in case of disaster; while Theodore, who remained in command at Bucharest, fortified himself in the convent of Kotroczeni in its neighborhood, and, despairing of success, openly received with great distinction an envoy of the Sultan, who came to propose terms

of accommodation. Soon after, he abandoned Bucharest, which was entered by

the Turks on the 28th, and, bending his steps toward Ipsilanti, was by him seized and publicly shot, on the 7th June, for his treachery to the cause of Greece.³

Meanwhile the Ottomans, having now gathered up their strength, and received large reinforcements, chiefly from the savage and fanatical tribes of Asia, had completed their preparations for the suppression of the rebellion to the north of the Danube. Three corps, of nine or ten thousand men each, entered the principalities: one under the command of the Pacha of Widdin; one under the Pacha of Silistria; the third under Jussuf Pacha, governor of Brahilov. All were entirely successful. The Pacha of Brahilov came first into action. On the 13th May he came up with a body of six thousand men, with seventeen gun-boats, at Galatz, and after a sharp action of some hours' duration, in which the Turks lost a thousand men, he cut them in pieces, seized all the gun-boats, and, entering the town, massacred nearly the whole of the inhabitants. Upon this defeat the Hetairists evacuated Jassy, and the whole of Moldavia was re-

gained to the troops of the Sultan.¹ Meanwhile Ipsilanti was actively pursued by the Pachas of Widdin and Silistria, to whom, after his victory at Galatz, the Pacha of Brahilov joined his forces. The game was no longer equal, for the Greek force was as much diminished by sickness and desertion as that of the enemy was increased. In addition to this, the Turks had established a secret correspondence with the Arnauts, Pandours, and Wallachians, who composed the bulk of Ipsilanti's army, and who were prepared on the first opportunity to pass over to the enemy. Thus overmatched, the prince retired slowly before the hourly-increasing forces of the enemy: Bucharest was abandoned on the 27th May, and immediately occupied by the Pacha of Silistria. At length, as he could retire no further, being close upon the Austrian frontier, Ipsilanti resolved to fight; and notwithstanding the great superiority of the Ottoman forces, they would have been defeated, and possibly the Christian throne of Constantinople re-established, had his whole troops remained faithful to their colors. He had disposed his light troops in two wings, so as to envelop the enemy when they advanced to the attack; and the right wing, composed of Moldavians under Georghaki, executed their orders with intrepidity and success; but the other wing, consisting of Arnauts and Wallachians, instead of doing the same, passed over to the enemy when they approached; others took to flight, and the Greeks, who stood firm, assailed on all sides, were put to the rout, and driven from the field, with the loss of the greater part of their artillery and baggage.²

This disaster was attended with very little loss of life to the Greeks; but it increased the divisions of their army, discouraged the soldiers, and was the prelude to final ruin. Having collected all his forces, consisting of 4000 infantry, 2500 horse, and four guns, Ipsilanti, who saw that nothing but decisive success could restore his affairs, advanced on the 17th toward the enemy, the vanguard of whom was posted in the village of DRAGASCHAN. His dispositions were made with such ability that

31. Defeat of the insurgents at Galatz. May 13.

32. Disasters of Ipsilanti.

May 27.

June 15.

2 Ann. Hist. iv. 396, 399; Gordon, i. 115, 117.

33. His total defeat at Dragaschan. June 19.

29. Official declaration of Russia against Ipsilanti. April 11.

2 Ann. Hist. iv. 389, 390.

30. Treachery and death of Theodore. June 7.

April 28. June 7.

3 Ann. Hist. iv. 390, 398; Gordon, i. 104, 108.

the situation of the Turks in the village, on the 18th, seemed hopeless; but as that day was a Tuesday, deemed of sinister augury by the Greeks, he deferred the attack till the following morning. Early on the morning of the 19th, Casavia, who commanded Ipsilanti's advanced guard, commenced the attack with more vigor than discretion. The Sacred Battalion advanced rapidly in support; but when it was seriously engaged, Casavia and his Arnauts fled in the most dastardly manner, leaving the Greeks alone engaged with a greatly superior body of Turkish horse. The "white turbans" were upon them before they had time to form square, but, falling back into knots and little circles, they long maintained the combat with the greatest resolution. At length, their ammunition being exhausted, they were nearly all cut to pieces, combating with heroic courage, like their ancestors at Thermopylæ, to the last man. A hundred horse under George, galloping up, rescued the sacred standard and two guns out of the hands of the enemy; but the destruction of the Sacred Battalion proved fatal to the little army. Twenty-five only of its number were saved from the sabres of the Turks, and escaped with Ipsilanti into Transylvania, where he met a less glorious fate than his companions, by being consigned to an Austrian dungeon. He published the day after his defeat a valedictory address to his soldiers, inveighing in bitter but not unmerited terms against the treachery of which he had been the victim.* The remainder of his troops dispersed, and the insurrection in Wallachia and Moldavia

entirely ceased, except in guerrilla warfare.¹
 1 Ann. Hist. iv. 398, 400; Gordon, i. 120, 121.

Had this stunning blow, which extinguished the revolt to the north of the Danube, been followed by a similar success in Greece Proper, the insurrection would have been entirely suppressed, and the land of Hellas might have groaned for a century longer under the Ottoman yoke. But Providence had decreed it otherwise; and a series of glorious efforts, though deeply checkered with disaster, at length effected the extrication of Greece from the hands of the barbarians. The first gleam of success, as in the days of Themistocles, came from the sea; the skill and hardihood of the sailors of the Archipelago asserted their superiority over those of Asia, in the days of Sultan Mahmoud,

as they had done in those of Xerxes. With such vigor had the inhabitants of Hydra and Ipsara exerted themselves, that they equipped a large fleet of small vessels, armed with ten or fifteen guns each, with which they had obtained the entire command of the Archipelago, and made a great number of rich prizes from the Turks. Samos, a flourishing island, containing forty thousand inhabitants, had declared May 19 for the cause of Greece, and its insurrection had been followed by a general and frightful massacre of the Turkish inhabitants in retaliation for the cruelties exercised upon the Christians ever since the commencement of the war. To check these incursions, which threatened to intercept the supplies of grain for the capital, the Turks fitted out an expedition, consisting of two ships of the line, three large frigates, and a number of smaller vessels, which set sail from the Dardanelles on the 19th May. It was soon met by the Greek flotilla, which, unable to face the broadsides of its line-of-battle ships in stand-up fight, hovered at a distance, observed its motions, and made preparations by turning several of their old galleys into fire-ships to effect its destruction on the first favorable opportunity. Such ere long presented itself. On the 8th June, the Turkish admiral sent a vessel of seventy-four guns June 8. toward the Dardanelles, in quest of a reinforcement which he expected under the Capitan Pacha. It was soon followed by the Greek flotilla, and the captain, alarmed at their approach, took refuge in the bay of Adramyti, where his vessel grounded. It was immediately surrounded by the Greeks, who opened a tremendous fire upon it on the bows and stern, to which the stranded vessel could make no reply. After bearing with great resolution this raking fire for several hours, the Turkish seamen took to their boats, and set fire to the vessel, which was totally destroyed. Eight hundred were sunk by the fire of the Greek vessels as they rowed toward the shore; and the Turkish admiral, overwhelmed with consternation at this disaster, took refuge with his whole fleet in the Dardanelles, leaving the 1 Ann. Hist. iv. 405, 406; Gordon, i. 168, 170.

This success was of the utmost importance to the cause of the Greeks, not merely as counterbalancing the disasters to the north of the Danube, but as giving them the entire command of the sea—a matter which has always been of the

very highest importance in Hellenic warfare, as transportation by land is so difficult in its rocky territory, and the ocean is the highway leading to its numerous islands and deeply indented bays. Encouraged by their success, the Greeks, after threatening Smyrna, made a descent on the Meseonissi Islands on the 13th June, and having excited an insurrection in Aivaly, the ancient Cydonia, its chief town, containing thirty-six thousand inhabitants, a frightful conflict ensued in the streets, in the course of which fifteen hundred Turks perished, and they were driven out of the town, but not before they had set fire to and burnt it to the ground. The unfortunate inhabitants, deprived of their homes, were transported by the

* "Soldiers! I can hardly bring myself to sully that honorable and sacred name by applying it to persons such as you. Henceforth every bond is severed between us; but I shall ever feel profoundly the shame of having been your chief. You have trampled under foot your oaths: you have betrayed your God and your country. You have done so at the very moment when I hoped to conquer or die gloriously with you. We are severed for ever! Go and join the Turks, the only friends worthy of you. Go and purchase slavery at the expense of your blood, and of the honor of your wives and children. But you, shades of the Sacred Battalion, who have been betrayed, and who sacrificed yourselves for the deliverance of your country, receive through me the thanks of your nation. Soon shall monuments render your names immortal. I abandon to the contempt of men, to the Divine justice, to the maledictions of our country, the perjured and cowardly traitors Kaminari, Sawa, Dukas, Constantinos, Basta, Mano, who were the first to desert the army, and induced its dissolution.—ALEX. IPSILANTI.—Rimnick, June 20, 1821."—Ann. Hist., iv. 400.

Greek flotilla to Hydra and Ipsara, where they augmented the number, and the recital of their sufferings increased the ardor of the people. About the same time, another division of the Greek fleet forced the passage of the Little Dardanelles, notwithstanding the fire of the Turkish castles; and having made their appearance in the bay of LEPANTO, already so memorable in Christian warfare, an insurrection broke out in MISOLONGHI, and Anatoliko, which hoisted the Greek flag, and was immediately followed by the defection of the whole of Ætolia and Acarnania.¹

On the mainland the operations of the Greeks were far from being equally successful. Chourchid Pacha, who commanded the Turks engaged in the siege of Janina, where Ali Pacha, though with very reduced means, still maintained a heroic defense, no sooner heard of the insurrection in the Morea than he detached a large body of men under Jussuf Pacha, who, penetrating the defiles near Corinth, which the Greeks had neglected to occupy, made their way to Patras, the citadel of which was still held by the Turks, and after relieving the garrison, fell upon the Greeks in the town, on whom they took a bloody revenge for the atrocities committed by them on the Mussulmans.

at the commencement of the revolution. Fifteen thousand Greeks perished on this occasion, and above twelve hundred found refuge with M. Pouqueville, the French consul. So disheartened were the insurgents in the interior with this disaster, that they nearly all disbanded in the centre of the Morea; and a very little more would at that juncture have entirely crushed the insurrection in Greece. "I," said Colocotroni, "having with me only ten companions, including my horse, sat down in a bush and wept." Driven to extremities, the Greek chiefs at length agreed to fight a last battle for the independence of their country, and for that purpose took up a position at VALTEZZA, a village situated in the hills, three hours' march to the northwest of Tripolitza, and possessing great natural strength. Kihaya Bey issued from Tripolitza to attack them at the head of five thousand Turks, chiefly horse, and he entertained such confident hopes of success, that the soldiers had performed military dances in the streets of Tripolitza, before setting out, in token of approaching victory. In truth, the situation of the Greeks was all but desperate; for although the position they occupied was very strong, yet it had no water, and the water-casks in the village were only adequate for twenty-four hours' consumption.²

The Turks approached the Greek position on the 27th May; and the action which ensued may well be dignified with the name of a battle, for although there were not five thousand men on each side, it determined the independence of Greece. The main body of the Greeks, supported by a few guns, which were placed on entrenchments hastily constructed, was posted in the village; but a body of fifteen hundred light troops, under Colocotroni, were stationed, unknown to the Ottomans, in the mountains on their right.

The Greek fire was answered by discharges from the Turkish guns, which, being placed on lower ground, passed over the enemies' heads. Three times were the Turks and Albanians repulsed in their attack on the village, and Colocotroni having descended with his men on the flank of the assailants, an obstinate conflict ensued, which continued two days, and was at length determined in favor of the Greeks by the appearance of Niketas, who came up with eight hundred followers by a forced march from Argos, and threatened to cut off the retreat of the Turks to Tripolitza. The retreat soon turned into a total rout; the Greeks took two guns, and raised a trophy of four hundred Mohammedan heads. Their own loss was only one hundred and fifty men. Three days afterward, the Turks, having issued from Tripolitza, May 31. were again defeated, and driven back into the fortress on the rocky heights, around which the insurgents immediately took post. These successes, though gained by such small bodies of men, were of the utmost importance, as counterbalancing the moral effect of the disaster at Dragaschan; for had a similar defeat been experienced at that time in the Morea, the insurrection would have been crushed. Instead of this, the peasants now joyfully flocked to the standards of the Cross; twenty thousand men were soon in arms in Peloponnesus; and the Turks, cautiously keeping on the defensive, remained shut up in their fortresses, two of which, Navarino and Napoli di Malvasia, capitulated from famine in the beginning of Aug. 9. August. The capitulation, however, was violated by the fury of the Greek soldiers, who broke into the towns and massacred several of the prisoners—an atrocity which so shocked Demetrius Ipsilanti, brother of the generalissimo, who had come to the Morea to take the command, that he threw it up. This menace had the desired effect, and the chiefs, seeing the necessity of establishing some sort of government, assembled at Calamata, 1 An. Hist. iv. 414, 416; to concert measures for its formation.¹ Gordon, i. 154, 162.

Meanwhile the Turks, having collected considerable forces at Salonica, had forced the passes of Cassandra, and spread fire and sword through its peaceful valleys; while large bodies of horse scoured all the plains of Thessaly and Bœotia, and, advancing almost without opposition, ravaged Attica, and raised the siege of the Acropolis of Athens, after it had continued eighty-three days. This disaster, however, was soon after compensated by a brilliant success. Odysseus, a brave Greek chief, after having worsted the Turks in several lesser encounters, fell back on the 6th September to the Straits of Thermopylæ (what magic in the name!) with 2000 men, where he was attacked by three pachas, who advanced from Larissa at the head of 5000 Mussulmans, chiefly Asiatics. The advantageous position of the Greeks, who were posted as tirailleurs among the rocks and thickets of that celebrated defile, compensated the inequality of numbers and want of artillery. The column of the Ottomans, enumbered, like its predecessors in the days of Xerxes, with baggage, was slowly advancing through the bottom of the defile, when it was suddenly as-

¹ Gordon, i. 207, 211; Ann. Hist. iv. 407, 409.

^{36.} Successes of the Turks in the Morea.

² Lac. iii. 121; Gordon, i. 157, 160; Ann. Hist. iv. 407, 409.

^{37.} Battle of Valtrezza, May 27.

^{38.} Raising of the siege of Athens, and defeat of the Turks in Thermopylæ. Aug. 29.

Sept. 6.

sailed by a tremendous fire of musketry from an unseen enemy. Pushed on, however, by the troops behind, the column continued to advance, though sustaining a heavy loss, until they were attacked in flank by a body of four hundred Greeks under Lapas. Issuing then from their thickets, the insurgents rushed down the steep declivity, sword in hand, with loud cries, shouting "Victory to the Cross!" The shock was irresistible: panic-struck, the Turks fled on all sides, and were pursued several miles with immense slaughter. Twelve hundred were slain on the spot, seventeen standards and seven guns taken, and such was the consternation of the Ottomans that they broke down the bridge of Alamanne in their flight to Zeitoun.

Sept. 8. Two days after they were again defeated by Odysseus, with the loss of four hundred men

and three guns; and the Turks in Attica, under Omer-Vrione, who had raised the siege of Athens, deprived of the expected succor, evacuated that country, and with great difficulty made their way by mountain paths into

Thessaly; and the Greeks, reoccupying Athens, after some unsuccessful attempts at escalade, resumed the blockade of the Acropolis.¹

This brilliant affair, which was of great importance to the Greeks, by entirely ruining the enemy's plan of the campaign, was soon after followed by another of still more importance, in a military point of view, though not hallowed by such classical recollections. Demetrius Ipsilanti, who had been induced, by the formation of something like a regular government in the military council at Calamata, to resume the command, found himself at the head of nearly seven thousand men after the impulse given to the cause by the battle of Valtezza, and laid siege to Tripolitza. This fortress, standing on a cold and naked plain elevated two thousand six hundred feet above the sea, in the very centre of the Morea, and surrounded by peaks three thousand feet higher, was, previous to the war, inhabited by fifteen thousand persons, of whom one half were Greeks. It was surrounded by a stone wall fourteen feet in height, with a double row of loop-holes for musketry, on which were planted thirty pieces of cannon. At its western extremity was a regular citadel, with bomb-proof casemates, but commanded by an eminence in its vicinity. The population of the town was doubled by the reflux of Turkish families to this stronghold, when the Greeks got the command of the open country; and when the blockade began to be straitened, in the end of August, thirty thousand mouths required to be fed, though not more than eight thousand sabres and bayonets could be relied on for a fight.²

The powerful cavalry of the Turks for a considerable time kept the besiegers at bay, and enabled their own horses to forage in the plain. But Colocotroni, who commanded the besieging force, having established himself in some houses which commanded the pasture-grounds, the Ottoman horses were restricted to the withered herbage at the bottom of the rampart, in consequence of which they soon all died or be-

came unserviceable. Shortly after, news arrived of the victory gained at Thermopylæ, and from Epirus, that Chourchid Pacha was so engaged with the siege of Janina that he was unable to send any succors to the Morea. This intelligence brought a great number of recruits to the standard of Colocotroni, eager to share in the spoils of Tripolitza, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men; and a few battering cannon were brought from the islands, and dragged by the peasants up to the plain which surrounded the fortress, but their fire did little execution, and was overmatched by the guns of the place. Famine and disease, however, soon made sad ravages among the crowded inhabitants in the town; and as this gave rise to frequent conversations about a capitulation, the Turkish commander, who confidently hoped to be relieved, put to death eighty Christian priests held as hostages in the town, in order to convince the garrison they had no chance of safety but in the most determined resistance. This severity led to a frightful reprisal, which, as usual, involved the innocent and guilty in promiscuous ruin, and affixed the first dark stains on the cause of Greek independence.¹

On the 5th October, while conferences between the chiefs on the two sides were still going on, some Turkish sentinels having, for the sake of buying grapes, permitted a few Greeks to approach the wall, the latter, perceiving that it was negligently guarded, applied scaling-ladders, and soon got to the top. A whole company, with Captain Kephalas at its head, speedily followed, hoisted the *Labarum*, or Christian standard, on the tower of Argos, and turned the guns planted on it on the town. As soon as the standard of the cross was seen on the walls, a tumultuous cheer rang round the Christian lines, and a general rush was made toward the rampart. Panic-struck, the Turks every where left the wall, and the assailants got possession of some of the gates, and rushed in. A scene ensued which baffles all description, and forcibly recalled to mind the most terrible pictures of human woe which the genius of antiquity has left to fascinate all future generations of men. The wrongs and cruelties of four centuries rose up in judgment against the Ottomans; retaliation, cruel and undistinguishing, was the universal passion—*væ victis* the universal cry. The conquerors, mad with vindictive rage, spared neither age nor sex; the young and the old, the armed and the unarmed, men and women, the Mohammedans and the Jews, were promiscuously massacred. The Albanians, fifteen hundred in number, retired into the court of the pacha's palace, and there claimed and obtained performance of the capitulation. They were marched out, set apart in Colocotroni's camp, and, a few days after, departed in safety to their homes. But, with this exception, the massacre was universal; flames soon broke forth in many places; the streets and houses were literally inundated with blood, and obstructed with heaps of dead bodies. The Greek chiefs in vain endeavored to restore order, the infuriated soldiery listened only to the voice of passion; the slaughter continued

39. Siege of Tripolitza: its description.

² Gordon, i. 233, 238; Ann. Hist. iv. 420, 421.

¹ Gordon, i. 237, 242; Ann. Hist. iv. 420, 421.

41. Storm and massacre of Tripolitza. Oct. 5.

through the whole night by the light of the
1 Gordon, i. 243, 245; Ann. Hist. iv. 420, 421; Ann. Reg. 1821, 147, 149. burning houses; it went on all the next day; and when it ceased at length, by the exhaustion of the victors, nine thousand bodies, of all ages and sexes, encumbered the streets of Tripolitza.¹

Though disgraced by such frightful cruelty, the sad result of the war of extermination which had begun between the Greeks and Turks, the capture of Tripolitza was an event of the very highest importance to the Greek cause. They found there a considerable train of artillery, arms and ammunition in abundance, and immense treasures, the long accumulations of Ottoman rapine, which laid the foundation of some of the principal fortunes in the Morea. The army which had taken Tripolitza, after its important conquest, was divided into two parts: one half sat down before the Acro-Corinthus of Corinth, which stronghold, commanding the entrance into the Morea, surrendered in the middle of November; while the other went to reinforce the troops under the Archbishop Germanos, which were blockading the citadel of Patras, where Jussuf Pacha, having been strongly reinforced by succors from the army besieging Janina, had become very audacious, and had defeated the Greeks in several sorties. Meanwhile the Sultan, irritated rather than discouraged by the defeat his fleet had sustained at sea in the beginning of summer, fitted out a new squadron in the Dardanelles, which put to sea in the beginning of July, and being much stronger than any the Greeks could oppose to it, arrived in safety in the harbor of Rhodes, where it effected a junction with the Egyptian fleet. The combined squadrons, consisting of four ships of the line and seventy smaller vessels, made sail for the Morea, where they revictualled all the blockaded fortresses having harbors, and regained the shelter of the Dardanelles in the end of October, closely watched by the Greek fleet, which, without venturing to hazard a general engagement, prevented the Ottoman squadron from effecting any thing else. On the 24th November, the fleet re-entered the harbor of Constantinople, exhibiting as its only prizes thirty Greek sailors hanging from the yard-arm of one of the vessels. So elated was the Sultan, however, with the success of this maritime promenade, that he promoted the admiral, Kara Ali, to the rank of Capitan Pacha! Woeful picture of national decline, when escape from defeat is considered equivalent to victory!²

The intelligence of the disasters sustained by the Turks in the Morea, and the entire ruin of their trade by the Greek cruisers, again roused the Mohammedan population of Smyrna to a state of perfect frenzy. The wine-shops were filled from morning to night with armed bands of Asiatics, threatening instant death and total extermination to the Christians.
Nov. 2. The European consuls presented an energetic note to the Turkish governor, representing the frightful consequences which would ensue if these disorders were not repressed; but in vain. The Asiatics broke loose;

above a thousand Christians were massacred in the following days; and the slaughter would have been much greater if the majority of the Christians had not found an asylum on board the French fleet, which fortunately lay at anchor in the roads at the time. At length, on the joint representation of the French and English consuls and the French admiral, an order was issued from the governor, closing the coffee-houses and spirit-shops, ordering the Asiatic troops to quit the city, and the Franks not to bear arms openly in the streets, by which means the massacre was stopped.¹

While these important events were in progress in Asia and southern Greece, Chourchid Pacha, commanding the army before Janina, justified the high confidence which the Sultan reposed in him. Though obliged to detach largely into the Morea and northern Greece, he never lost sight of his main object, the destruction of Ali Pacha. This old and savage chieftain, in the last extremity, justified his surname of the "Lion of Janina." Shut up with not more than four thousand followers in his impregnable fortress in the lake, he continued his obstinate resistance, though he amused his besiegers with delusive offers of accommodation. Chourchid's chief difficulty was to preserve his lines of communication through the mountains, which were beset by twelve thousand Greeks and Souliotes, from whom he sustained, in the beginning of September, a bloody defeat in the defiles of Mount Pindus. Having received a reinforcement, however, of eight thousand men soon after, his force was raised to thirty thousand men, with which he both continued the blockade of Janina, and kept up his communication with Arta, Prevesa, and the sea, though not without extreme difficulty, from the incursions of the hardy mountaineers. Hassan Pacha, alarmed at the dangers of his situation in Arta, set out with all his forces, in order to force his way through the defiles to Janina; but he was met in the defiles of Pindus by MARK BOZZARIS, a chieftain destined to future glory, and driven back with great slaughter to Arta. Chourchid, however, was not discouraged, and by repeated efforts he succeeded in re-establishing his communication with Arta. There, however, the Turks, under the command of four pachas, were soon vigorously assailed by Bozzaris at the head of his brave Souliotes, who, after driving them back into the fortress, at length carried it by assault. The greater part of the garrison found refuge in the citadel, which still held out; but all the stores and treasures of the four pachas fell into the hands of the Greeks, to whom they proved of essential service. They held their conquest, however, only for three weeks. At the end of that time it was regained by Omer-Vrione, who was detached by Chourchid Pacha from before Janina, and the heads of the two pachas, who had sought refuge in the citadel, were sent to the Sultan, by whom they were displayed at the gates of the Seraglio.²

The Greeks, who now began to feel the effects of the divisions consequent in all insurrections

² Gordon, i. 247, 253; Ann. Hist. iv. 422, 423.

^{43.} Fresh massacre of the Christians in Smyrna.

¹ Ann. Hist. iv. 424; Gordon, i. 256, 258.

^{44.} Operations of Chourchid Pacha before Janina. Fall and recapture of Arta.

Sept. 3.

Sept. 12.

Nov. 25.

Dec. 17.

² Gordon, i. 258, 271; Ann. Hist. iv. 427, 429.

on success, were far from making that use of their victory at Tripolitza which might have been expected, or, with more unanimity, might have been effected. Ipsilanti took the command of the army before Napoli di Romania, and prosecuted the siege with great vigor, in hopes of effecting the reduction of that important stronghold before the garrison was revictualled by sea in the following spring. This celebrated fortress, which in situation very closely resembles Gibraltar, is extremely strong, and by a few additions might be rendered impregnable. The citadel of Palamido, situated on a frowning rock eight hundred feet high, the base of which is washed by the sea, seemed almost beyond the reach of attack; and though the garrison consisted only of one thousand five hundred men, encumbered with ten times that number of useless mouths, yet there were four hundred guns mounted on the ramparts, and the main warlike stores of the Turks were deposited within its walls. Animated by the hopes of gaining so rich a prize, the Greeks, on the night of the 15th Dec. 15. December, attempted an escalade. So excessive was the negligence of the Turks that it had very nearly succeeded; and with more unanimity and resolution on the part of the besiegers, it unquestionably would have done so. But some of the assaulting parties refused to advance, others failed, and the attack was repulsed, after which the siege was turned into a mere blockade. At the same time, the insurgents experienced a severe check in the ruins of Patras. Encouraged by the fall of Nov. 3. Tripolitza, a body of five thousand Peloponnesians, by a sudden assault, made themselves masters of the town, and remained there, blockading the citadel, till the beginning of December. Then Jussuf Pacha, observing how bad a look-out the Greeks kept, and knowing how completely their chiefs were divided, marched from the Morea Castle with four hundred men, and, aided by a sally from the citadel, drove the Greeks out of the town. Dec. 3. Mavrocordato and the generals escaped with difficulty to Argos, but the greater part of the insurgents in the town were destroyed; and the Turks immediately commenced the destruction of what remained of the buildings, in order to prevent them from again becoming a shelter to the enemy.¹

While these important events, big with the future fate of old Hellas, were in progress in the Morea, the Greeks experienced a dreadful reverse in the Peninsula of Cassandra. The position of that mountain ridge, washed by the waters of the Archipelago, and its close vicinity to the important town and harbor of Salonica, the centre of all the operations of the Turks in that quarter, rendered it an object of the highest importance to the Turks to extinguish the insurrection in its fastnesses. Accordingly, during the whole of October, large bodies of Asiatics were brought over from Smyrna, and on the 11th November, on a signal given by the discharge of a Nov. 11. bomb, the Ottoman horde, ten thousand strong, rushed to the assault. Although the

Greeks defended their intrenchments bravely, yet such was the fury of the onset, and the superiority of numbers on the part of the assailants, that they were broken through in several places, and at these openings the savage multitude rushed in with irresistible fury. It soon was no longer a battle, but a massacre. Such of the Greeks as could escape saved themselves in the mountains; but above three thousand fell under the Mussulman cimeters, and ten thousand women and children, with thirty thousand head of cattle, were taken and publicly sold in the market-place of Salonica. Taking advantage of the consternation produced by this dreadful event, the victorious pacha advanced to Mount Athos, where the trembling monks, though placed in their almost inaccessible eyries, were too happy to accept the proffered capitulation, by which they saved their lives and property on payment of 250,000 piastres a year¹ (£20,000).¹

To complete the picture of this memorable year, it only remains to notice the operations in Crete. The mountain-operations there, albeit endowed by nature^{47.} with mild and pacific constitutions, were all in arms in consequence of the dreadful exactions and cruelty of the Turks, and the latter had brought over large bodies of Asiatics to complete their destruction. The Sfakiotes, a hardy race, whose position in the hills had hitherto saved them in a great measure from the tyranny of the Ottomans, defeated them in an action at Soulo, near Canea, upon which the Turks massacred all the Christians in July 3. Candia, and seven hundred more in other towns in the island. All the bishops perished. The Sfakiotes, however, were not discouraged, but made several incursions into the plains, from whence they returned laden with the spoils of their oppressors to their mountains. Upon this, the Turks brought over ten thousand Asiatic janizaries, who penetrated into their fastnesses, and stormed Therissow, their principal Aug. 3. stronghold, laying waste every thing with fire and sword; but want of provisions soon obliged them to retire, and the Sfakiotes again resumed their incursions. The revolt upon this spread universally over the island, and the Turks were obliged to take refuge in Canea, where, toward the end of autumn, they suffered severely² from dysentery and other diseases.²

While the southern parts of the Ottoman dominions were thus the theatre of a frightful civil war, and the Turks, after many vicissitudes of fortune, were losing their hold of the richest and finest part of their territory, they were threatened with external danger both in the east and north scarcely less alarming. The Persians deeming a rupture between Russia and the Porte inevitable, and probably secretly instigated by the agents of the Czar, declared war against Turkey in the beginning of August, and immediately invaded the pachalic of Bagdad with thirty thousand men. Although no great success attended their arms, yet it operated as an important diversion in favor of the Greeks, as it obliged the Sultan to employ an equal

45. Failure of the Greeks before Napoli di Romania and Patras.

¹ Gordon, i. 289, 301.

46. Forcing of the line of Cassandra. Nov. 11.

² Gordon, i. 301, 309; Ann. Hist. iv. 429, 431.

48.

War with Persia.

force in defense of his eastern dominions. Affairs also had become so threatening with Russia that an immediate rupture seemed inevitable, and the Turkish dominions, threatened alike in the south, the north, and the east, seemed doomed to destruction.¹

¹ An. Hist. iv. 426, 428.

Notwithstanding the determination of the Emperor Alexander to abstain from all interference with the Greek insurrection, it was inevitable that during the progress of the contest various points of dispute should arise between the two powers at St. Petersburg and Constantinople. They were not long, accordingly, in showing themselves. M. Danesi, the banker to the Russian embassy, was arrested early in June, ostensibly for a debt of 300,000 piastres (£3000), but really for having furnished funds to the Greek insurgents; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of M. Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador, who reclaimed him as forming part of the embassy, sentenced to be beheaded, from which he only escaped by going into exile. Hardly was this subject of discord appeased when another and more serious one arose, in consequence of the Porte having issued an order that all neutral vessels passing the Dardanelles should be searched, and prohibiting the exportation of grain through the canal of the Bosphorus. These orders were vehemently opposed by the Russian minister, as interfering with the rights of the Russian merchants in the Black Sea; and as strongly maintained by the Sultan, as necessary to prevent succors being conveyed to the Greeks under the Russian flag, and within the acknowledged rights of a belligerent power. The execution of the Patriarch, and the frightful massacres in Constantinople and other chief towns of the empire, were next made the subject of well-founded complaints on the part of the Russian ambassador, to which the Divan replied by remonstrances founded on the asylum afforded at Odessa to the Greeks who had escaped from them, and the right of every government to repress rebellion among its subjects by every means in its power. M. Strogonoff next protested against the entry of the Turkish forces into the principalities, which was entirely disregarded; declared that, as long as the Turkish government continued, the Russians would never refuse an asylum to any Greek who might demand it; and that, if the system of violence continued, he would break off all diplomatic intercourse with the Porte. To all these remonstrances the answer constantly made was, that no foreign power had a right to interfere between the Turkish government and its own subjects, and that the insurrection could be subdued in no other way.²

These angry recriminations continued through the whole of May and June; and at length, in the middle of July, matters came to such a point that M. Strogonoff shut himself up in his palace at Buysekdere, and delivered the ultimatum of the Russian government to the Porte, which was required to be accepted unconditionally within eight days, failing which he was to take his

49.
Angry negotiations with Russia.

50.
Russian ultimatum, and its refusal by the Divan.
July 18.

departure with his whole suite. The conditions exacted by Russia did not consist in any cession of fortresses or provinces, but in reparation for the insults offered to the Greek religion, expiation for the murder of its Patriarch, and the adoption of a more humane system of warfare in the contest with its Christian subjects.* If these terms were not acceded to within the prescribed time, the Porte was openly menaced with the utmost hostility of Russia, and the support of the Greeks by the forces of entire Christendom. No answer was returned by the Divan to this menacing communication, and the eight days allowed having expired, July 26. Baron Strogonoff applied for his passports. He was at first threatened with being sent to the Seven Towers, and the Asiatic hordes loudly demanded the instant adoption of that severity; but the entire diplomatic body having protested against the recurrence to that barbarous usage, the passports demanded were delivered to him, and he set sail, with all his suite, and several Greek families who had taken refuge in the Russian embassy, for Odessa on the last day of July.¹

After the Russian ambassador had taken his departure, the Sublime Porte dispatched a messenger to St. Petersburg with an answer to the Czar's ultimatum, which was ante-dated July 31.

26th July, the last day assigned for its reception. In this state paper, which was very ably drawn, the Sultan, without disputing the truth of the charges made against him—which, in truth, were so notorious that they could not be denied—contented himself with throwing the destruction of the churches on the violence of the dregs of the people, who had been excited to madness by the Greek insurrection, justified the execution of the Patriarch by the alleged discovery of letters which implicated him in the insurrection in the Morea, vindicated the entry of the Ottoman troops into the principalities by the obvious necessity of extinguishing a dangerous rebellion, and the general arming of the Mussulmans by the threatening

* "Que les églises détruites ou pillées soient renouvelées sur le champ, et mises en état de servir à leur sainte destination; que S. H., en rendant à la religion chrétienne ses prérogatives, en lui accordant la même protection que par le passé, en lui garantissant son inviolabilité à l'avenir, s'efforce de consoler l'Europe du supplice du Patriarche de Constantinople, et des profanations qui ont suivi sa mort; qu'une sage et équitable distinction s'établisse entre les auteurs des troubles, les hommes qui y prenaient part, et ceux que leur innocence doit mettre à l'abri de la sévérité du Divan; qu'à cet effet, on ouvre un avenir de paix et de tranquillité aux Grecs qui seront restés soumis, ou qui se soumettront, dans un délai donné; et qu'en tout état des choses, on se ménage les moyens de distinguer les innocents des coupables. Que si le Gouvernement Turc témoignait, contre toute attente, que c'est par suite d'un plan librement arrêté, qu'il prend des mesures touchant lesquelles le Soussigné lui a déjà exposé l'opinion de son Auguste Maître, il ne resterait à l'Empereur qu'à déclarer, dès à présent, à la Sublime Porte qu'elle se constitue en état d'hostilité ouverte contre le monde chrétien, qu'elle légitime la défense des Grecs, qui dès lors combattraient uniquement pour se soustraire à une perte inévitable; et que, vu le caractère de leur lutte, la Russie se trouverait dans la stricte obligation de leur offrir asile parce qu'ils seraient persécutés; protection, parce qu'elle en aurait le droit; assistance, conjointement avec toute la Chrétienté, parce qu'elle ne pourrait pas livrer ses frères de religion à la merci d'un aveugle fanatisme."
—Note de M. le Baron STROGONOFF, July 18, 1821. *Annuaire Historique*, iv. 413, 414.

51.

Ultimatum of the Turks.
July 31.

and undeniable danger of the Ottoman empire; finally, the note stated that orders had been given for reconstructing the churches which had been demolished, and promising, on the Greek refugees being delivered up, to execute rigorously and faithfully the whole treaties with the cabinet of St. Petersburg.^{1*}

According to the known usages of European diplomacy, the departure of the Russian ambassador from Constantinople was tantamount to a declaration of war between the two powers; and consternation was universal among the Christian inhabitants that this would lead to a general massacre of them, as it had done at Smyrna, Salonica, and several other places. In effect, it was very near occurring, for the Asiatic troops, as soon as the departure of the Russian embassy was known, began to parade the streets, and call on the people to rise and exterminate the Christians without mercy or distinction. Multitudes, apprehending instant death, took refuge in the hotels of the ambassadors of the neutral powers; and fortunately the English ambassador, Lord Strangford, enjoyed at that period the highest consideration with the Porte, and employed his great influence and abilities to avert a rupture, and bring the Divan back to sentiments of moderation, and a just appreciation of the difficulties with which they were surrounded. In this praiseworthy attempt he was cordially seconded by the ministers of France and Austria, and at length, by their united efforts, a decree was obtained from the Porte commuting the punishment of Danesi into exile, taking off the embargo which had been laid on Russian vessels, and promising an amnesty to such of the Greeks as should submit within a short period.²

It was not so easy a matter, however, to ap-

* "Que tous les individus punis à la suite de l'insurrection, et surtout le Patriarche Grec et autres prélats, n'avaient subi que la peine qu'ils avaient méritée d'après le droit que tout Gouvernement a de faire arrêter et punir sans miséricorde, sans distinction de religion ou de condition, de pareils malfaiteurs, afin de maintenir le bon ordre dans ses états et parmi le peuple.

"Que les insultes faites à quelques Eglises Grecques n'étaient que des désordres commis par des réprouvés de la lie du peuple.

"Que l'adoption de la vie des camps au lieu de celle des villes, et l'armement général de la Nation Mussulmane, n'étaient que des mesures indispensables pour le maintien du bon ordre intérieur, et ne regardait en rien les puissances amies ni les divers classes des Rayahs non coupables.

"Que les instructions données au commandant des troupes envoyées par la Porte en Valachie et Moldavie n'avaient d'autre but que de réduire les rebelles et d'en purger les provinces, dont on ne voulait ni changer l'ordre ni abolir les privilèges.

"Qu'aussitôt que la tranquillité aurait été rétablie, que le ci-devant Prince de Moldavie, Michel Suzzo, et ses adhérens, qui se sont évadés avec lui, ainsi que ceux des scélérats qui auront pu s'enfuir sur le territoire Russe ou Autrichien, auraient été remis au Gouvernement Turc, ou bien publiquement punis sur les lieux mêmes où ils ont été saisis, la Sublime Porte procéderait immédiatement à l'installation des Hospodars, et mettrait le plus grand soin à faire observer les anciennes conventions et à maintenir les privilèges des deux provinces comme dans le passé."
—Réponse du Divan à l'Ultimatum de M. le Baron STROGONOFF, July 26, 1821. *Annuaire Historique*, iv. 656, 660, Appendix.

pease the violence of the people as to bring back the Divan to sentiments of moderation; and the fermentation was such at Constantinople, all the autumn and winter, that a general massacre was hourly expected. Bands of Asiatics, worked up to the last point of religious fanaticism and savage fury, were continually traversing the streets, singing exciting songs, and calling on the janizaries to rise and complete the destruction of the infidels. To such a pitch did the disorders arise that the janizaries openly demanded the head of the new favorite, Halal-Effendi, who was thought to be too much inclined to moderate measures, and even of Abdul-Ahmed, the son of the Sultan, and sole heir of the empire. The popular fury was only appeased by the daily sight of a number of Christians hung in the streets, and a long row of heads displayed every morning at the gates of the Seraglio. At length Lord Strangford prevailed on the Divan to abate somewhat of their unbending attitude, and open the door, if not to accommodation, at least to renewed negotiations, by an ultimatum on their part, in which they consented to adjourn the demand for the surrender of the refugees, but refusing to withdraw their troops from the principalities till the rebellion was entirely put down, and then to maintain such troops in them as might be deemed necessary to maintain their tranquillity.¹

The commencement of the year 1822 was signalized by an event of no ordinary importance in this contest: the formation of a regular government, and the proclamation of national independence in Greece. During the month of November preceding, a congress of chiefs and deputies assembled from all parts of Greece in Argos, which afterward transferred its sittings to Epidaurus, and there a constitution was drawn up, and the national INDEPENDENCE PROCLAIMED. The act proclaiming it, signed by sixty-seven members of the congress, is remarkable as containing a forcible and not exaggerated statement of the dreadful nature of the oppression under which the nation had labored, the reasons which had induced or rather compelled them to take up arms, and the grand object of national independence for which they contended—very different from the democratic dreams which at the same time were agitating the states of western Europe.* The constitu-

* La Nation Grecque prend le ciel et la terre à témoin que, malgré le joug affreux des Ottomans, qui la menaçait de son dépérissement, elle existe encore. Pressée par les mesures aussi iniques que destructives, que ces tyrans féroces, après avoir violé leurs capitulations ainsi que tout esprit d'équité, rendaient de plus en plus oppressives, et qui ne tendaient à rien moins qu'à l'anéantissement entier du peuple soumis, elle s'était trouvée dans la nécessité absolue de courir aux armes, pour mettre à l'abri sa propre conservation. Après avoir repoussé la violence par le seul courage de ses enfans, elle déclare aujourd'hui devant Dieu et devant les hommes, par l'organe de ses représentans légitimes, réunis dans ce congrès national convoqué par le peuple, son Indépendance Politique.

"Loin d'être fondée sur des principes de démagogie et de rébellion, loin d'avoir pour motifs les intérêts particuliers de quelques individus, cette guerre est une guerre nationale et sacrée; elle n'a pour but que la restauration de la nation et sa réintégration dans les droits de pro-

¹ An. Hist. iv. 413, 416; Réponse à la Note de M. Strogonoff, July 26, 1821; Ibid., iv. 656, 659.

53. Alarming state of Constantinople, and efforts of the ambassadors. Dec. 2.

¹ Ann. Hist. iv. 434, 436; Note de la Porte, Dec. 2, 1821; Ann. Hist. iv. 663.

54. Formation of a constitution, and proclamation of independence of Greece.

"The head of Ali," said the Pacha, "is not so easily won;" and, drawing his pistols, he laid Hassan at his feet with one, and with another the chief of the staff of Chourchid. A frightful conflict ensued between Ali's faithful guards and his assassins, in the course of which Ali was mortally wounded by a ball in the side. "Run," said he, "and put to death Vasiliki, my wife, that she may follow me to the tomb, and the traitors may not sully her beauty." These were his last words. The dead body of Ali, drawn by the beard, was pulled to the door, where the head was cut off, and sent to the Sultan. Vasiliki, in tears, was led to Chourchid's tent, who treated her with respect, and accorded the permission to inter her husband, whom she adored, in a way suitable to his rank; and the valleys of Pindus soon resounded with the death wail for the Lion of Janina.¹

Such were the transports when the head of Ali was brought to Constantinople, and exposed at the gate of the Seraglio in a silver dish, that one would suppose the whole enemies of the Sultan had been destroyed by a single blow. Surrounded with troops, with a thousand bale-fires on the adjoining heights, casting a light over its streets at night, witnessing during the day the ceaseless march of the Asiatic troops toward the Balkan, gazing on the head of their mortal enemy, the Pacha of Janina, at the gate of the Seraglio, the Turks of Constantinople believed themselves invincible.* In the camp at Adrianople the warlike enthusiasm was still stronger: cries of joy and incitements to violence were heard on all sides; and to such a pitch did the transports rise there, that the grand-vizier was obliged to issue a proclamation, declaring that "he was about to march to exterminate the *infidel Muscovites*, and that he was only awaiting the last orders of the Sultan for the campaign." The entry of the grandson of Ali, a boy of eight years of age, his harem and his treasures, into Constantinople, resembled a Roman triumph. But amidst all this exultation at the death of Ali, it proved fatal to his conqueror, who hoped to succeed to his government and his influence. The treasures sent to Constantinople by Chourchid Pacha, though considerable, were by no means so large as had been expected;² and this disap-

pointment, joined to the ill success of the succeeding campaign in Greece, of which he had the chief direction, ultimately occasioned his fall.

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm produced by the fall of Ali, the Divan made the most extensive preparations for the next campaign. Chourchid Pacha, after subduing the Souliotes in his rear, was to unite all his forces employed in the siege of Janina, and, conjointly with the Pacha of Salonica, invade the Morea with sixty thousand men. The army of the grand-vizier, divided into two columns, was to advance from Adrianople, the one moving on Brahamlov, the other on Roudschuck, so as to keep the Russians, with whom a rupture was hourly expected, in check; while the Pacha of Erzeroum collected thirty thousand men among the warlike tribes of Asia to make head against the Persians, and cause the frontier of Georgia to be respected. At the same time a powerful squadron, consisting of three ships of the line, two frigates, and twenty brigs, with eight thousand land troops on board, was to issue from the Dardanelles, and, after revictualing the forts which still held out in the Morea, afterward carry reinforcements to Candia and Crete.¹

These designs were very imperfectly carried into execution. The fleet, indeed, to which the Greeks had no adequate force to oppose, successfully accomplished its mission. It revictualled Napoli di Romania and the other fortresses in the Morea, made sail for Alexandria, and with stores taken in there relieved the strongholds of Candia and Cyprus. But the land forces were far from being equally successful, and their failure disarranged the whole campaign. By great exertions Chourchid got together 17,000 men in the neighborhood of Janina, and with these, under the command of Omer-Vrione, he commenced, in the beginning of June, an attack on the Souliotes, preparatory to his grand expedition into the Morea. The Souliotes, even when strengthened by all the succor which could be obtained from the neighboring mountains of Epirus, did not exceed 4000. Such, however, was the vigor of the defense, and the skillful use which these brave mountaineers made of the rocky and inaccessible nature of their country, that all the attacks of the Ottomans were repelled. The women fought by the side of their husbands and brothers, fearing death less than Turkish slavery; and, after a desperate struggle of several days' duration, the Turks were finally repulsed. In vain Chourchid brought up 3000 fresh troops, and in person renewed the assault: the Souliotes were again victorious; and, after an incessant conflict of ten days among the rocks, ravines, and precipices, the Ottomans were finally routed, and driven out of the country, with the loss of their whole artillery, baggage, and stores, and above 4000 men slain and wounded. Despairing of success after this disaster, Chourchid drew off his troops into the plain,² contenting himself with blockading the entrance of the passes, in order to straiten the mountaineers by want of provisions.

* The following inscription was put on Ali's head, a curious proof of the disorders of the Ottoman empire:

"Il est notoire à l'univers que Depen-dient Ali Pacha depuis trente à quarante années avait reçu de nombreuses faveurs de la Sublime Porte. Loin d'en reconnaître le prix, il osa, contre la volonté expresse de la Porte, opprimer les peuples par ruse et par force: l'histoire ne présente pas l'exemple d'une perversité plus profonde que la sienne. Sans repos occupé de l'achèvement de ses coupables projets, il ne se contenta pas d'appuyer secrètement et ouvertement, par argent et par autres moyens, la rébellion et la trahison, partout où il pouvait en trouver les éléments, mais il sortit des limites de son territoire, excitant partout les troubles et plongeant dans la ruine nos infortunés sujets, gages confiés à nos soucis par le Juge suprême et tout-puissant. L'insurrection des Grecs éclata, et Ali, se livrant à ses projets de vengeance, employa de grandes sommes à armer les rebelles de la Morée, et des autres provinces, contre le peuple de la Foi. Cette dernière preuve de perversité devait rendre sa condamnation inévitable—VOICI SA TÊTE."—*L'Yaffa sur ALI PACHA. Annuaire Historique*, iv. 334.

58.

Turkish plan of the campaign.

1 Gordon, i. 377, 379; Ann. Hist. iv. 336, 338.

59.

Success of the fleet, and defeat of Chourchid Pacha by the Souliotes. June 7.

June 13.

2 Gordon, i. 378, 379; Ann. Hist. v. 335.

Leaving the command of the blockading force to his lieutenant, Omer-Vrione, he himself set out with such forces as he could collect, to direct the operations in the Morca.

Meanwhile, a frightful disaster occurred in the Archipelago, which, from the unexampled horror with which it was attended, and the sublime devotion by which it was avenged, forcibly attracted the attention of

all Europe, and at length awakened the sympathy which led to the independence of Greece. The opulent, fertile, and prosperous island of Chios, the garden of the *Ægean* Sea, and literally speaking an earthly paradise, if any earthly spot deserves the name, had hitherto remained a stranger to the insurrection. Its eighty thousand inhabitants, satisfied with their condition, and horror-struck with the devastation which they beheld around them, aimed only at preserving the blessings of peace and neutrality. But the Turks, instead of improving on these dispositions by gentle treatment, increased their exactions to such a degree that the rural inhabitants became ripe for revolt; and a Greek squadron, under Logotheti, having appeared off the island in the end of March, the insurrection broke out. The Turks shut themselves up in the citadel, where four thousand men were in arms; the Greeks took possession of the heights of Tourlotti, which commanded it, and for the next ten days a distant cannonade was kept up between the contending parties, without any material effect on either side. But meanwhile the Sultan, exasperated at the loss of an island which was so productive to the public treasury, was making the most vigorous efforts for its conquest. An army of thirty thousand fanatical Asiatics, eager for the plunder of the garden of the Archipelago, was collected on the opposite coast of Smyrna, and loudly demanded to be led to the promised scene of rapine and massacre; while a powerful fleet, consisting of six ships of the line, ten frigates, and twelve brigs, was collected in the Dardanelles, under the Capitan Pacha, Kara Ali, in person, and appeared on the 12th April off the island.¹

The Turkish commander offered an amnesty to the islanders if they would submit to surrender their arms, and deliver up the authors of the revolt. These terms having been rejected, the capitan began to land his troops, which was effected, without much difficulty, under cover of the guns of the fleet, as the Greek squadron, unable to face the broadsides of the three-deckers, had been obliged to retire. Meanwhile, the garrison in the citadel, taking advantage of the general consternation, made a vigorous sortie, and a division of gunboats kept continually transporting the Asiatic troops from the opposite bay of Tchesmé. Resistance was impossible against such an accumulation of forces; the intrenchments on Tourlotti were speedily stormed; and the Turks, rushing sword in hand into the town, commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the Christians, which lasted without interruption for the four following days. Flames soon broke out in every direction, and speedily reduced one

of the finest cities in the Levant to ashes: nine thousand men were put to the sword; the women and children were all sold as slaves; the very graves were rifled in search of concealed treasures; and the bones of the dead tossed about by the infuriated conquerors among the corpses of the recently slain. None in the town escaped the edge of the cimeter or captivity, excepting fifteen hundred, who sought and found refuge with the consul of France, by whom they were conveyed on board two French vessels of war in the harbor.¹

Not content with this inhuman massacre of unarmed and unoffending citizens, or seizure of innocent women and children, the Turks, on finding that the flames or the sword had left them no further victims in the city, rushed in tumultuous bodies into the country, and commenced the work of destruction in the rural villages. Large bodies of Asiatics, lured by the light of the burning town, assembled on the opposite coast in the bay of Tchesmé, and were hourly rowed over to the devoted island, to join in the massacre. In vain the consuls of France and Austria prevailed on the Capitan Pacha to proclaim an amnesty, which was accepted by the trembling inhabitants, on condition of delivering up the chiefs of the revolt, which was immediately done. Nothing could assuage the thirst for blood, or appease the fanatical fury of the Mussulmans. Every corner of the island was ransacked; every house burned or sacked; every human being that could be found slain or carried off into captivity. Modern Europe had never witnessed such an instance of bloodshed or horror. To find a parallel to it we must go back to the storming of Syracuse or Carthage by the Romans, or the sack of Bagdad or Aleppo by the arms of Timour. All the beautiful streets and superb villas of Chios were destroyed; its entire sacred edifices ruined; ninety churches in the island burned; forty villages delivered to the flames. Nothing was to be seen in the once smiling land but heaps of ruins, and a few ghastly inhabitants wandering in a state of starvation among them:

“Unheard, the clock repeats its hours;
Cold is the hearth within its bowers;
And should we thither roam,
Its echoes and its empty tread
Would sound like voices from the dead!”

When the massacre finally ceased from the exhaustion of the assassins, twenty-five thousand persons, chiefly full-grown men, had been slain; forty-five thousand women and children had been dragged into slavery; and fifteen thousand had escaped into the neighboring islands, all in the last state of destitution and misery, where the greater part of them died of grief or starvation. For several months the markets of Constantinople, Egypt, and Barbary were so stocked with slaves that their price fell a half; and purchasers were attracted from the furthest parts of Asia and Africa, whither the unhappy Greek captives were scattered.²

But the justice of Providence neither slumbered nor slept. An awful but not undeserved retribution overtook the authors of this fright-

60. Extension of the insurrection to Chios. March 23.

61. Frightful massacre in the island by the Turks. April 12.

¹ Gordon, i. 355, 357; Ann. Hist. v. 338, 340.

¹ Gordon, i. 358, 361; Ann. Hist. v. 339, 340.

62. General massacre in the island.

² Gordon, i. 360, 362; Ann. Hist. v. 340, 342; An. Reg. 1822, 174, 179.

ful tragedy.

63.
Signal retribu-
tion which be-
fell the Turks.

Its moving spring was the indignation of the human mind at such unheard-of atrocities; its instruments the heroic citizens of Hydra. Anxious spectators of the destruction of the beautiful island, so long the scene of their happiness and recreation, but yet unable to face the line-of-battle ships of the Turks in stand-up fight, the chiefs of Hydra agreed, in a council held on the subject, on an attempt to destroy the Turkish fleet by fire. Again, as in the last days of the Byzantine empire, the cause of Christendom was defended by the torch and the *Greek Fire*, become more formidable to its enemies than either its cannon or its swords. Two hundred brave men volunteered to steer the fireships; forty-eight were selected under ANDREAS MIAULIS,* Nicolas Apostoli, and Androuzzo, of Spezzia—names which, for cool courage, ardent devotion, and intrepid daring, may well be placed beside any recorded in history. There, too, an English sea-officer, attracted by the sight of danger, commenced that honorable course which has forever connected his name with the emancipation of Greece.† The volunteers chosen received the sacrament and benediction from the bishop, and stepped on board their fireships amidst the tears and prayers of their countrymen.¹

¹ Gordon, i.
363, 364;
Ann. Hist.
v. 342, 344.

The united fleets of Hydra and Spezzia assembled at Psarra on the 5th May, and set sail on the 10th in quest of the enemy. They amounted to fifty-six sail, the largest carrying twenty guns, among which were eight fireships. They cruised about close to the Turkish fleet, which lay at anchor in a bay on the coast of Asia for several days, and exchanged a distant cannonade with their line-of-battle ships, with little effect on either side. At length, on the evening of the 31st, an attack was resolved on by the Greek chiefs; and Miaulis, with fifteen ships of war and three fireships, entered the channel between Chios and the Asiatic coast at eight in the evening. The consternation was extreme on board the Turk-

* Andreas Miaulis, son to a Eubœan merchant, was born at Hydra, and went to sea, at the early period of seven years, in one of his father's vessels. While yet a boy, his native courage and disposition evinced itself: he was lively, passionate, and obstinate; he married, at eighteen, the daughter of a worthy priest at Hydra, and soon got a ship, and commenced voyages on his own account. On one occasion, while in command of this vessel, he fell in with a Maltese pirate of superior strength, to avoid whom he ran his vessel ashore, let his crew go, but remained alone in his vessel. After some hesitation, arising from their suspecting a trick, the pirates boarded, seized Miaulis, whom they beat in the most cruel manner to force him to reveal his money; but he finally recovered his vessel from the pirates by the aid of some Albanian soldiers. At length his fortune increased so much that he bought the *Hercules*, a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons burden, with which he beat off a French brig of fourteen guns. He was once taken by Nelson, who, pleased with his frank, intrepid manner, set him at liberty. In 1817 he retired from active life, have made a moderate fortune; but in 1821 he took up arms at the call of his country. His courage was *à toute épreuve*, his patriotic spirit unconquerable. Once on a critical occasion, as the sailors refused to embark, he ordered himself to be carried in his litter, as he was ill at the time, on board his brig; the sailors immediately followed. Fire and energy are his great characteristics; but he was also distinguished by deep thought, decision of character, and unconquerable perseverance.—GORDON'S *Greek Revolution*, i. 372, 374.

† Captain Frank Abney Hastings.

ish fleet; several of the ships of war engaged the line-of-battle ships, and Kara Ali, in his three-decker, had a narrow escape from a fireship, which only failed in consequence of the torch having been applied a minute too soon. On this occasion the attack was unsuccessful; the islanders retired to the road of Psarra, and the Capitan Pacha, proud of his victory, remained at anchor in the straits.¹

¹ Ann. Hist.
v. 343, 344;
Gordon, i.
365, 366.

Having received intelligence that the Ottoman squadron had been reinforced to thirty-eight sail, and that it was soon to unite with one of nearly equal strength from Egypt, the Hydriote chiefs became convinced that unless a successful attack was made, and that speedily, their country must inevitably be destroyed. Accordingly, it was resolved, during a dark night, to send in two fireships at the northern end of the straits, while at each end two vessels cruised about to pick up such of their crews as might survive their perilous mission. CONSTANTINE CANARIS, of Psarra, a name, immortal in history, and George Pepinis, of Hydra, volunteered their services, with thirty-two intrepid followers; and having partaken of the holy sacrament, they embarked at nine at night, and sailed under French and Austrian colors close to the Ottoman fleet, by whom they were hailed and desired to keep off. At midnight, a breeze from the north having sprung up, they ran in at once among the fleet. The Psarriote fireship, commanded by Canaris, grappled the prow of the Turkish admiral's ship, anchored at the head of the line, a league from the shore, and instantly set her on fire. Instantly jumping into a launch they had in tow, they passed under her poop, shouting the old war-cry of Byzantium, "Victory to the Cross!" The Hydriote fireship was with equal success fastened to the other three-decker, carrying the *Reala Bey's* flag and the treasure. They were then picked up by their comrades; and the thirty-four heroes, after having performed an exploit perhaps unexampled, sailed straight through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and got clear off without a wound.²

65.
Successful
attack on the
Turkish fleet.
June 19.

² Gordon, i.
365, 367;
Ann. Hist.
v. 343, 344.

The fate of the two ships which were fired was different. The *Reala Bey's* crew succeeded, by great exertions, in extinguishing the flames, though not before the vessel was rendered unfit for service, and detaching the fireship from the prow, which floated through the fleet in a state of conflagration, exciting universal consternation, and doing great damage to several vessels, until she stranded on the Asiatic coast. Not so with the admiral's ship. Canaris had fixed the grappling irons to the prow so strongly that all attempts to detach them were vain, and in a few minutes the superb three-decker was a sheet of flame. Hull, masts, rigging, all were in a blaze at the same time. The scene which ensued on board the vessel baffles all description. Two thousand three hundred persons, crowded on board a single line-of-battle ship, had no means of escaping the flames but by

* They had a barrel of gunpowder on board, determined to blow themselves up rather than be taken.—GORDON, i. 368.

plunging into the waves. None would approach the burning vessel for fear of being involved in the conflagration. Kara Ali, the Capitan Pacha, refused to quit his ship; he was seized by his officers, and forcibly carried on board a boat; but a burning mast fell athwart it, and wounded him mortally on the head. He was carried ashore, and rendered up his last breath on the shores of that Chios which he had changed from a smiling garden to a howling wilderness. Meanwhile the Turks in the town beheld with feelings of profound consternation the awful spectacle. Every vessel in the fleet, many of which were on fire, was distinctly seen by the prodigious light of the burning three-decker, the flames from which rose like a pillar of fire into the heavens. At length she blew up with an explosion so tremendous that every house for miles around was shaken to its foundation, every ship in the straits rocked as in a tempest; and the awful silence which immediately ensued was broken, as in an eruption of Vesuvius, by the clatter of the spars and masts which fell upon the fleet. The Turks in Chios, overwhelmed with terror, threw themselves with their faces on the ground, imploring the mercy of the Almighty. The victors returned in triumph to Ipsara, where they were received with transports of joy, crowned with garlands of flowers, and hastened to the altar to return thanks to God for the deliverance of their country; while the Turks in despair took refuge in the harbor of ¹ Ann. Hist. v. 344, 345; Mitylene, abandoning to the Greeks Gordon, i. 367, 369. the entire command of the Archipelago.¹

The Turks in Chios took vengeance for their disaster by renewing the massacre of the few unhappy Greeks who yet remained in the island. Twenty thousand of them rushed into the Mastic villages, which had escaped the former devastation from the capitulation, and put every human being they could reach to the sword. In the beginning of August there were not eighteen hundred of the original inhabitants alive in the island, almost all old women, who had been concealed in caves, out of eighty-five thousand who peopled it a few months before. But the slaughter of a few thousand unarmed and starving Greeks could not affect the issue of the campaign, or diminish the weight of the blow which had been struck. Canaris, not less than Themistocles, had been the saviour of his country; the blow struck in the straits of Chios was as decisive as that formerly delivered in the bay of Salamis. By depriving the Turks in the Morea of the expected co-operation and supplies from the fleet, it exposed them to starvation and ruin in that province, and was the principal cause of the defeat of the vast armament which the Ottoman government had by great exertions got together for the subjection of southern Greece.²

Aware of the great force which the Turks intended to bring against them, and justly distrustful of their own means of withstanding it, the Greek government in the Morea made every exertion to prevent the threatened invasion by raising up foes to their enemies in rear. For this pur-

pose they dispatched eight hundred men, under Mavrocordato in person, to Missolonghi, in order to lend assistance to the Souliotes, and prevent Chourchid Pacha from detaching in aid of the expedition against the Peloponnesus. The reinforcement disembarked on the 4th June at Missolonghi, amidst the cheers of the inhabitants; but very little real good resulted from the expedition. Mavrocordato was soon found to have no talent for war: he failed in acquiring the confidence of the soldiery, from their perceiving that he did not deserve it. Several attempts made to open a communication with the Souliotes failed from the able dispositions of Omer-Vrione, who, having taken up a central position between Janina, Arta, and Prevesa, his three strongholds, at once secured his communication with each, and straitened the Souliotes, who, blockaded in their inaccessible precipices, were daily becoming more in want of provisions. Even the heroic Mark Bozzaris failed in cutting his way through to his gallant countrymen; and at length he was defeated on the 15th July, with the loss of four hundred men, by the Turks at Pelta. In this action a battalion of Philhellenes, or European sympathizers, was almost destroyed; and the survivors, disgusted with the divisions and treachery which they saw around them, retired from Greece. Disheartened by this disaster, Mavrocordato no longer thought but of the defense of Missolonghi, which it was obvious would soon be besieged by the victorious Turks; and the brave Souliotes, abandoned to themselves, were ere long so straitened for provisions that they were fairly starved into submission, and happy to accept the humane proposal of the governor of the Ionian Islands, who offered them an asylum in the British dominions, whither two thousand were transported in the end of September, with consent of Omer-Vrione, who was too happy to be delivered from such formidable antagonists.¹

While these disasters were closing every thing but a guerrilla warfare in Epirus, the efforts of the Greek government to effect a division in Macedonia and northern Greece were not in the end attended with better success. In the first instance, indeed, the efforts of Odysseus and other Greek chiefs, aided by the unbounded rapacity and arrogance of the Turkish pachas, excited an insurrection in the hill country of Macedonia; and in April, 1822, six thousand gallant mountaineers were in arms in the valleys descending from the snowy summits of Mount Olympus. But the pachas of Salonica and Thessaly, having considerable forces at their command, speedily took the field against them at the head of fifteen thousand men. With this imposing array they forced the passes of the far-famed defile of Tempe; and the mountaineers having refused to surrender, and slain a Turkish officer and three priests, who bore a flag of truce, they commenced an assault on Navacta, their chief stronghold. The defense was brave and obstinate; but at length numbers prevailed. The place was stormed, and a frightful massacre ensued, which amply avenged the ferocity of the Greeks at the sack

67. Renewed massacre in Chios. July 31.

² Ann. Hist. v. 352, 353; Ottoman government had by great exertions got together for the subjection of southern Greece.²

68. Unsuccessful expedition of Mavrocordato into Epirus. June 4.

Sept. 20. ¹ Gordon, i. 379, 395; Ann. Hist. v. 351, 361.

69. Insurrection and its suppression in Macedonia. April, 1822.

April 1.

of Tripolitza. Four thousand Greeks were slain on the spot; the victorious Moslems pursued the fugitives in all directions, cutting them down without mercy; one hundred and twenty villages were delivered to the flames; and a band of Jews, who had taken no part in the action, six hundred in number, followed in the rear of the victors, merely for the pleasure of beating out the brains of the Christians with their clubs. One of them boasted that he had in this manner dispatched sixty-eight victims. The Pacha of Salonica, after this victory, retired to that city, where he carried his vengeance so far as to put to death the wife of Kara Tasso, an Olympic chief, who had headed the insurrection, with frightful tortures, and massacred the whole hostages from Mount Athos who were in his hands. Kara Tasso crossed over to the island of Skopelo, where he pursued a partisan warfare, and often bathed his sword in Mohammedan blood.¹

Delivered by these sanguinary successes from all anxiety regarding his rear, Chourchid Pacha was enabled to concur in the grand measure of invading the Morea. The insurrection had extended to Eubœa, and that beautiful and fertile island was in the hands of the Greeks, with the exception of the fortresses of Negropont and Carysto, which were still, with the plains adjacent to them, in the power of the Mohammedans. It was of the last importance, therefore, to effect the conquest of the Morea as soon as possible, and thus prevent the whole of southern Greece from falling into the hands of the insurgents. Chourchid accordingly broke up from Janina on

June 17. the 17th June, and having effected a junction with the pachas of Salonica and Thessaly, their united forces, thirty thousand strong, of which two-thirds were cavalry, passed the defile of Thermopylæ without resistance, and appeared before Corinth on the 18th

July 18. July, where the citadel was delivered to them, though amply stored with provisions, by the treachery of a Greek priest who commanded the place. The Turks then advanced without opposition to Argos, the seat of government. The executive council, in extreme alarm, took refuge in Tripolitza, after issuing a proclamation calling on every Greek, under sixty years of age, to appear in arms at the appointed rendezvous of the chiefs. The Ottoman army, eighteen thousand strong, even after leaving strong garrisons in Corinth and Argos, proceeded on with very little opposition to Napoli di Romania, the garrison of which they reinforced so as to enable it to resume the offensive, and keep the blockading force at a distance from its walls.²

But this was the limit of their success. The Turks found at Napoli, as the French did at Moscow, not the termination of their conquests, but the commencement of their ruin. Then appeared of what vital importance to the cause of Greek independence had been the blow struck in the straits of Chios. Instead of a powerful fleet stored with ammunition and provisions as they expected, the

Turks found in Napoli nothing but a starving garrison, demanding, not capable of giving, supplies. The surrounding plains, burnt up with the heat of summer, could afford nothing for the support of their numerous cavalry, the horses of which, already broken down by their long march, were now dying by hundreds daily from want of forage. In a few days the want of provisions for the men became so great that no resource remained but living on the dead bodies of the horses which had perished. Meanwhile the Greek chiefs, who on this occasion showed a noble example of unanimity and firmness, were daily gathering around them. Demetrius Ipsilanti, who had the chief command, took his measures with equal skill and resolution, and soon accumulated forces which entirely cut off their communications. Colocotroni raised the siege of the citadel of Corinth, and hastened to the scene of action with three thousand men; an equal force was landed from Hydra and the islands; the mountaineers flocked together from all quarters; and the Turks found themselves straitened by twelve thousand men, who hung around them on all sides, and rendered all attempts at foraging or levying supplies impossible.¹

Aware of the extreme danger of their position, dreading alike starvation if they remained where they were, or destruction if they adventured on the wasted line of their former advance, the Turkish general proposed to enter into a capitulation for the evacuation of the Morea. This the Greek chiefs declined, expecting, with reason, that he would be obliged to surrender at discretion. Upon this the Turks resolved to cut their way through. To effect this object, however, they had to pass by the defile of Tretes, which was guarded by Niketas, one of the ablest of the Greek chiefs, at the head of three thousand men; while Colocotroni, with one thousand more, marched to St. George to intercept their retreat. The natural strength of the passes was enhanced by felling trees and piling up stones on the rocky slopes, which were sent thundering down upon the enemy when they appeared. With great difficulty, and after sustaining a very heavy loss from the Greek marksmen, who, securely posted in the rocks above, sent down a shower of balls on the wearied column beneath, Mahmoud Pacha succeeded in forcing his way through to Cleonæ, leaving the defile strewn with the dead bodies of men and horses. But the seraskier who commanded the second column was not so fortunate, for Ipsilanti and Niketas appeared on its flank, and the cavalry defiled through a long pass under a terrific fire from the overhanging heights, which they could neither bear nor return. Impatient of the danger, and seeing their comrades falling at every step around them, the horsemen drove on with frantic haste, tumbling over each other, and presenting a confused mass of men and horses, upon which every shot of the Greeks told with fatal effect. In this disastrous conflict the Turks lost five thousand men; on the preceding day two thousand had fallen, including a pacha; and the whole artillery, baggage, and stores fell into the hands of the

¹ Gordon, i. 394, 399; Ann. Hist. v. 357, 359.

^{70.} Grand invasion of the Morea.

March and April.

June 17.

July 18.

² Ann. Hist. v. 357, 359; Gordon, i. 418, 423.

^{71.} Dangerous position of the Turks, and able measures of the Greeks. Aug. 1 (8).

¹ Ann. Hist. v. 358, 360; Gordon, i. 428, 430.

^{72.} Disastrous retreat of the Turks. Aug. 8.

Aug. 9.

Aug. 10.

Greeks. Altogether, when the Ottoman army left the Peloponnesus, there were not more than two thousand left to reinforce the garrison of Napoli di Romania, and seven thousand around Corinth under Jussuf Pacha, the poor remains of thirty thousand, of whom two-thirds were splendid horse, who had entered the country six weeks before.¹

This memorable defeat, so glorious to the Christians, proved decisive of the campaign over the whole of Greece. Three times Chourchid Pacha endeavored to force the pass of Thermopylæ, in order to convey succors from Salonica to Jussuf Pacha at Corinth; but Odysseus now stood upon his defense, and defeated him with severe loss on every occasion, and forced the Turks to retreat to Larissa. Chourchid was soon after seized with dysentery, brought on partly by fatigue, partly by anxiety about his reverses; and he died on November 16th a natural death, just in time to avoid the bow-string of the Sultan, which had been sent to dispatch him. The Acropolis of Athens, which had been long blockaded, at length capitulated from want of provisions on the 21st June 21.

June, on conditions very favorable to the Turks, who were 1150 in number, of whom not more than a fifth were capable of bearing arms, the remainder being women and children. After the capitulation, however, had been signed, it was violated by the Greeks, who perfidiously commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners, of whom four hundred were slaughtered; and the whole would have perished, had it not been for the generous interposition of the European consuls. This important conquest gave the Greeks the entire command of Attica, but it affixed a dark stain to their cause, and contributed much to weaken the interest with which it was regarded in foreign states.²

Despite all the victories of Omer-Vrione, part of the Souliotes and Acarnanians were still in arms in the mountains of Epirus; and conceiving that they would never be thoroughly subdued as long as Missolonghi remained in the hands of the insurgents, he resolved to lay siege to that place. Accordingly, in the end of October he crossed the Achelous in two columns, and invested the place; but it was defended by Mark Bozzaris, who had communicated his own heroic spirit to the garrison, aided by a French artillery officer, who gave them the advantages of his science and experience. Though the garrison did not amount to four hundred men, with fourteen guns, Mavrocordato magnanimously threw himself into the place, saying it was there they should lay down their lives. By degrees their numbers were augmented to three thousand men by supplies received from the Morea and the islands by sea; an assault, six times renewed, was vigorously repulsed on January 5th, with the loss of fifteen hundred men to the assailants; and the mountaineers having descended from their hills, and intercepted the communications in his rear, Omer-Vrione was compelled to raise the siege, abandoning his whole artillery and stores to the

enemy. His losses during his retreat were extremely severe. The Mussulmans lost seven hundred men, swept away by the swollen torrent in recrossing the Achelous; and to such straits were they reduced by famine, that, after eating all their horses, they were forced to live on grass and wild herbs. Finally, after losing three-fourths of his army, Omer-Vrione reached Prevesa with three thousand men on 5th March, from whence he escaped alone in a boat by sea, thus abandoning the province as a fugitive which he had trampled on as a conqueror, and having lost twelve thousand men in his disastrous siege.¹

The insurrection was daily assuming more formidable proportions in Cyprus and Candia. In the former of these islands, in the month of August, sixty-two villages and towns had disappeared, or existed only in ruins. Adding insult to injury, the Turks, wherever they had the power, not contented with burning the houses, destroying the crops, and rooting up the vines and olive trees, exercised the most revolting cruelties on the inhabitants. The monks were in an especial manner the objects of their vindictive persecution; they stabled their horses in the churches, and actually bridled and saddled some of these unhappy ecclesiastics, and forcing them to go on all fours, rode on them in derision till they dropped down dead of fatigue. Still the mountaineers with heroic resolution maintained the contest, and in many instances took a bloody revenge on their persecutors. In Crete the Turks were in greater strength than in any other island, and by making a general appeal to the Mussulmans to take up arms, the pacha succeeded in arraying twenty-five thousand men around his standards. But all his efforts were shattered against the resolution of the Sfakiotes, who drew the Ottomans into their defiles, where they made such havoc of them that, after sustaining a loss of three hundred men, they were obliged to shut themselves up in Canea and the other fortresses on the island, leaving the whole plains as well as mountains in the hands of the insurgents. An expedition, having five thousand troops on board, came from Egypt; but though they at first gained some success, they also were in the end driven back into the fortresses, and the campaign closed under the same circumstances as it had begun.²

Operations at land in the Morea closed by a more important conquest, in a military point of view, than the Greeks had yet achieved. This was the fall of Napoli di Romania, which was carried by escalade on the night of the 12th December. After the retreat of the Turks from the Morea, the blockade of the place was resumed by Colocotroni at the head of ten thousand Greeks, who, as usual, flocked to the anticipated scene of plunder; and having ascertained that the place was very negligently guarded on the summit of Fort Palamide, where the Turks trusted to the natural strength of the ground and height of the precipices, the Greek chiefs resolved on an assault by escalade. The garrison were already reduced to the last straits

¹ Gordon, i. 433, 437; Ann. Hist. v. 359, 360.

² Gordon, i. 410, 415; Ann. Hist. v. 356.

¹ Gordon, i. 455, 465; Ann. Hist. v. 364, 367, vi. 526, 527.

² Ann. Hist. v. 368, 369; Gordon, i. 485, 500.

^{76.} Fall of Napoli di Romania. Decem. 12.

for provisions, having subsisted for weeks on refuse and garbage, and latterly on human flesh. They had no longer strength either to mount guard or work their guns. A convoy of fifteen hundred men, dispatched from Corinth by Jusuf Pacha, was defeated in the defiles of Agion-Oros by Niketas. Deprived now of all hope of succor, and exhausted by famine and sickness, the beleaguered Turks refused to ascend the rocky steep of Palamide, which remained almost destitute of defenders. Aware of these circumstances, the Greeks, amidst the gloom of a dark and rainy winter night, climbed up the rocky steep, applied their scaling-ladders to the rampart, and safely mounted to the summit. At daybreak the Turks in the fortress beneath beheld with speechless horror the standard of the Cross waving on the summit of the mountain citadel. Further resistance was now impossible, for the guns from the citadel commanded every part of the town. The Ottomans, therefore, were too happy to conclude a capitulation, which for once was well observed, and was the first example of a return to the usages of civilization in this frightful war. By the aid of the English frigate, the *Cambrian*, which fortunately was in the roads at the time, the garrison, which only contained twelve hundred men still capable of bearing arms, was transported to Asia. The Greeks found immense military resources in the fortress. Four hundred pieces of cannon, most of them bronze, in good condition, with large stores of ammunition, fell into their hands. What was of still more importance, they had secured an impregnable fortress, a second Gibraltar, for their *place d'armes*, the harbor of

¹ Gordon, i. 477, 480; which enabled them to derive full benefit from their naval superiority, *Ann. Hist.* and soon made it be selected for the seat of government.¹

To conclude the operations of this memorable campaign, it only requires to notice the last maritime operations of the year, which were not less brilliant than those at its commencement. Irritated rather than intimidated by the bad success of their former expedition, the Divan, after appointing a new admiral, Mohammed Pacha, in lieu of Kara Ali, who had been killed, fitted out a vast armament of ninety sail, including four line-of-battle ships, in the Dardanelles, with which they set sail, bound for Napoli di Romania, with ample stores to revictual all the fortresses in the Morea. Unable to resist such a formidable fleet, the Greek squadron of sixty sail, the largest of which only carried twenty guns, contented themselves with following the enemy at a distance, and sometimes engaging in a useless cannonade, watching for an opportunity of sending in some of their fireships among the fleet. No such opportunity offered; but the Turkish admiral was so much intimidated by their sight, that he did not venture to enter the gulf of Napoli di Romania; and giving up, when within sight of it, all thoughts of revictualing that fortress, the main object of his expedition, he made sail for Suda, leaving the beleaguered fortress to its fate, which, in consequence, soon after fell into the hands of the enemy.²

² *Ann. Hist.* v. 361, 362; *Gordon, i.* 439, 446.

The much-wished-for opportunity, which did not occur on this occasion, at length presented itself. On the 9th November, the Turkish fleet was lying at anchor in the bay of Tenedos, waiting orders from Constantinople, when two Turkish vessels hove in sight, closely followed by two Greek brigs, with whom they maintained a running fight. In effect, the chased vessels, which bore the Ottoman colors, were fireships, one of which was commanded by the intrepid Canaris, and the other by a Hydriot hero, manned by seventeen of the seamen who had burned the admiral's vessel at Chios, dressed as Turkish sailors. Not suspecting the ruse, the Turks, with great interest, watched the chase, and opened their line, with loud cheers, to admit their supposed countrymen into safety. In an instant Canaris was upon them. The Hydriotes ran aboard of the admiral, and the Psarriotes fastened their bark to another ship of the line, containing the treasure, while Canaris called out, "Turks, you are burned, as at Chios!" The Captain Pacha, by cutting his cables, narrowly escaped destruction; but the other two-decker was so strongly grappled by Canaris that it caught the flames, and, with sixteen hundred persons on board, blew up soon after with a terrific explosion. In utter consternation, the whole Turkish vessels cut their cables, and made for the Dardanelles in confusion; two frigates ran ashore, and were wrecked, in the flight; and the entire command of the sea was abandoned to the Greeks, who sailed from the Dardanelles, without opposition, to Alexandria. So daring did they become, that not only did they entirely intercept and ruin the Turkish commerce, but made prizes of thirteen vessels, including one with a million piastres on board, in the harbor of Damietta. This glorious result is mainly to be ascribed to the cool daring and personal prowess of Canaris, who, after he had left the fireship, and descended into his bark, seeing the fireship was not properly inflamed, went on board again alone, and set it on fire! His single arm had already in this naval campaign destroyed above three thousand of his enemies. The utmost rejoicings took place at Hydra and Ipsara for this additional success; and the former having received a gift of forty guns from a distant countryman, their rocks were bristling with cannon, and were well-nigh impregnable. At Ipsara, Canaris was again crowned with laurel by his grateful countrymen, and the public satisfaction was wound up to the highest pitch by a declaration from the captain of the *Cambrian*, who was present on the occasion, that the British government, now guided in its foreign policy by the liberal hand of Mr. Canning, would recognize the Greek blockade.¹

Such was the Greek campaign of 1822, glorious to the arms of that country, not the least memorable in the annals of the world. Never possessing the resources of more than six hundred thousand souls, they had, single-handed, confronted the strength of the Ottoman empire, having twenty millions of Mussulmans at their command, and come off victorious

^{78.} Destruction of another Turkish ship of the line.

^{Nov. 9.}

¹ *Ann. Hist.* v. 362, 363; *Gordon, i.* 468, 471.

^{79.} Glorious results of this campaign to the Greeks.

in the strife. Not only had they repulsed the invasion of above fifty thousand armed Turks, and destroyed four-fifths of their number, but they had made themselves masters of their principal strongholds. Notwithstanding the loss occasioned by the death of Ali Pacha, their standards still waved on the ramparts of Missolonghi; the Souliotes were yet in arms in their mountains; Athens and Tripolitza had been recovered, Napoli di Romania taken, Corinth lost only by treachery. The Morea had been delivered; from Arta on the Adriatic to Volo on the *Ægean*, the entire country, including the islands, had been regained to the Cross. At sea their triumphs had been still more decisive. Twice had they driven the Turks from the *Ægean* Sea; two ships of the line had been destroyed, several frigates stranded, innumerable merchantmen taken, by a power which had not a vessel mounting more than twenty guns at their disposal. The annals of ancient Greece contain nothing more brilliant, those of the world few events, in a moral view, more sublime.

But these successes, great as they were, had not been achieved without proportional losses; and they had been so great that, if the contest were continued much longer, it was extremely doubtful whether the territory of Greece would not be regained to the Crescent by the entire destruction of its inhabitants. Already had they been thinned in a fearful manner. The Turkish system of putting to death all the male inhabitants, and selling all the women for slaves, had told desperately on their scanty numbers. Although the contest had only continued two years, two hundred thousand Greeks—a third of the entire population of the revolted provinces—had perished by the sword or famine, or been sold as slaves. It was impossible that any people, how brave and heroic soever, could long go on under such a drain of its inhabitants. And though the losses of the Ottomans had also been very great, yet were they nothing in comparison; for, supposing fifty thousand of them had been cut off, that was a four-hundredth part of their numbers, whereas the Greeks had been weakened by a third of theirs.¹

The losses of the Turks in this disastrous year, however, did not proceed solely from the swords or the torches of the Greeks. Nature seemed to have conspired with man for the ruin of the empire of the Osmanlis. At ten at night, on the 13th August, some smart shocks of an earthquake were felt at Aleppo and Antioch, and in a few seconds a shock took place so violent that whole streets in both cities were thrown down, and twelve thousand persons were buried in their ruins. This catastrophe was succeeded by several other shocks of lesser force for the next fortnight; and at length another succeeded on the 30th, of such violence as entirely ruined the city of Aleppo, and drove all its citizens who escaped instant death into the adjoining country. About the same time the *cholera morbus*, since so well known in western Europe, made its appearance in Bagdad; the Persians defeated the Turks in a

pitched battle, with such loss that their army, fifty thousand strong, entirely dispersed, and the victorious Persians, meeting with no opposition, advanced to Bassora. In consequence of these disasters, and deeming the dissolution of the empire of the Osmanlis at hand, the Pacha of Acre revolted against the Porte, and hoisted the standard of independence on his impregnable ramparts.¹ Disorders not less serious took place in Jassy, from the savage temper of the unruly janizaries, who, during the night of the 10th Aug, set the city on fire in several places, and immediately commenced a general massacre of the Christians. Several thousands of the latter fell under the Turkish cimeters; one hundred and sixty of their assassins, in a state of intoxication, perished in the flames which they themselves had raised; and of the entire city only one hundred and fifty houses and a part of the palace, out of two thousand, escaped destruction from the conflagration.²

An occasion such as this, when disasters of all kinds were “accumulating round a sinking throne and falling empire,” was the most favorable that could possibly have been desired to advance the designs of Russia against the throne of the Sultan. Yet it passed over without any advantage having been taken by the Czar of the crisis. The Russian ambassador, who was still at Odessa, continued to use the utmost efforts to soften the cruelties of the Turks, and claimed execution of the treaties in favor of the Christians in Moldavia and Wallachia, in which he was strongly supported by those of France and England; and at length, by their united efforts, a note was presented by the Reis-Effendi, which contained the last concessions to which the Divan could be brought to accede. It announced that the Porte, in conformity with ancient usage, had named two Christian hospodars, natives of those provinces. In return for this concession, the Turks demanded the extradition of the Greek refugees, and the surrender of the disputed fortresses in Asia; and announced at the same time, that in order to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in favor of the Greeks, all merchant vessels in the harbor of Constantinople were to be subjected to search—a provision which left the door open to interminable future disputes.³

An earnest application was made by the Greek government to the Congress of Verona to be admitted into the European family, and taken under the protection of the Western powers.* It met, however, with no success;

* “Les sentimens de pitié, d’humanité, et de justice, dont la réunion des Souverains est animée, font espérer au Gouvernement de la Grèce que sa juste demande sera convenablement accueillie. Si, contre toute attente, l’offre du Gouvernement venait à être rejetée, la présente déclaration équivaudra à une Protestation formelle que la Grèce entière dépose en ce jour au pied du trône de la Justice Divine—Protestation qu’un peuple chrétien adresse avec confiance à l’Europe et à la grande famille de la Chrétienté. Affaiblis et délaissés, les Grecs n’espéreront alors que dans le Dieu fort. Soutenus par sa main toute-puissante, ils ne fléchiront pas devant la tyrannie: Chrétiens persécutés depuis quatre siècles pour être restés fidèles à notre Sauveur et à Dieu notre Souverain Maître, nous défendrons, jusqu’au dernier, son eglise, nos foyers

^{80.}
Their losses.

¹ Gordon, i.
470, 471.

^{81.}
Dreadful earthquakes in Asia Minor.
Aug. 13.

Aug. 30.

^{82.}
Negotiations with Russia during the year.

³ Ann. Hist.
v. 347, 348;
Note, July
16, 1822.

the Count Metaxa, who was the bearer of it, was not even admitted to the Congress. The dread of revolutions, and risk of recognizing in any shape insurgent states, was at that period so strong with the allied sovereigns, and especially the Emperor Alexander, that it rendered them deaf alike to all the feelings of humanity and all the suggestions of wisdom; for certainly so fair an opportunity never had been presented for establishing a Christian power on the shores of the Bosphorus, and rearing up a counterpoise to Russia in the very country which was the principal object of its ambition. The reason was, that it was thought this would be a dangerous concession to the revolutionary principle, to combat which in Spain and Italy was the principal object of the Congress; and such was the strength of their feeling that it rendered men blind to the fact that the movement in Greece was religious and national, not revolutionary, and that it was a war of races, not castes, which had sprung up on the shores of the *Ægean Sea*.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. v. 493, 494; Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Verone*, i. 72, 76.

The long continuance and repeated disasters of the Greek war, increased during the course of this year the discontents of the national party in Constantinople to such a degree, that it became evident that a change in the ruling power in the capital had become unavoidable. Public opinion is not less, on important occasions, the tribunal of last resort in Constantinople than in the capitals of western Europe; but its oscillations are more violent, and its decisions more sudden and sanguinary. It was a constant subject of complaint with the janizaries and the Asiatic troops that the new system would prove the ruin of every thing, that the treatment of the insurgents was far too gentle, and that the empire would never be righted till the old system was restored, and the infidels were every where destroyed with fire and sword. The ruling favorite of the Sultan, Halet Effendi, and his creature the grand-vizier, Saleh Pacha, were in an especial manner the objects of public obloquy for their supposed influence in these changes. At length, in the beginning of November, matters came to a crisis, in consequence of the appearance of a decree of the Sultan prohibiting, on the plea of the public necessities, the use of gold and silver ornaments by all Mussulmans, and requiring them to be brought to the public treasury to be melted down, where they were taken at 25 per cent. below the real value. The public clamor now became so violent that the Sultan in vain endeavored to appease it by the exhibition of a number of Christian heads, or of heads of pachas supposed to favor them, daily at the Seraglio gate. Having satisfied himself, by a nocturnal perambulation of Constantinople in disguise, that the public voice could no longer be disregarded, the Sultan resolved upon a conces-

sion; and by a decree on the 9th, the mufti and the grand-vizier were deposed, and Halet Effendi exiled. The latter, however, was too powerful a character to be allowed to rest in retirement. The new ministers, who were chosen by the janizaries, extorted an order from the Sultan for his execution; he was seized and strangled, and his head exposed at the gate of the Seraglio, with an inscription, charging him with every imaginable crime. The new mufti was Sedke-Sude, the new grand-vizier Abdallah Pacha—both leaders of the janizary party, which for a time got the entire command of the government.¹

A frightful catastrophe occurred at Constantinople in the spring of 1823, which in the excited state of the public mind, added much to the sinister pre-sentiments with which men's minds were filled. On 1st March, a dreadful fire broke out in the vicinity of Tophani, the imperial cannon-foundry, which spread with incredible rapidity. A violent wind, which frequently changed its direction, spread the flames on all sides, and in a day the whole quarter of Pera and Galata was in flames. The losses sustained were immense; and if the wind had not providentially changed to the north, all that beautiful quarter of the city would have perished. As it was, 8000 houses were consumed; 1200 pieces of cannon, immense trains of artillery-wagons, several entire barracks, were the prey of the flames; above 1000 persons perished, and 40,000 were thrown houseless and starving on the streets. The Mussulmans, struck with consternation at the magnitude of the disaster, exclaimed, "God is with the infidels!" Others, filled with the fanaticism of the period, maintained it was a judgment for their sins, and that the only way to propitiate the Almighty was to massacre the Christians. Others, however, opened their hearts to more humane sentiments; and many voices, especially of women, were heard to exclaim, when the conflagration was at its height, that "God was avenging the innocent blood shed at Chios!"²

Seriously alarmed by the disastrous issue of the preceding campaign, the Sultan commenced the year with the most vigorous measures. The grand-vizier was deposed (the usual consequence of disaster), and his successor, Ali Bey, enjoined to "meditate night and day on the pressing concerns of the Morea and of Persia, so as to secure the interests of religion and of his highness's entire possessions." Orders were at the same time sent to the pachas of the Danubian provinces of Macedonia and Epirus, for a general levy of all Mussulmans between fifteen and fifty years of age, to assemble in a general rendezvous in Thessaly early in May. The utmost efforts were also made to repair and fit out the fleet, and with such success, that by the end of April a powerful squadron of frigates and smaller vessels was ready for sea in the Dardanelles. The bad success of the preceding year had determined the Divan to discontinue the use of the ponderous ships of the line, which were

et nos tombeaux; heureux d'y descendre libres et Chrétiens, ou de vaincre comme nous avons vaincu jusqu'ici, par la seule force de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ et par sa divine puissance."—*Adresse du Gouvernement de la Grèce aux Souverains Alliés*, Nov. 1, 1822. *Annuaire Historique*, v. 405.

¹ Ann. Hist. v. 373, 376.

² Dreadful fire at Constantinople in spring of 1823. March 1.

² An. Hist. vi. 516, 518.

⁸⁶ Preparations of the Turks for the next campaign.

exposed to so much danger from the Greek fire-ships amidst the shoals, straits, and deeply indented bays of the Archipelago. The Sultan's eldest son, Prince Ahmed, died on 16th April; but another was born a few days after, April 20. who was named Abdul-Metschid—¹ An. Hist. that is, "Servant of the God of vi. 517, 518. glory."¹

Despairing, after the fall of Napoli di Romania, of maintaining his ground in the citadel of Corinth, Drama-Ali, who commanded there, resolved to send to Patras all the useless mouths with which he was encumbered, and to keep only such as were essential for the defense of the Acro-Corinthus. Five thousand, accordingly, were sent, who forced the pass styled the *Achaian Gates*, though not without experiencing considerable loss. On arriving, however, at the defile of Acrata, they encountered Niketas, who had posted his men in the most advantageous manner among the rocks and bushes which overhang the strait. The Mussulmans were not aware of their presence till they were fully engaged in the defile, when a plunging fire opened on them on all sides along the whole extent of the line. Resistance being hopeless, Niketas proposed a capitulation, but it was accepted only by two hundred and fifty, who were conducted prisoners to Tripolitza. The remainder defended themselves with the courage of despair, and held out for some time; but they were at length all destroyed, or perished of famine, except a few who escaped, more like skeletons than men, by sea to Patras. Their whole baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Such was the termination of the grand expedition of thirty thousand men into the Morea, begun six months before with the prospect of effecting the entire conquest of Greece.²

The successes of the Greeks had now been so great, that their independence appeared to be established on a solid basis; and if they had remained united, and been recognized as an independent state by the Congress of Verona, it is probable the contest would have ceased, and they would have been admitted into the European family at this time. But success brought, as usual, divisions in its train; the chiefs were soon at variance with each other and with the legislature, and the Greeks ere long were exposed to greater danger from their own dissensions than from the arms of the Ottomans. Not to mention jealousies innumerable between the different chiefs, there was one grand source of division which pervaded the whole persons intrusted with the administration of affairs, arising from the want of a central power, and the long extinction of any national spirit in the inhabitants of the country. The military chiefs desired to be independent, and to carry on the war like guerrilla chiefs, each on his own account, while the civil deputies were desirous of subjecting them to the authority of a central government, chosen by the representatives of the people. To such a length did the discord come, that when the deputies of the National Assembly met in February at Astros in the Morea, they could not

submit to meet in any room, but held their deliberations in a garden, where the two parties were separated from each other, and the debates, if they could be called such, were conducted by angry messages, often mingled with threats, conveyed from one to the other. Even the leaders were at variance. Mavrocordato and Ipsilanti were not on speaking terms: it was only by great exertions that a small number could be secured for the executive council; and, such as it was, its authority was only really established in the islands. On the mainland the election of representatives was found to be impracticable, and the authority of the chiefs, like that of separate guerrilla leaders, was alone obeyed within their respective bounds. The sittings of the legislature closed after a stormy session, in which little was done to forward the common cause against the Turks, but a considerable step made to limit the authority of the military chiefs, by a decree that the commanders-in-chief by sea and land were to hold their power only during the duration of their respective expeditions.¹

The plan of the next campaign arranged by the Divan at Constantinople was on a very magnificent scale; but its execution was on a very different one, which revealed the growing weakness and decrepitude of the empire. The Pachas of Roumelia, Adrianople, Salonica, Larissa, and Eubœa, were to unite their forces, which, it was calculated, would amount to eighty thousand, to attack the Isthmus of Corinth, across which the Greeks had constructed lines of defense, in front, while a corps of Mussulmans, transported by sea, took the position in rear. Mustapha, vizier of Scodra, was ordered to undertake the siege of Missolonghi with forty thousand men; while Yussuf Pacha, Omer-Vrione, and others, were to co-operate in Thessaly and Attica; and the new Capitan Pacha, with a grand fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, was to sweep the Ægean Sea, and reduce the revolted islands to subjection. In making these plans, however, the Turks entirely overlooked two circumstances which proved of vital importance to the issue of the campaign; viz., the danger of famine for their troops, from the magnitude of the devastation which they themselves had previously committed, and the exhaustion of their own Mussulman population, from whom alone the soldiers were drawn, from the losses already sustained. These two circumstances caused their principal enterprises to miscarry, and saved the Greeks at a time when their own divisions brought them to the very verge of destruction.²

The Greeks were far from having an equal force at their command; but they had powerful auxiliaries in the rugged and mountainous nature of their country, the devastation produced by the preceding campaigns, the skill which the mountaineers had now acquired in the use of arms and the defense of the passes through which the invaders required to pass, and the admirable courage and ability of the seamen by whom their fleet was navigated. The Greek government decreed the formation of an army

^{67.}
Destruction of part of Drama-Ali's corps by Niketas.

² Gordon, ii. 10, 14; Ann. Hist. vi. 527, 528.

^{68.}
Divisions among the Greeks.

¹ An. Hist. vi. 527, 531; Gordon, ii. 5, 7.

^{69.}
Plan of the campaign on the part of the Turks.

² Gordon, ii. 2, 3; Ann. Hist. vi. 531, 532.

of 50,000 men; but they were so irregularly paid, and dispersed under separate leaders, that they resembled rather guerrilla bands, each acting on its own account, than regular troops all obeying a common direction; and nothing but the most imminent common danger could bring them to combine in any plan of united operations. By sea their armaments were more effective. With such vigor were their preparations

¹ Ann. Hist. then made, that by the beginning of
vi. 530, 532; May they had 98 vessels of war at sea,
Gordon, ii. bearing 1760 guns, and manned by
11, 14. 10,560 admirable seamen.¹

The first events of the campaign were favorable to the Greeks, and seemed to presage successes not less decisive than the last. In Epirus, the heroic Mark Bozzaris was at the head of five thousand men, with whom, after the raising of the siege of Missolonghi, he kept the Turks in Arta in check, and defeated a large body of Albanians, whom he chased to the edge of the Ambracian Gulf, and menaced Prevesa itself. In Eubœa and Thessaly the insurgents drove the pachas into the fortresses of Negropont and Carystos, and spread the insurrection to Volo, and through the plains around that place. But the completion of the Ottoman armaments, which went on very slowly, at length put a period to this auspicious state of things. In the middle of May the Turkish fleet, composed of sixty sail, set out from the Dardanelles, and passing within sight of Samos and Ipsara, on which it did not venture to hazard a descent, disembarked five thousand Asiatics in the island of Eubœa, who speedily raised the blockade of Negropont and Carystos, and forced the Greeks to seek refuge in the mountains. The entire population of Athens, on the approach of the Ottomans, took refuge, as on the approach of Xerxes, in the island of Salamis; the Acropolis alone, garrisoned by Ghouras with eight hundred men, still held out. After this success, the Capitan Pacha made sail for Volo, where he landed another body of five thousand men, which, uniting with the troops collected by the Pacha of Larissa, severely avenged the previous successes of the Greeks in that quarter. Odysseus, however, had taken post in Thermopylæ, and barred any passage that way into southern Greece; upon which the Turks made sail for the coasts of the Morea, and re-victualled Patras and the castles of Morea and Coron, the only strongholds still held by the Turks in that quarter, and which were reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions.²

Soon, however, a more serious danger awaited the Greek cause. The grand Ottoman army destined for the invasion of the Morea, having received intelligence of the arrival of the Turkish fleet in the bay of Patras, put itself in motion for the Isthmus of Corinth. Menaced by so great a danger, the Greek government issued a proclamation calling on all Greeks to take up arms to defend their country; and Mavrocordato, nobly sinking his superior rank, followed the army in the quality of secretary to the council. Niketas, Colocotroni, and Odysseus had united their forces,

and taken post near the convent of St. Lue, situated near the ruins of the ancient Ascoa, at the foot of Mount Helicon. Their united forces, however, only amounted to eight thousand men, and the Turks were thirty thousand, including a large proportion of horse, so that the Greeks were compelled to remain on the defensive, and maintain a desultory series of actions among their rocks and thickets. At length the Turks, having made an attack on the monastery of St. Lue, where they expected to find immense treasures, a general conflict took place, in which victory, after being long undecided, at length remained with the Greeks. The Turks lost six thousand men in this disastrous affair. They were again attacked while retiring in the plain of Charonea by the Greeks, while engaged in the passage of the Cephissus, and defeated with great slaughter. Finally, this splendid army, which was to have raised the blockade of the Acro-Corinthus and achieved the conquest of the Morea, was obliged to retire to Tricala, weakened by half its numbers, where it awaited reinforcements from Salonica. The inhabitants of Athens, now delivered from their alarm, returned from Salamis, and reoccupied their city; Attica was entirely evacuated by the Turks; the blockade of the Acro-Corinthus resumed; and that important stronghold, deprived of all hope of success, at length surrendered by capitulation, after having exhausted all its means of subsistence.¹

So great were their successes that, had they been duly improved by unanimity and vigor, the Greeks might have entirely delivered their territory from their oppressors; for the remaining fortresses held by the Turks, deprived of all chance of being relieved, would have become an easy prey. But the unhappy divisions which had arisen among the Greeks, from the consequences of their success, now rose to such a pitch in the Morea that the rival captains, instead of bearing their united strength against the enemy, took up arms against each other. Civil war aided in the desolation of a country afflicted by so many disasters, threatened by so many dangers. Blood was shed in the streets of Tripolitza between the adverse factions; the president, Mavromichælis, despairing of being able to carry on the government, resigned his office, and retired to Hydra; and Colocotroni, in whom the real authority now centred, withdrew to Napoli di Romania, from whence he directed the whole military operations of continental Greece.²

More glorious operations, and a more heroic spirit, signaled the campaign in Epirus and western Greece during this eventful year. Notwithstanding the successes of Mark Bozzaris in the beginning of the year, and the revolt of the Albanians in August 12. August, which delivered him from seven thousand of his most formidable enemies, he was reduced to such straits before the end of August as to render it extremely doubtful whether he should be able to keep the field. The Pacha of Scodra, a man of uncommon energy and resolution, had, in obedience to the orders of the

² Ann. Hist. vi. 532, 533; held by the Turks in that quarter, and which were reduced to the last extremity from want of provisions.²

^{92.} Victory of the Greeks on Mount Helicon.

² Ann. Hist. vi. 535, 536.

^{94.} Revolt of the Albanians, and advance of the Pacha of Scodra.

August 12.

Sultan, effected a levy in his pachalic, and approached Missolonghi at the head of twenty-five thousand men. Bozzaris had not more than three thousand at his disposal, for the revolted Albanians had all returned home. With forces so inferior it was evidently impossible to effect any thing by open force; but Bozzaris and his brave companions resolved on a nocturnal attack, by which it was hoped the enemy, who kept a very bad look-out, might be surprised. He went to a Souliote battalion, well known as one of the bravest in Greece, and after unfolding to them his design, asked them if they would accompany him in his enterprise. They all expressed their determination to conquer or die. Out of them Bozzaris selected a hundred and fifty of the bravest and most active, whom he proposed to head in person, and attack the centre of the enemy's camp, while the remainder of his troops were divided

¹ Ann. Hist. vi. 537, 539; Gordon, ii. 30, 33.

into three columns, to distract him by simultaneous assaults in other quarters.¹

In the night of the 19th August, Bozzaris received the sacrament with his chosen adherents, and assigned as their rallying point, if they lost sight of him in the dark, the tent of the pacha. The column selected for attack was the Turkish advanced guard, five thousand strong, which was encamped in the bottom of a valley, intersected by vineyards and ditches. The action which ensued exactly resembled the nocturnal enterprises which have been immortalized in the *Iliad*. Buried in sleep, without either sentinels or intrenchments, the Turks were suddenly surprised by the swords of the Souliotes which gleamed among them. Above all the roar of the conflict was heard the voice of Bozzaris, who never ceased to exhort his companions to conquer. Knowing the voice, the Mussulmans, in the dark, directed all their shots to the quarter from whence it came. One took effect, and wounded him severely below the girdle. He concealed the wound, however, and continued to head his comrades, who were making the utmost carnage among the Ottomans. The attack of the other divisions completed their confusion, and before daybreak they fled in all directions. Eight hundred men were slain on the spot, a thousand prisoners, eighteen standards, seven guns, and immense military stores taken by the Souliotes, who did not lose one hundred and fifty men. But they sustained an irreparable loss in Mark Bozzaris, who was shot through the head as day began to dawn, and soon after expired. He was borne off the field by the weeping Souliotes, interred with the highest military honors at Missolonghi, and the government published a decree in his honor.*

* "Beloved Greeks! Lo, another Leonidas figures in your history. The first with three hundred companions faced the universe, and, resolving to die in obedience to the laws of Sparta, fell in the night upon myriads of foes. Our modern one, at the head of eight hundred brave soldiers, charged sword in hand and determined to conquer, and vanquished ten thousand. Eight hundred Turks, and among those Pliapa Pacha, lay dead: few of our heroes fell a sacrifice to their faith and country. In this glorious battle died the immortal General Bozzaris, and went to the regions of eternity, to darken by the rays of his exploits the lustre of former heroes."—*The President MAVROMICHÆLIS*, Salamis, Aug. 31, 1823.

Like Epaminondas, he had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy fly before he breathed his last, and he died exhorting his countrymen to shed every drop of their blood in defense of their religion and their country. The annals of antiquity contain nothing more sublime.¹

This gallant action postponed, but could not avert the stroke of fate. The Pacha of Scodra, having recovered from the defeat experienced at Carpenitza from Bozzaris, forced with great difficulty the defiles of the mountains which separated him from Omer-Vrione, and having effected the junction of the two armies, their united forces, twenty thousand strong, sat down before Missolonghi. Its garrison consisted only of three thousand regular troops; but to these were added double that number of armed inhabitants, who were inspired with the utmost resolution, and were confident in their means of defense. The strength of Missolonghi, situated below the level of the sea, depends chiefly on the lagoon, which, as at Venice, guard it from the approaches of the enemy. The Capitan Pacha had left three large frigates and twelve brigs in the bay, which blockaded it by sea; and the Turks, as it was now sufficiently garrisoned, resolved to commence the siege with an attack on the fort of Anatolico, a small town built on a low islet at the entrance of the lagoons, and garrisoned by five hundred men, with thrice that number of armed inhabitants, commanded by Constantine Bozzaris, brother of the fallen hero, who had inherited the mantle of his glory. The chief apprehension of the inhabitants was from failure of water, but a bomb from the besiegers having broke through the pavement, discovered a spring; which, being regarded as a divine interposition, inspired the garrison with the most sanguine hopes of success. Thus elated, the whole population worked with incessant vigor in repairing their fragile ramparts and batteries; and although the Turks kept up an incessant fire, and threw in two thousand shells, the place still held bravely out. Meanwhile the rainy season commenced, the Turkish camp was flooded; some convoys of provisions were intercepted by the mountaineers in their rear; a few additional guns arrived by sea at Anatolico; the garrison refused to capitulate, and the Pacha of Scodra, despairing of success, raised the siege, and returned home, with the loss of half his army, after cutting down six thousand olive trees, destroying his ammunition, burying his cannon, and leaving all his provisions to the enemy.²

The plague, which raged with great violence in Canea during the whole winter of 1822, and carried off five thousand of the crowded population of that fortress, suspended all military operations in Candia during that period. In the end of May, Tombazi, who was invested with the command, landed in the island with fourteen pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition. With this aid he compelled the governor of Kipamos, a fortress which had hitherto remained in the hands of the Turks, to capitulate, on condition of the garrison being con-

¹ Gordon, ii. 32, 33; Ann. Hist. vi. 538, 539.

^{96.} Commencement of the siege of Anatolico. Oct. 18.

² Gordon, i. 35, 37; Ann. Hist. vi. 542, 543.

^{97.} Operations in Candia during 1823.

ducted to Canea, which was accordingly done in safety, by the honorable humanity and courage of the Greek chiefs, who discharged a twelve-pounder into the middle of their own men, in the act of rushing on fifteen hundred of the captives for a massacre. This success extended the insurrection into the mountains around Khadeno, which had hitherto remained quiet; and five thousand men soon environed the Turks there, who with much difficulty, and after bravely cutting their way through the Greeks, effected their retreat, though with very heavy loss, to Canea. The Greeks disgraced themselves by the massacre of two hundred sick who were left behind. Stimulated to exertion by these disasters, the Turkish government sent orders to the Pacha of Egypt to send succor to Candia, and in the end of June he disembarked five thousand troops in Canea. This great reinforcement revived the drooping spirits of the Turks, and at first diffused great consternation among the Christians, inasmuch that the Sfakiotes talked of surrendering. Dissensions broke out among them; they were defeated in a decisive battle at Armoughi, from whence Tombazi himself escaped with difficulty. Six hundred women and children who had taken refuge after this disaster in the vast natural grotto of Stonarambella, were, after being blockaded for a month, inhumanly smoked to death like bees by the Turks, who piled up wood against the entrance, to which they set fire. The Egyptian general followed up his successes with equal vigor and cruelty; six-and-thirty villages were reduced to ashes, the defiles and inmost recesses of Mount Ida forced, and ere long three thousand Cretans were put to the sword, and seven thousand women and children sold as slaves. So great was the destruction of human life, that Tombazi published a proclamation, that as great part of the lands in the island were without persons to cultivate them, they would be allotted to the first occupants: a temptation which attracted three thousand persons from the neighboring islands to the scene of devastation. But notwithstanding this, it was evident that the insurrection in Candia had received its death-blow; and it had already appeared, what was so fatally proved in the sequel, that however capable of with-

¹ Gordon, i. standing the tumultuary levies of 46, 59; Ann. the Turks, the Greeks could not resist in the open field the disciplined battalions of Egypt.¹

The naval campaign of the Turks during this year, for which such vast preparations had been made, and from which so much had been expected, did not at all redound to the honor or advantage of their arms. Being not in sufficient strength to engage them in open fight, the Greeks were reduced to the necessity of observing them at a distance, and keeping them in a constant state of alarm by the terror of their fireships. They did this, however, so effectually, that the Ottomans derived very little advantage from their naval superiority. So far from it, Miaulis, with a small Greek flotilla, engaged the Turkish fleet, on its return from the Gulf of Patras, off Lemnos, set two frigates on fire by means of his fireships, and excited such consternation in the whole squad-

ron by the sight of the flames, that they fled in confusion to the Dardanelles. In fine, as the result of the naval campaign, Carystos was relieved, Toikari reduced to subjection, and a few brigs and schooners of the Greeks taken; and with these trifling prizes the Turkish admiral re-entered the Dardanelles in the end of November. No sooner was the sea cleared than a Greek expedition of eighteen sail set out from Napoli di Romania, bearing a reinforcement of three thousand men, and large subscriptions in money from the Greeks in the Morea for Missolonghi, evidently threatened with a second siege. In their way they met the Algerine squadron, which had been left by the Capitan Pacha, and long infested the Gulf of Lepanto, ¹ Gordon, i. defeated it, and drove a vessel laden 61, 63; Ann. with treasure on the coast of Zante, Hist. vi. 541, which they made prize.¹ 544.

The domestic dissensions which had during the year paralyzed the operations of the Greeks in the Morea, prevented them from taking advantage of their glorious successes. To such a length did they arise before Christmas, that the different members of the government were at open war with each other. Mavromichælis and Colocotroni, the leading members of the executive council, had drawn the whole real power into their own hands at Napoli di Romania, while the legislative assembly at Argos paid no regard to their orders. Like Napoleon, Colocotroni resolved on a *coup d'état* to get quit of his opponents. For this purpose he dispatched two hundred men under his son, to whom Niketas afterward added a band of his own. The united body reached Argos when the senate were sitting, but they were so overpowered by the majesty of the legislature, and overawed by the firm countenance of the prefect of the town, that they did not venture on a dissolution, but contented themselves with an attempt, which proved ineffectual, on the archives, which were removed on board a vessel in the night. Foiled in this manner in both objects, they returned to Napoli. The legislative body, after this insult, retired to Cranidi, a strong fort on the Gulf of Corinth, where it declared its sittings permanent, and culminated a decree dismissing the whole executive from their situations. Part of the Morea, Missolonghi, and the islands, adhered to Mavrocordato and the legislature, part to Colocotroni and the executive. But meanwhile the collection of the revenue entirely ceased; the public treasury was empty; the chiefs levied contributions on their own account, with which they maintained their troops; and Greece, while yet in the cradle, and painfully struggling for its existence with a powerful enemy, was exposed to the horrors and the weakness of civil war.²

While Greece was thus in its interior undergoing the convulsions and paralyzed by the weakness incident to every state emerging into freedom from former slavery, the interest of the nations of western Europe in her behalf was daily and rapidly on the increase. The learned and the reflecting were charmed with the resurrection, fraught with such recollections and bearing

² Ann. Hist. vi. 549, 550; Gordon, ii. 72, 73.

such names as Greece; the religious watched with interest the efforts of a gallant people to shake off the Mohammedan yoke, and restore the Christian faith; the revolutionists sympathized with the revolt of any people against their government, and beheld in the deliverance of Greece the first step toward the emancipation of mankind. The effect of this general interest and sympathy appeared in numerous public meetings in several places in England, presided over by persons of high rank and great consideration, where resolutions, expressive of the deepest interest in their behalf, were passed, and large subscriptions made in their behalf.* Similar subscriptions were made in various places in France and Germany; and a number of ardent youths in all the three countries enrolled themselves in battalions, styled "Philhellenes," in which they proceeded to the Morea to share in the dangers and glories of Greek independence. The unsuitableness of these corps for the guerrilla and partisan warfare, which was alone practicable in Greece, rendered them of little real service in the contest; but the subscriptions in money were of great moment, and powerfully contributed to uphold the resources of the infant state. At this time, also, several individuals went to Greece to tender their services in its behalf, eminent alike by their rank, their courage, and their genius. Among these must be reckoned M. Blaquière and Colonel Leicester Stanhope, whose talents and address proved of the utmost

value to the Greek cause; while Lord Byron, who arrived in Argostoli, in the bay of Cephalonia, on the 3d August, brought to the cause the resources of a fortune generously bestowed, and the lustre of an immortal name.¹

Lord Byron, on his arrival at Missolonghi, whither he bent his steps, as the place threatened with the earliest danger, found the community so torn with internal divisions, that nothing short of an entire dissolution of society was to be apprehended from their continuance. It was no easy matter, however, even with the weight of his great name and liberal power, to accomplish this object, for the divisions of the Greek leaders had reached the point of civil war. The legislative body, in order to dispo-

sess the military faction from this stronghold, resolved to transfer the seat of government to Napoli di Romania, which, in every point of view, was the proper place for it; and they accordingly embarked on board the Hydriote fleet, which was entirely at their devotion, and arrived on the 18th March in the bay of that fortress, and summoned the garrison to open the gates; but the governor, Kanos Colocotroni, positively refused to do so. Upon this the assembly declared him a rebel, and ordered the siege of the place by sea and land. Matters had proceeded to the like extremities in Tripolitza, where Colocotroni himself held out with the whole garrison against the central government. But Niketas and other chiefs deserted his cause; the garrison of the Acro-Corinthus declared for the legislature, and the garrison of Tripolitza itself exhibited symptoms of wavering. Discouraged by these defections, Colocotroni agreed to surrender Tripolitza and retire to his country estates, which was agreed to, and the senate returned to Argos; but Kanos still held out in Napoli, and the country was so divided that it was hard to say where the government really resided. At length, however, as Napoli was closely blockaded by sea and land, the garrison began to see that the sense of the country was against them, and by degrees came round to the central government. The governor of the fort of Vourtoi, one of the outworks of the place, suddenly declared for it, and Colocotroni, despairing of success, surrendered the fortress on the 19th June. Colocotroni himself soon after sent in his adhesion; Odysseus did the same; the government, with prudent moderation, accepted all their offers of submission. On the 24th June the seat of government was transferred to Napoli di Romania, and on the 14th July a general amnesty was proclaimed, which at length put a period to these disastrous dissensions.¹

While these divisions were paralyzing the strength and darkening the prospects of Greece, the affairs of the infant state were much more prosperous abroad. The English cruisers now, in obedience to orders received from government, admitted the Greek blockade—a step, not an unimportant one, in the recognition of their independence; and they were highly elated by the intelligence that the English government, in consequence of some disputes with the dey as to an infraction of the subsisting treaty with that power, had declared war against Algiers. More substantial benefit was derived from the contraction of a loan of £800,000, which, by the exertions of the Greek committee in London, was obtained by the government at the rate of £59 sterling paid for £100 stock inscribed. Although the conditions of this loan were altogether so onerous that the Greek government only obtained £280,000 for £800,000 debt contracted, yet the transaction was eminently beneficial to them, and proved, in a great measure, the salvation of the republic, for in the distracted state of its government the collection of the revenue had almost entirely ceased;²

* "In England, where the sublime spectacle of a nation awakening into light and freedom could not but be regarded with sympathy and admiration, a thousand proofs have been given of the interest their cause has excited. At length an association has been formed to give a practical and efficient direction to these feelings, and they now make a solemn appeal to the nation in behalf of a country associated with every sacred and sublime recollection, for a people formerly free and enlightened, but long retained by foreign despots in the chains of ignorance and barbarism. While the attempts of the Greeks were limited within a narrow circle, and it seemed probable that they would be instantly crushed by the Ottoman power, it might be doubtful how far it was prudent to encourage a struggle which might aggravate the evil it was intended to remove. But the war has now changed its character; it is clear it can end in nothing but in the independence or absolute annihilation of the Greek people. If the Turks could not put down the insurrection in its early stages, when the Greeks possessed neither arms, nor military knowledge, nor regular government, what can they do now against a renovated nation and the active sympathy of the Christian world?"—*Address of the Greek Committee*, Lord Milton in the chair, May 3, 1823. *Annual Register*, 1823, Appendix to Chron., 73. GORDON, ii. 85, 86.

¹ Ann. Hist. vii. 405, 409.

² Ann. Hist. vii. 409, 410; Gordon, ii. 90, 93; An. Reg. 1824, 129, 131.

and but for this seasonable supply the armaments by sea and land must have been dissolved, from the want of any funds for their support.

And, in truth, never had Greece stood more in need of vigorous efforts for its defense, for the forces which the Ottoman government was preparing to bring against it were immense. Noways discouraged by

103.
Preparations
and plan of the
campaign by
the Turks.

the bad success of the preceding campaigns, the Sultan made the utmost exertions for the prosecution of the war; and, taught by its reverses, the government laid their plans with much more skill and judgment for the future. They had learned by experience to appreciate the value of the Egyptian troops, who were armed and disciplined after the European fashion; and they held out to the pacha of that country the most tempting lure to induce him to engage heartily in the contest, by the promise of the revolted provinces as an addition to his pachalic when they were subdued. The plan arranged was this: IBRAHIM PACHA, who already had all but subdued Candia, was to transport a large force of regular troops to the Morea, while his powerful fleet was to blockade its harbors and secure the subsistence of the troops; the fleet from Constantinople was to muster in the Dardanelles, and make a descent upon Hydra and Ipsara, which, it was hoped, might be subdued; while the Pacha of Roumelia and Omer-Vrione were to march with the whole military strength of continental Turkey against western Greece and Missolonghi. In all, above one hundred thousand men were directed by sea and land against the infant state; and as nearly twenty thousand of that number were to be the disciplined battalions of Egypt, it was easy to foresee that Greece had never run such dangers as she was now to incur.¹

The Capitan Pacha set sail from the Dardanelles in the middle of June, with a fleet of forty sail, having on board a large body of land troops. He first reinforced with three thousand men the garrisons of Carysto and Negropont, which Odysseus and Dramantis had reduced to the last extremity, in Eubœa, and enabled the Turks to resume the offensive; and, passing over to Attica, compelled the Greeks under Ghouras to shut themselves up in the Acropolis. While these successes were gained in that quarter, still more important operations were in progress in the southern parts of the Archipelago, where Ibrahim Pacha brought the redoubtable battalions of Egypt into action. He first proceeded to the isle of Casos; and though bravely repulsed in a first attack, he succeeded in a second, and very soon completed the subjugation of the island.²

The great effort of the Turks, however, in their naval campaign, was directed against the islands of Spezzia and Ipsara. The Capitan Pacha, Chosrow, had lain a month in Mitylene, where he collected twenty thousand fanatical Asiatics, thirsting for the blood of the Christians, whom he embarked on board his

fleet, with which great reinforcement he set sail for Ipsara. The island at this period contained fifteen thousand inhabitants, of whom a third bore arms. It is a small and sterile island, containing beyond the town only a few acres of ground; but, being the abode of liberty and independence, it had attained a very high degree of prosperity. Two hundred cannon were mounted on the island; a line of telegraphs was established round it; the inhabitants, relying on their past victories, were confident of success, and even impatient for the attack; and a beautiful flotilla of schooners, brigs, and fire-ships lay ready in the port to resist the enemy. Relying on these circumstances, the Psarriotes refused all offers of accommodation, and bravely determined to resist to the last extremity. Yet were their means of defense more specious than real; for they possessed no regular citadel or fort, and the defense of the island rested entirely on a number of detached batteries, the loss of any one of which would endanger the whole.¹

On the 1st July the armada of the Turks hove in sight, and soon surrounded the island. It consisted of an eighty-gun ship, two of sixty-four guns, six frigates, ten corvettes, and twenty brigs, with thirty transports having on board fourteen thousand regular troops, besides a crowd of fierce Asiatics. When this immense armament was seen, a council of war was held, at which Canaris, like Themistocles, strongly advised them to combat by sea. Unfortunately his advice was overruled; and the magistrates, afraid of being deserted by the sailors, not only doomed the navy to total inaction, but landed part of the crews to make them co-operate in the defense of the place. The consequences were fatal. The Turks, on the 3d July, drew in their vessels to the mouth of the harbor, where they commenced a furious cannonade on the town, which was returned with great spirit and no disadvantage by the islanders, both from their ships and batteries. It was obvious from this sea-fight that, if the principal defense had been made there, the Greeks would have had the advantage; but as the rudders had been taken out of the vessels by order of the magistrates, to prevent the sailors deserting, they could not manœuvre at sea, which deprived them of their principal advantage; and meanwhile, under cover of the smoke, the Turks unobserved landed a body of troops on a little cove at the northwest angle of the island. They then stormed a redoubt with three guns, and, rushing forward with frightful yells, gained possession of the rocks which overlook the town, on which they immediately hoisted the Ottoman standard. At the sight of this a cry of horror rose among the more timid of the islanders, and several batteries were abandoned. The bravest now saw that the fate of their country was decided, and a general rush took place toward the boats, where multitudes perished by drowning, through the number crowding in, or the boats being sent to the bottom by the Turkish guns. All resistance then ceased in the town, which was sacked and burnt, and the whole inhabitants put to the sword.²

¹ Gordon, ii.
133, 134; An.
Hist. vii. 416,
417.

^{106.}
Capture and
destruction
of Ipsara.
July 3.

June 8.
June 14.
² Ann. Hist.
vii. 412, 413;
Gordon, ii.
125, 129.

² Ann. Hist.
vii. 414, 415;
Gordon, ii.
135, 137.

Like Chios, Ipsara sank in flames and blood; but its closing scene was very different, and worthy of the heroic character of its inhabitants. A certain number, comprising the principal citizens, escaped on board nineteen brigs, carrying away such of the fugitives as they could pick up from the waves, and conveyed them in safety to Hydra, where they were received with generous hospitality. Six hundred Macedonians threw themselves, with their wives and children, into the fortified convent of St. Nicholas, on which were mounted twenty-four pieces of cannon. With these they defended themselves with such resolution that they were still masters of it at night; and on the following morning the Capitan Pacha renewed the assault with his whole troops. Several attacks were repulsed with prodigious slaughter; but at length the garrison, hopeless of relief, and having lost two-thirds of their number, determined to perish like the three hundred at Thermopylæ. They sent a soldier with a lighted torch to fire a powder magazine outside the walls; and as he fell, pierced by several balls, before reaching it, five others were sent on a similar errand, and all shared the same fate. Upon this the Greeks resolved to blow themselves up with the powder they had within the monastery, but in such a way as to involve their enemies in their ruin. They ceased firing, accordingly, for some time; and the Turks, thinking the defenders had all fallen, after a pause rushed tumultuously forward to the assault of the walls, which were scaled on every side. Suddenly the Hellenic flag was lowered; a white flag, bearing the words, "Liberty or death," waved in the air; a signal-gun was discharged, and immediately after, a rumbling noise, followed by a loud explosion, was heard, and the monastery, with its whole defenders, and thousands of the assailants, were blown into the air.

¹ Gordon, ii. 137, 139; cated alive from the ruins; of the assailants, three thousand perished during the storm or in the explosion.¹

The military spoil made by the Turks in Ipsara was immense, and the blow to the Hellenic cause from its loss so great as to justify the saying at the time in the islands, that one of the eyes of Greece was put out. Two hundred pieces of cannon, great stores of powder, and a beautiful flotilla of ninety vessels, fell into the hands of the Ottomans. The inhabitants of the island, with the exception of those who had saved themselves in boats the evening before, and a few hundreds who hid themselves in caves in the island, were destroyed. Among those who escaped was the heroic Canaris, who, after displaying the utmost valor in the defense, threw himself into a boat and got off. The Turks, highly elated with their victory, sent five hundred heads and eleven hundred ears to Constantinople, which, with thirty-three standards taken, were displayed in ghastly rows at the gate of the Seraglio, and excited the people to the highest pitch of fanatical exultation.² Ten females only were made slaves; for the Psarriote women, in a heroic spirit, drowned themselves, with their in-

fants, to avoid becoming the spoil of the victors.*

The destruction of Ipsara, with the heroic termination, made a prodigious sensation in Christendom, and much strengthened the general conviction that some intervention of the Western powers had become indispensable, if a Christian state was to be rescued from utter destruction at the hands of the Mohammedans. But in the immediate neighborhood it had no such depressing effect; the result was rather the reverse. The council of Hydra acted a noble part on the occasion. So far from thinking of submitting, they fitted out every disposable vessel, and soon had two squadrons at sea, one of which, under Miaulis, went to the south to watch the Egyptian fleet, which was approaching; while another, under Canaris, made for Samos, which was menaced with the fate of Chios and Ipsara. The danger to that island was imminent, for twenty thousand Asiatics, flushed with the blood of the Christians whom they had massacred at New Echelles, in Asia Minor, awaited only the approach of the fleet to embark and exterminate the inhabitants of Samos. Meanwhile Odysseus and the other chiefs of eastern Greece, burying their divisions in oblivion, sent twelve hundred excellent troops to strengthen the garrison of Hydra, which became so strong as to be able not only to defy attack, but even resume the offensive. An expedition was fitted out to retake Ipsara, July 15, where a garrison of one thousand men had been left by the Capitan Pacha. It landed in the same bay where the Turks had effected their descent, defeated and made prisoner the garrison, and captured or destroyed all the gunboats in the harbor, thirty in number. Finding the island entirely destroyed, and two hundred wretches merely wandering among the ruins, they entirely evacuated it, taking away this remnant of the inhabitants to Hydra.¹

Menaced with an immediate descent and utter ruin, the inhabitants of Samos prepared vigorously for their defense. Having received assurances of support from the government at Napoli di Romania, Lycurgus, the governor, assembled all the male population of the island capable of bearing arms, twelve thousand in number, on the coast; and having sent all the women and children to the mountains, every preparation was made for a vigorous defense. It depended, however, mainly on the naval force, assembled for the protection of the island; for if the Turks once effected a landing, it was easy to foresee it would undergo the fate of Chios and Ipsara. The combined fleet of Spezzia and Hydra, of forty sail, ere long made its appearance, under the com-

^{108.} Immense spoil made by the Turks in Ipsara.

² An. Hist. vii. 416, 417; Gordon, ii. 138, 139.

^{109.} Gallant conduct of the Greeks after this disaster.

¹ An. Hist. vii. 417, 418; Gordon, ii. 140, 142.

^{110.} Defeat of the Turks in the straits of Samos. Aug. 17.

Aug. 12.

* "Les infidèles Arnautes, que les rebelles Ipsariotes avaient appelés à leur secours, ont été tous passés au fil de l'épée, et ont ainsi fait l'épreuve de la Puissance Musulmane. Dix des chefs de l'insurrection, et environ 300 hommes, ont été faits prisonniers; 110 batimens, et plus de 100 pièces de canon, sont tombés en notre pouvoir; enfin, toute l'île d'Ipsara a été soumise par la grâce du Tout-Puissant. Plus de 500 têtes d'Infidèles, plus de 1100 oreilles et 33 drapeaux, ont été envoyés à Sublime Porte par le dit Pacha, et jetés à terre avec mépris."—*Inscription (Jafta)*, July 1, 1824, à Constantinople aux Portes du Seraglio. *Annuaire Historique*, vii. 417.

mand of Sakhtouri; and the Ottoman fleet, also of forty sail, but much larger vessels, soon hove in sight. After several indecisive actions in the

straits, in one of which Canaris advanced with his fireship into the middle of the enemy's fleet, and threw them into such consternation that they all took to flight, the Turk-

ish admiral on the 17th made a grand attack. The moment was terrible: forty ships on each side of the straits, between Samos and the Asiatic shore, lay facing each other; on the opposite shores sixty thousand combatants stood watching the conflict; and on the hills in the island a trembling crowd of thirty thousand women and children gazed with speechless anxiety on the issue of a conflict on which the lives and liberties of all were dependent. At ten in the morning the fireships were launched: the Hydriote ones failed from the pusillanimity of the crews, who abandoned them before they reached the enemy; but Canaris was at hand to repair the loss. Steering his fireship direct on a frigate of fifty-four guns, he grappled her so strongly that all attempts to separate the ships were vain; the Turks, six hundred in number, all leapt overboard, and soon after the vessel blew up with an explosion so terrible that twelve boats around it were destroyed, and several persons even on shore were killed by the falling of the spars and masts. Two other schooners, carrying twenty and thirty guns, were soon after burned by the Hydriote vessels; and at five in the evening the whole Turkish fleet moved off to the southward, with the loss of three fine vessels, one hundred guns, and twelve

hundred killed and wounded. Samos was delivered, and the inhabitants returned to their houses, and crowded to the churches to return thanks to Heaven for their deliverance.¹

The object of the Turkish admiral, after his repulse at Samos, was to join the Egyptian fleet, and with the combined forces make a descent upon the Morea. The Egyptian fleet set sail from Alexandria on the 19th July, having been detained two months later than

was expected, in consequence of a dreadful fire in the barracks at Cairo, which destroyed immense military stores, and in which four thousand persons lost their lives. The armament, however, when it did set sail from Alexandria, was very formidable, and the

most numerous which had appeared in the Mediterranean since Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. The combined fleets effected a junction in the gulf of Boudroum, the ancient Halicarnassus, on the 25th Au-

gust, and they were then found to amount to one line-of-battle ship, 25 frigates, 25 corvettes, each mounting from 24 to 28 guns, 50 brigs and schooners, many of them carrying 18 or 24 guns, and 240 transports. The land forces consisted of 12,000 regular infantry, drilled and organized after the European fashion, 2000 Albanian light infantry, 2000 cavalry, 700 gunners and sappers, and 150 pieces of heavy or field artillery.²

Altogether the armament had on board 80,000 sailors and soldiers, and above 2500 cannon; a force almost as great as that with which England

made the descent on Walcheren in 1809. To oppose this crusade, the Greek admiral had only 70 sail, manned by 5000 sailors, and bearing at the utmost 800 guns

With admirable gallantry Miaulis, notwithstanding this grievous disproportion of force, advanced to meet the enemy; and several actions without any decisive effect took place in the beginning of September. At length, on the 12th

September, the Hydriot Papantoni laid his fireship alongside of the Tunisian admiral's frigate of forty-four guns, and 750 men, all of whom, when she took fire, leapt overboard. Soon after the admiral was

picked up by the Greeks, and made prisoner. This success so intimidated the Ottomans that they sheered off, and the combat ceased. Such was the terror which the Greek fireships inspired that the Capitan Pacha stood aloof altogether; and it was a common saying in the fleet, that he might as well have been at Constantinople. On the 19th,

Miaulis succeeded in burning two Turkish vessels, mounting, the one nineteen, the other twelve guns, after which the Capitan Pacha ran into the Dardanelles. The two fleets were almost constantly engaged daily until the 13th November, when Miaulis, notwithstanding his inferiority of force, ventured to engage the whole Egyptian squadron in a general battle, and with such success that a fine frigate and twelve lesser vessels, with fifteen transports, were burned or destroyed, and Ibrahim fairly fled out of

the Archipelago with his ships of war, leaving his transports to follow the best way they could. They steered for Rhodes, and put up in the bay of Marmorice for the winter. He was then able to calculate his losses in this naval campaign, which was incomparably the most disastrous at sea which the Mohammedans had yet sustained. They had two fine frigates, two corvettes, and two brigs blown up, one corvette wrecked, fifty sail of transports taken or destroyed, an admiral and four thousand seamen slain, and five hundred Arabs carried prisoners to Napoli. Including those who fell at Ipsara and died of sickness, this naval campaign had cost the Turks not less than fifteen thousand men, without any advantage but the destruction of that island. The Hellenic government with reason expressed in several decrees their high sense of the services of Admiral

Miaulis and his brave followers, and they were welcomed on their return to Hydra with the honors due to valor, zeal, and perseverance.¹

The campaign of the Greeks by land this year, though distinguished by honorable events, was by no means uncheckered by disaster. The Sultan had given orders to the Pacha of Widdin to raise thirty thousand men for the conquest of eastern Greece; but the Turks had become so disinclined to a service which experience had taught them was fraught with so many dangers, that he never was able to bring five thousand men into the field. On the 18th July, Ghouras defeated two thousand janizaries, who had come across from

Negropont, at Marathon, and delivered Attica

112.
Naval vic-
tories of
the Greeks.

Sept. 12.

Sept. 19.

Nov. 13.

Nov. 25.

1 Gordon ii.
153, 164;
Ann. Hist.
vii. 424,
429.

113.
Land op-
erations
in eastern
Greece.

July 18.

for a time from the incursions of the Turks in Negropont—an event which naturally excited a great sensation in western Europe. The Turks, however, being soon after reinforced by a large body of horse from Bœotia, Ghouras took refuge in the Acropolis, and the Athenians again migrated to Salamis. Upon this, Roumisia Valesi, who had received the most pressing orders from the Sultan to proceed to Lepanto, and co-operate with Omer-Vrione in the attack on Missolonghi, having collected ten thousand men, endeavored to force the defiles near

July 26. Gravia, which were occupied by four thousand Greeks; but he was repulsed with great slaughter, and the loss of two guns and seven standards. The Ottomans, after this

July 30. check, endeavored to reach Salona and the Gulf of Lepanto, by crossing the highest passes of Mount Parnassus; but here again they found the Greeks strongly posted, and were repulsed. Upon this the pacha fell back to Salonica, and the Turks who occupied Athens, being unable to find provisions, retired from that city and Attica, and the Greeks returned from Salamis to their houses and shops around the Acropolis. Deprived of this powerful aid, Omer-Vrione was unable to undertake

¹ Gordon, ii. 166, 171; solonghi; and the campaign in Epirus Ann. Hist. vii. 427, skirmishes, most of which terminated to the advantage of the Greeks.¹ 428.

Thus had the Greeks the glory, in this the fourth year of the war, of repelling, ^{114.} by sea and land, the assault of above a hundred and twenty thousand Moslems, including the disciplined battalions of Egypt, and that with forces not a fourth part of their amount.

Great, indeed, must have been the spirit, indomitable the perseverance, unconquerable the courage, which could enable a body of Christians, not now numbering, after the losses they had sustained, above five hundred thousand souls, without foreign aid, to contend so long with an empire having the resources of thirty-five millions of men at command. But such a contest, however glorious, could not continue for such a length of time without wearing out the national resources; and the risk was now great, that, from the very magnitude of their sacrifices, the greatness of their triumphs, the Greeks would be involved in ultimate ruin. Crushed for centuries by the severities of Mohammedan exaction, the Greeks had no reserved stores of wealth, either public or private, to fall back upon, to maintain the contest. The treasury was empty, the troops for the most part unpaid, the taxes incapable of collection. The naval armament which saved Samos and repulsed Ibrahim's invasion, had been mainly fitted out by the fragment of the Greek loan which Christian cupidity had permitted to reach the shores of the Archipelago. From an official report laid before the National Assembly this year, it appeared that the whole surface of western Hellas, from the mountains of Agrapho to the gates of Missolonghi, was one vast scene of desolation, presenting to the eye only uncultivated fields and burnt hamlets; and the petty revenue derived from the fisheries and custom-house barely sufficed for the

humble expenses of Mavrocordato's household. The mountains of Thessaly and Bœotia had become a perfect wilderness; its inhabitants, reduced to half their former number, were peculiarly deficient in men—a want which, even to this day, is severely felt. Experience had proved that a regular army and navy were indispensable, since the powerful fleet and disciplined battalions of Egypt had been brought into action; but how was either to be maintained without a treasury, without taxes, without resources? Yet, in spite of all these disheartening circumstances, and when bleeding at every pore from the ghastly wounds of former years, the Greeks nobly maintained the contest. Amidst all their misfortunes, not a voice was ever raised for capitulation; and under circumstances when reason might have despaired of success, and wisdom counseled submission, they still bore aloft the standard of religion and independence.¹

But in the midst of these glorious external efforts, internal faction was again rearing its hydra head; and the people, who were daily threatened with extermination from without, turned their suicidal arms against each other. In truth, the democratic government, established by the constitution, was so ill suited to the dispositions and wants of the people that dissensions were unavoidable. Colocotroni and the military chiefs, in whom power in continental Greece was really vested, had only dissembled in their submission to the executive council; they waited merely till the third annual election of the legislature might give, as they hoped, a majority to their adherents. In this hope they were disappointed; the election, in September 1824, again gave a majority to the executive council, and they, in consequence, named Panuzzo Notara president, and the Archbishop Theodorito vice-president, of the legislative council. The composition of the executive council, in like manner, was favorable to the democratic party, and entirely adverse to the views of the military chiefs. This was the signal for the recommencement of the civil war.

Nov. 15. Colocotroni declared against the executive council near Tripolitza; several chiefs either joined him or disbanded their followers. A conflict ensued, which, however, was neither so long nor so serious as the former had been. After several actions the rebels were defeated, and Colocotroni obliged, with his sons, to deliver himself up to the executive council at Napoli, by whom they were sent state-prisoners to Hydra, where they were confined in the monastery of St. Elias. This success completely re-established the authority of the executive council and the legislative assembly; but the contest, while it lasted, proved eminently prejudicial to the Greeks, for it nipped in the bud the rising prosperity of the Morea, in which it was estimated that, during the two years it had been free from the ravages of war and the oppression of the Ottomans, one-third of new land had been brought into cultivation.²

Ghouras, who had been mainly instrumental in quelling the insurrection in eastern Greece,

¹ Report to Government, April 14, 1824; Gordon, ii. 172.

^{115.} Renewed dissensions in Greece.

Nov. 15. Jan. 10, 1825.

² Gordon, ii. 177, 180; Ann. Hist. vii. 431, 434.

was so elated with his success that he gave mortal offense to Odysseus, whom he suspected of leaning in secret to the side of the malcontents, and to whom he refused both pay and rations for his troops. The consequence was, that the Greek captain, driven to desperation, entered into secret negotiations with the Turks, with whom, of his own authority, he concluded a truce for the

Feb. 25. province of Livadia. Subsequent public acts having strengthened the suspicion that he was in secret allying himself with the Crescent, his officers and men, who, amidst all their divisions, were true to their faith and country, all abandoned him. Aware of the habitual treachery of the Turks, he rejected all the offers of an asylum offered him by their chiefs, and in preference surrendered himself to Ghouras, by whom he was committed a close prisoner to a tower in the Acropolis of Athens. His family were lodged, before his surrender, in an inaccessible cavern in Mount Parnassus. Ghouras tried to save the life of his former comrade and friend, and long delayed his execution; but at length the clamor against him in Athens became so violent that he was obliged to consent

June 17. to his being strangled in prison. On the 17th June the body of Odysseus was discovered dead at the foot of the tower where he had been confined. It was given out that he had been killed by a fall in attempting to escape; but no one doubted that he had been strangled in prison, and thrown out. Ghouras afterward never heard, without pain, the mention of his name, and often said, with a sigh, "In that business I was misled." The

cavern in Parnassus was afterward given up to government, and an amnesty granted to Odysseus's family.¹

A curious and valuable statistical document was published at this time by the Greek government, singularly descriptive of the desperate tyranny of the Turkish government. According to a census taken in November, 1824, the population of Athens was 9040 souls, and the gross revenue of Attica, collected in eight months, from July 1824 to February 1825, only £2000! In the days of Pericles, Athens contained 21,000 freemen and 400,000 slaves; and the gross revenue of Athens after the battle of Chæronea, when all its foreign colonies had been lost, was £220,000, equivalent to at least £500,000 a year of our money. The population of Athens is now (1854) 30,000, and it is annually and rapidly increasing. Facts such as these require no comment: they speak volumes, and accuse alike the tyranny of the Mohammedan and the selfishness of the Christian powers of western Europe.²

The year 1825 opened under brighter auspices to the Hellenic cause than had hitherto shone upon it. The authority of the central government was firmly established, the discord between it and the military chiefs had ceased, and the energies of the state might be turned with united strength against its foreign enemies. A new loan had been contracted for in London of £2,000,000, at the rate

of £55½ paid for £100 of debt acknowledged, so that money was not likely to prove wanting. This ample fund, however, was so mismanaged and frittered away by the Greek committee in London, that it proved of much less real service to the Greek cause than might have been expected. Sensible from the experience they had had in Candia of the formidable nature of the Egyptian regular troops, the government established several corps, which were to receive pay, and act as regular soldiers; but the jealousies of the chiefs, and the disinclination of the peasantry to lengthened service, made the recruiting go on very slowly. Proud, with reason, of their glorious successes in the preceding campaign, the Greeks entertained a sovereign contempt for the Arabs and Egyptians; and as it had become evident that the Turks on the mainland would not turn out any more to attack them, they deemed their dangers entirely surmounted. All eyes were turned to Patras, which had been long closely blockaded by sea and land, and was now reduced to great extremities from want of provisions. At sea they divided their ships, as last season, into two fleets, one of which watched the Dardanelles, while the other was intended to keep an eye on the Egyptian fleet.¹

The Mohammedans turned the winter to much better account, equipping ships, levying men, laying up magazines of ammunition and provisions, and making every preparation for a vigorous campaign. Numbers of French officers had taken service in the army of the Pacha of Egypt, and brought to it the knowledge and resources of modern military art; and the force which he was now prepared to put at the disposal of his son, Ibrahim Pacha, was immense. Thirty thousand Arabs had been trained and disciplined under foreign officers in the European manner, and had attained extraordinary perfection both in the use of fire-arms, and in steadiness of movement in large masses. Three expeditions, each consisting of eight thousand men, were successively to sail from Alexandria to convey this force to Candia and Rhodes; and such was the magnitude of the naval force at his disposal, that it was not anticipated that the Greeks could make any serious resistance to the passage of the land force. The efforts of the Turks by land were to be entirely confined to the siege of Missolonghi, the bulwark of western Greece, for the prosecution of which twenty thousand men were to be placed at the disposal of Redschid Pacha by the concurring efforts of all the surrounding pachas; and they were to be aided, if necessary, by a detachment from Ibrahim Pacha's Egyptians, after they had completed the conquest of the Morea. No attempt was to be made to reduce that province by invasion from the land side, as experience had proved that, in the wasted condition of the country, any army adequate to the undertaking would perish from want of provisions, or fall under the deadly fire of the Greek musketeers.²

As was anticipated, the expedition succeeded in crossing the sea without opposition. The first division, conveying seven thousand troops, sailed from Alexandria on the 20th, and appeared, to the amount of fifty sail, under the walls

¹ Gordon, ii. 153, 188; An. Hist. viii. 401, 402.

² Gordon, ii. 188; Report, Dec. 14, 1824.

² Ann. Hist. viii. 403; Gordon, ii. 193, 194.

of Modon on the 24th February. Ibrahim immediately disembarked four thousand foot and four hundred horse, which he encamped around the fortress, and the same day reconnoitred Old Navarino, which is only two leagues distant. He next ordered back the ships to Suda for reinforcements, and on 21st March seven thousand landed at Modon, the Greeks meanwhile not being in sufficient strength to disturb his encampment. Feeling himself strong enough to undertake the siege of Navarino, Ibrahim took a position before it on the 21st with twelve thousand men. Upon this the Greek government, at last fully awakened to a sense of the impending danger, appointed Condurriottis general-in-chief in the Morea, left Missolonghi to its own junta, appointed Ghouras to combat Odysseus, whose fidelity by this time was more than suspected, and directed one division of the fleet to cruise off the Dardanelles to watch the Capitan Pacha, and the other to proceed to Suda to watch the Egyptian squadron. Condurriottis, who had Mavrocordato with him, having collected twelve thousand men from all parts of the Morea, took post between Navarino and Modon, in order to intercept the communications of the Egyptians between the two places.¹

Ibrahim, well aware of the influence of early success in all wars, but especially in wars of opinion, resolved upon immediately commencing operations. Accordingly, on the 19th, he attacked the Greeks with four thousand infantry and five hundred horse, and then, for the first time, the superiority of the Egyptian arms and discipline became apparent. The Greeks were disposed in a semicircle, with Kara Tasso on the right, and Corta Bozzaris on the left, and for some time made a spirited resistance. At length, however, Ibrahim, at the head of one thousand men, pierced their centre with fixed bayonets, a weapon to which, strange to say, the Greeks were hitherto strangers, while at the same time the horse, dashing up a ravine deemed inaccessible, completed their rout. Corta Bozzaris cut his way through with great difficulty; but most of his brave followers were slain in rescuing him, and the Greeks left six hundred dead on the field. This battle, though the forces engaged on neither side amounted to five thousand men, had a decisive effect on the issue of the campaign. It established the superiority of the Egyptian troops, and the inability of the Greeks to contend with them in the open field; and by relieving Ibrahim of all apprehensions of being disturbed during the progress of the siege of Navarino, mainly led to the reduction of that place, and the establishment of the Egyptian forces in a solid way in the Morea. At the same time the consternation of the Greeks was increased by the receipt of intelligence that

Redschid Pacha had seized the defiles of Mæri-Noros, and appeared with all his forces before Missolonghi, which was already invested.²

Such was the consternation among the Greeks

produced by these concurring events, that Ibrahim next day attempted to carry the place by escalade; but he was repulsed, and compelled to commence his operations against it in regular form. With this view, he directed his attack in the first instance against the isle of *Sphacteria*, immortalized by Thucydides in his narrative of the Peloponnesian war. Toward success in this enterprise it was indispensable to acquire a naval superiority, and this was soon secured by the arrival, on 1st May, of the Egyptian fleet of ninety sail, including ten frigates, whom Miaulis, with seventeen sloops, in vain endeavored to resist, which disembarked four thousand men, with ample stores and ammunition, to aid the besiegers. The Egyptian fleet, fivefold superior in force to the Greek, surrounded *Sphacteria*, and established a barrier of fifty sail between it and Miaulis, who cruised in the offing, watching in vain for an opportunity of sending in his fire-ships, or assisting his beleaguered countrymen. The island itself was accessible only at a single point on the west side, which was defended by a battery of three guns, manned by two hundred men under General Anagnostoras, with three hundred Hydriote sailors to work the guns. The little garrison defended itself for long with heroic courage; but fifty vessels of war surrounded it, and by landing one body of troops after another, at length succeeded in overpowering it. They were all slain, bravely combating to the last: Anagnostoras and So-hahini, the Hydriote commanders, were found among the thickest of the slain. The brig of Psamado remained in the harbor of the island to bring away its captain, the Prince Mavrocordato. The boat sent for this purpose, however, was sunk by the multitude which crowded in, and Psamado, left on the shore grievously wounded, was last seen with one hand waving his cap to encourage his crew, with the other brandishing his cimeter in the face of his enemies. The condition of the brig itself seemed now altogether desperate, for after having lost half its crew, it had to fight its way with only eighteen guns through the enemy's fleet of fifty sail, mounting fifteen hundred! But then was seen what, in circumstances the most hopeless, human heroism can effect. With consummate skill and undaunted courage, the crew, disdain- ing all summonses to surrender, succeeded in steering their devious course through the forest of their enemies' masts, and bore to Hydra, with the standard of the Cross still flying, the intelligence of a disaster which had inflicted a greater loss on that island than they had sustained in the four preceding campaigns. What mainly contributed to the success of the brig in this marvelous action, was the knowledge which the enemy had of the resolution of the crew to blow her up rather than be taken, which deterred them from coming to close quarters.¹

The capture of *Sphacteria* determined the fate of Navarino in the days of Ibrahim, as it had done in those of Pericles. Ibrahim next directed his efforts against Zanchio, a castle in the bay inside of the island, situated on a sandy tongue of land, and garrisoned by nine hun-

120.
Landing of
Ibrahim
Pacha at
Modon.
Feb. 24.

March 21.

¹ Ann. Hist.
vii. 403,
405; Gor-
don, ii. 194,
196.

121.
Defeat of
the Greeks
by Ibrahim
Pacha.
April 19.

² Ann. Hist.
vii. 405,
406; Gor-
don, ii. 199,
200.

122.
Capture of
Sphacteria
by Ibrahim.
May 8.

¹ Ann. Hist.
viii. 407,
409; Gor-
don, ii. 200,
203.

123.
Capture of
Navarino.
May 18.

dred men. After a gallant resistance it was forced to capitulate, after the walls had been reduced to a heap of loose stones, and the terms were honorably observed by Ibrahim; but Gregory, Bishop of Modon, who was taken prisoner in a sally, was treated with every indignity, his beard being plucked out by the roots, and he died in a dungeon some months afterward. Master of this castle and the island, Ibrahim redoubled his efforts against *Neo Castron*, or New Navarino, the garrison of which had but a scanty supply of provisions and twenty barrels of gunpowder left. Having exhausted these, and seeing no hopes of being relieved by sea, they were obliged to capitulate, which they did on condition that they should be transported to Calamata, under protection of a French and Austrian vessel. Ibrahim religiously observed the capitulation, and the garrison, which still consisted of eleven hundred men, was conveyed in safety to the place agreed on. Forty-six guns fell into Ibrahim's hands in the place. He treated the prisoners kindly, and offered them every inducement to enter his service; but, to the honor of the Greeks be it spoken, not one man proved unfaithful to his religion and his country.¹

Although the Greek fleet were not able to prevent the fall of Navarino, yet they performed several shining exploits in endeavoring to relieve it, which presaged in a manner the disaster so terrible to the Crescent of which its bay was destined to be the theatre. On the evening of the 13th, Miaulis, taking advantage of a favorable wind, glided, with twenty-eight ships, into the channel between the isles of Cabrera and Sapienza and the coast, and approached the Egyptian fleet lying at anchor under the walls of Modon. Keeping the enemy in check with part of his squadron, Miaulis launched, with the aid of the rest, six of his fireships against the ships in the roads. They proved entirely successful. One of them grappled the *Asia*, of fifty-four guns; others fastened on two corvettes and three brigs of twenty-four guns each, all of which, with twenty transports, were in flames in a few minutes, and totally consumed. The burning vessels, which cast a broad light over the bay, were drifted into the harbor, and it was only by the utmost exertions that Ibrahim succeeded in saving the remainder of the fleet, and all the stores and magazines of the army which were there deposited, from destruction. As it was, the fire communicated to a large magazine of provisions in the town, which was entirely consumed.²

Another naval victory of still greater magnitude graced the annals of the Greek navy at this period. On the 24th May, the Capitan Pacha put to sea from the Dardanelles with the Turkish squadron, consisting of a ship of the line of sixty-six guns, two frigates, six corvettes, and fifty brigs and transports, many of which bore the *Austrian* colors. As they had on board a vast quantity of ammunition, shells, projectiles, scaling-ladders, and platforms, it was supposed their des-

tination was Hydra or Samos. In reality, however, they were intended for the siege of Missolonghi, on the vigorous prosecution of which the Divan were now intent. Sakhtouri no sooner heard of the approach of the Ottoman fleet than he set sail from Hydra, and, came up with them as they were beating through the straits between Andros and Eubœa, and instantly breaking their line, sent the dreaded fireships among them. Two of them grappled the sixty-six-gun ship, and blew her up, with eight hundred men on board, the whole treasure of the fleet, and the Capitan Pacha's flag. He himself narrowly escaped, by getting into a smaller vessel a few minutes before the explosion took place. Another frigate of thirty-four guns was at the same time burnt by the fireships on the left. Upon this the Turkish fleet fled in all directions; twenty found refuge in Carysto and Suda, but five Austrian transports were taken, with thirteen hundred barrels of powder and great military stores; and another corvette, chased by two Greek brigs, was run ashore on the rocks of Syra, and burned by her crew, who afterward surrendered to the unwarlike inhabitants of the island. So much were the Greeks elated and the Turks depressed by these advantages, that the former proceeded to blockade Suda, and drove the Ottoman fleet of forty sail into the harbor, after burning a fine corvette of twenty-eight guns. But a storm having dispersed the Greek fleet, the Capitan Pacha weighed anchor on the 23d, and reached Navarino on the 4th July, where he disembarked four thousand Albanians, six hundred horse, and twelve hundred pioneers, who proved of the utmost value to the land forces in the Morea.¹

By the acquisition of Navarino, Ibrahim had secured an excellent base of operations resting on that place, Coron, and Modon, and communicating readily by sea with his reserves in Suda and Alexandria. Having gained this advantage, his next move was to extend himself in the interior; and for this purpose he advanced against Arcadia in two columns. The first succeeded in surprising and sacking Arcadia; but Ibrahim's own column, which took the road over the mountains of Aya, sustained a ruder encounter. In the pass of Pedimon they met Papa Flessa, one of the bravest chiefs of the Morea, who, although deserted by eight hundred of his troops, nobly stood his ground, like another Leonidas, at the head of three hundred resolute men. They long made good the pass, and repulsed all the attacks of the Mussulmans, ten times more numerous; until at length Ibrahim, drawing his cimeter, himself headed a general charge of his Arabs on the Greeks, whose ammunition was now exhausted. In the desperate hand-to-hand struggle which ensued with sabres, bayonets, and the but-ends of muskets, all the Greeks were slain except two, who, severely wounded, passed for dead among the dead bodies of their countrymen. The corpses were assembled in a heap by the victorious Arabs, who cut off the heads of their antagonists:² on their tumulus, as on that of their prede-

¹ Gordon, ii. 204, 208; service; but, to the honor of the Ann. Hist. viii. 410, proved unfaithful to his religion and his country.¹

^{124.} Naval successes of the Greeks. May 13.

¹ Gordon, 208, 209; 211; Ann. Hist. viii. 414.

^{126.} Successes of Ibrahim, and gallant resistance near Arcadia.

June 3.

² An. Hist. viii. 409, 410; Gordon, ii. 203, 204.

^{125.} Victory of Sakhtouri over the Capitan Pacha. June 1.

² Gordon, ii. 215, 216; Ann. Hist. viii. 415, 416.

cessors at Thermopylæ, might be placed the well-known lines—

"Go, stranger, and at Lacedæmon tell
That here, obedient to her laws, we fell."

After this success, the army of Ibrahim was

127. Further suc-
cesses of
Ibrahim, and
capture of
Tripolitza.
June 20.

mustered to ascertain its strength, with a view to future operations. It was found to consist of seven thousand eight hundred combatants, the remains of fifteen thousand who had landed in the Morea; to such a degree had sickness, famine, and the sword of the Greeks diminished his formidable battalions. Ibrahim, however, was not a man to halt in the career of success; and, profiting by the terror which his victories had inspired, he resolved to push his advantages to the utmost, and advance upon Tripolitza. Colocotroni, on his side, had collected seven thousand mountaineers, with whom he tried to arrest the enemy in the defiles. After a vigorous resistance, however, Ibrahim succeeded in turning the Greeks, and forcing them to abandon their posts; and the road to Tripolitza being now open, Colocotroni sent orders to the inhabitants to burn their houses and evacuate the place, which was accordingly done, and it was occupied by the Egyptians without resistance on the 23d. Having placed a garrison there, and given his troops a few hours' rest, Ibrahim continued his march toward Napoli di Romania. From a lofty point of the road he caught a view of Hydra, and, stretching out his hand, exclaimed, "Ah! little England, how long wilt thou escape me?" So rapid was his march, so unexpected his approach, that no preparations had been made in the capital for defense; and had he at once advanced to the gates, he would in all probability have made himself master of it. Ipsilanti, however, took post with two hundred

June 25. of fifty men at the important position of Myli (Mills), where the chief magazines of the government were placed, and defended it with such resolution that the Arabs were forced to retire with the loss of four hundred men, and Napoli was saved. Ibrahim, finding that his *coup-de-main* on the capital had failed, and not being in sufficient strength to attempt its reduction in form, turned aside to Argos, which was burned and abandoned at his approach.¹

When Ibrahim made his dash at Napoli di

128. Fresh defeat
of the Greeks.
July 5.

Romania, Colocotroni and the other chiefs of the Morea assembled with twelve thousand men in his rear, with a view to cut off his communication with Navarino. As he was without magazines, and the country was entirely wasted, they hoped to reduce him to the necessity of capitulating, as they had done Dramalis' men two years before. But they soon found they had a very different enemy to deal with from his confused rabble of Osmanli horsemen. The Greek generals stood firm at Tricorphæ, through which Ibrahim required to pass in his retreat, and this brought on a general action. It was long contested with the utmost bravery on both sides; but at length a body of horse having appeared in the rear of Tricorphæ, and getting into the rear of the Corinthians, they took to flight, and their rout drew after it that of the

whole army. Four hundred were slain on the spot, including thirteen chiefs of note, and eight hundred made prisoners. Old Colocotroni himself, after having done all he could to rally his men, with difficulty saved himself on a baggage-mule. Such was the terror inspired by this victory, that the soldiers of the Morea never again ventured to face the Egyptians in the open field; and such was the ascendancy which they had acquired, that on the morning of the 21st, Ipsilanti's corps, four thousand strong, dispersed at the sight of an Egyptian battalion and a few horsemen. After this, the campaign, in a military point of view, in the Morea, was at an end, as the Greek chiefs never ventured again to meet the enemy in large bodies; but they occupied the mountains, and cut off several Arab detachments which were ravaging the plains, from which Ibrahim, after burning the houses, drove away the inhabitants as slaves without mercy. A market was opened at Modon for the sale of captives of both sexes, who were crowded in dungeons, loaded with irons, unmercifully beaten by their guards, and often murdered in pure wanton cruelty during the night. Such, indeed, was the severity with which they were treated, that, in comparison of it, the old Turkish system of beheading or blowing from the mouth of a gun every male prisoner above sixteen years of age, might be considered as merciful.¹

¹ Gordon ii.
219, 225; An.
Hist. viii. 420,
422; Coloco-
troni's Dis-
patch, July 8
(20), 1825.

While these successes were shaking the Greek power in the Morea, and establishing Ibrahim in a solid manner in that peninsula, Redschiid Pacha had commenced his operations before Missolonghi, and that memorable siege had begun which has given that town a name beside Numantia and Saragossa in the archives of the human race. Redschiid, whose manners were as popular as his abilities were distinguished, established himself at Janina early in January, where he began paying assiduous court to the Albanians, many of whom he induced to join his standard. Deeming himself in sufficient strength to undertake the siege, he suddenly appeared before Missolonghi on the 17th April. That town, built on the edge of a marshy plain, bounded by the hills of Zygos, is protected toward the sea by shallow lagoons, extending ten miles along the coast, and five miles broad, and, like the lagunæ of Venice, navigable, save in a few tortuous channels, only in the flat-bottomed boats of the natives, who derive abundant wealth from the produce of their ample fisheries. The main channel to the south is commanded by the mud-bank and blockhouse of Vassalidi; those to the north by the fortified islets of Poros and Anatolicon. Under Lord Byron's direction (who unhappily died on April 19, 1824), and with the aid of the funds his generosity contributed, the Greeks had applied themselves diligently to strengthening the fortifications of the place, and something like bastions, ravelins, and lunettes had been constructed in advance of the mud rampart faced with stone, which, with a ditch in front, constituted the sole original protection of the place. But they

129. Commence-
ment of the
second siege
of Missolon-
ghi, and de-
scription of
the place.
April 17.

were far from being complete; for the entire artillery mounted on the fortress, exclusive of those on Vassalidi and Anatolicon, was only forty-eight guns and four howitzers. But the garrison swelled to five thousand fighting men by the influx of the armed peasants flying before the approach of the Turks, and, directed by Nothi Bozzaris and Niketas, was animated by the best spirit; and, recollecting with conscious pride its successful defense during the first siege, anticipated nothing but triumph from the result of the second.¹

For ten days after the arrival of the Turks, the operations on both sides consisted of petty skirmishes only; but on the 7th May the first parallel was opened at the distance of six hundred paces from the east of the town. During the remainder of May and June, Redschid, who had by no means the skill in sieges of Marlborough or Berwick, continued to push his approaches under an incessant fire from the guns of the place.

On the 2d July the besieged sprung a mine, and, sallying out, gained considerable success, and took seven standards; but a week after their hopes were cruelly dashed by the appearance of the Capitan Pacha in the bay with fifty-five sail, carrying five thousand men, and great stores of siege equipment, which, notwithstanding the losses he had sustained in the conflicts in the Archipelago, he had contrived to bring through. Animated by this reinforcement, the siege was prosecuted with redoubled activity; and although they bravely repulsed several assaults, the situation of the garrison was by the middle of July well-nigh desperate from want of provisions. Their only hope was in the Hellenic marine, which at length made its appearance on the 29th under Sakhtouri and Miaulis.

Apprehensive that the Greeks would succeed in throwing supplies into the place, the Turkish commander resolved on an immediate assault, which was delivered on August 2. For two hours and a half a terrible fire of all arms was kept up on the breaches, a mine having been sprung under a battery, and the Turks advanced in five columns with such resolution that twenty standards were planted on the ruins of the work. The Greeks, however, returned to the charge, bayoneted all the Turks who had got in, and ultimately repulsed the assault at all points, with a loss of fifteen hundred men to the besiegers.²

This success was followed by an advantage still more important, gained next day at sea. Notwithstanding their great inferiority of forces, the Greeks, led by Miaulis and Sakhtouri, boldly advanced against the Turkish fleet; and after exchanging a few broadsides, three fireships made a dash at the Capitan Pacha. He was so terrified at their approach that he crowded all sail to escape; the whole fleet followed his example, and such was the general terror that, in passing Zante on the 5th May, they hauled their wind to avoid an encounter with seven Greek brigs, and never ceased their flight till they found shelter in the

harbor of Alexandria. Encouraged by this brilliant success, and entirely relieved from want by the supplies which the Greek fleet threw in on the following day, the garrison concerted a general attack on the Turkish lines with the commanders of the squadron. The Greek launches, accordingly, well manned, entered the lagoons by the Vassalidi channel, captured five Turkish boats, and drove Jussuf Pacha himself ashore. At the same time fifteen hundred chosen men made a sally from the town, carried four batteries by assault, and returned to their walls, after a bloody contest of four hours, with arms, twelve standards, and some hundred prisoners.¹

This succession of adverse events made no impression on the stern and resolute soul of Redschid Pacha. Having failed in taking the town either by famine or assault, he resolved upon a plan akin to that by which Alexander reduced Tyre in ancient, and Richelieu, Rochelle in modern times. He began constructing a vast mound of earth, which he pushed forward from his lines toward the Franklin battery. It was soon one hundred and sixty yards long and twelve broad, and entirely bestrode the intervening gulf; and the advanced end of it being higher than the battery, his troops commanded it, and, firing down, slew nine Greeks. The battery thus became untenable, and the Turks effected a lodgment in it, where they immediately intrenched themselves. The Greeks upon this retrenched themselves on each side of the battery, and for fifteen days both parties labored assiduously in laying sandbags, fascines, and gabions, and heightening their respective bulwarks. At length, however, the Turks solidly established themselves in the Franklin battery, and, sinking three mines, threatened to blow up the inner retrenchments. The Greeks, seeing that if this was done they would soon be masters of the place, prepared a fougass with three of their largest bombs under the head of the sap, which they fired on the 31st. The explosion, which was very violent, was the signal for a general rush of the Greeks into the battery, which was as stoutly defended by the Turks. At length, after a bloody contest, which lasted till midnight, and in the course of which the bastion was taken and retaken seven times, it finally remained in the hands of the Christians, who not only regained their own work, but destroyed the entire head of the mound, by which it had been so seriously endangered.²

Though the losses of the besieged during the last month in these repeated and sanguinary assaults had been very severe, yet they had been nearly made up by supplies of men from the country, the communication with which was still kept open, and, since the naval blockade had been raised, by succors thrown in by sea. In the beginning of September the garrison was still four thousand strong, and fourteen thousand rations were daily distributed to them and their families. The losses, on the other hand, of the besiegers had been fully as great as those of the besieged,

¹ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

² Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

³ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

⁴ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

⁵ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

⁶ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

⁷ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

⁸ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

⁹ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁰ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹¹ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹² Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹³ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁴ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁵ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁶ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁷ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁸ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹⁹ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

²⁰ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

²¹ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

²² Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

²³ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

²⁴ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

²⁵ Gordon, ii. 235, 236; Ann. Hist. viii. 428, 429.

¹ Gordon, ii. 236, 237; Ann. Hist. viii. 430, 431.

^{132.} Attack on the town by a mound, and its defeat.

^{Aug. 27.}

^{Aug. 31.}

² Gordon, ii. 237, 239; Ann. Hist. viii. 429, 430.

^{133.} A third assault is repulsed.

and it was hard to say which stood in the most perilous situation, for the mountaineers hung in rear of the Ottoman army, and on the least reverse their hostility might be expected to be most formidable. The Greek journals were already raising the shout of victory, and anticipating the speedy abandonment of the siege by Redschid Pacha, and with a commander of less resolution and firmness this would probably have been the case; but he was not less persevering than his opponents—difficulties only the more strongly roused his ardent soul. With incredible diligence he again collected his scattered materials, and pushed forward his mole a second time toward the Frank-
Sept. 21. lin battery. Again the Greeks worked out a mine under its head, which they loaded with a fougass, and exploded when the Turks were within the bastion. The battery, the head of the mole, and a crowd of Mohammedans upon it, were at once blown into the air: a storm of grape and musketry completed the destruction of the entire front of the column, and the remainder took to flight, leaving twelve hundred of the bravest of their number slain or badly wounded on the mound.¹

Such was the loss of Redschid Pacha in these desperate assaults, that his army, by the end of October, had dwindled to three thousand men, a force not larger than that of the besieged. Withdrawing, therefore, entirely his advanced works, he merely strengthened his lines round his magazines, in order to maintain his ground near the place till the return of spring enabled the Capitan Pacha to bring him reinforcements. The Greeks were in the highest spirits; their cruisers were constantly in sight; not an enemy's flag was to be seen; ample supplies of provisions were brought in from Zante in flat-bottomed boats; and they were already planning a combined attack by sea and land on the Turks, which the strength of the works erected by them around their magazines alone prevented them from carrying into effect. But the Sultan, irritated rather than intimidated by this succession of disasters, and regarding the fall of Missolonghi as an event with which the termination of the Greek war, and possibly the existence of his own empire, was wound up, was at the same time making the most formidable preparations for its subjugation. He determined on a combined attack on the place with the whole forces of Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary. With this view the Capitan Pacha received orders to put to sea directly from Alexandria, with all the troops the Pacha of Egypt could collect, which were to be placed under the command of Ibrahim, who was to bring up all he could assemble from the Morea. Ten thousand infantry, eight hundred regulars, and twelve hundred irregulars, were embarked on board a fleet of one hundred and thirty-five vessels, of which seventy-nine were of war, including nine frigates, and with these formidable forces he cast anchor in the bay of Navarino on the 5th November. Meanwhile Ibrahim, with four thousand men, proceeding toward Missolonghi by land, forced with heavy loss the marshes of the Alpheus, and fighting all the way, often at great disadvantage, at length

united his forces to those of Redschid in the middle of December. Meanwhile the Greeks on their side had also received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and large supplies of provisions and ammunition, which Miaulis brought up, and with great skill and valor threw in, despite the Turkish blockade. This so raised their spirits that they anxiously expected the general assault with which they were threatened from the combined forces of Turkey and Egypt, now mustering twenty-five thousand land troops, besides the sea forces.¹

During these prolonged operations the garrison of Missolonghi had evinced the most unshaken fortitude. Between sickness, famine, and the sword, they had buried fifteen hundred of their number; the town was in ruins, the walls and bastions breached in almost every quarter, and the strength of the survivors of the garrison exhausted by incessant watching and combating for nine months; and in spite of the supplies they had received, provisions were again becoming scarce, and they were threatened with the horrors of famine in addition to their other calamities. Yet even in these desperate circumstances they had never flinched for an instant—not a thought of surrender had ever crossed their minds; the standard of the Cross waved as proudly on their ruined ramparts as ever it had done in the days of their triumph and festivity. As far as their eyes could reach, the sea was covered with Mussulman pendants; and the daily increasing number of batteries and field-works in the plain, studded with the wreck of the siege, gave fearful note of the preparations making against them; while a priest, two women, and several children, impaled alive in front of the besiegers' lines, told but too plainly the fate which awaited themselves if they fell into the hands of their ruthless enemies. Yet even in these awful circumstances, and when threatened with an assault from twenty thousand ferocious barbarians, they had the resolution to refuse an offer of capitulation, even when transmitted by a British naval officer, whose vessel was at anchor in the bay.²

The whole of February and March was spent in a succession of conflicts, at different outworks, between the contending parties, in which, though success was various, and the besieged always combated with the most heroic courage, the scales upon the whole preponderated in favor of the besiegers. The islet of Vassalidi was first stormed, the battery of Dolma next carried, and at length the garrison of Anatolicon, having exhausted all their means of defense, capitulated, and were conveyed to Arta, stipulating only for their lives. The convent of the Holy Trinity, a fortified post half a mile to the southeast of Missolonghi, was next carried, after a frightful assault, in which one thousand Turks and Arabs fell, and their dead bodies floated about in the lagoon, and literally stained their waters with blood. Such was the consternation of the Moslems at this bloody conquest, that if the besieged had thought fit to evacuate the place the following night they would have encountered April 6.

134.
Critical position of the Turks, and preparations of the Sultan.

¹ Gordon, ii. 239, 240; Ann. Hist. viii. 430

¹ Ann. Hist. viii. 437; Gordon, ii. 243, 245, 249, ix. 407.

135.
Heroic spirit of the garrison.

² Gordon, ii. 254, 256.

tered no opposition. But they were sustained amidst all their disasters by their heroic spirit, and entertained hopes of being re-
1 Ann. Hist. ix. 411, 412; lieved by the Greek fleet; so they
Gordon, ii. 256, 259. held by their ruined and blood-stained battlements.¹

In this hope, however, they were disappointed. Miaulis, with the Greek flotilla, consisting of forty sail, hove in sight, and by means of a narrow creek concealed by reeds contrived to communicate with the garrison, from whom he learned their extreme distress. But the force of the Turks was such as to exclude the possibility of a direct attack; and he had not sufficient small craft to force his passage, now that Vassalidi was lost, up to the town; he was forced to write to Napoli for more small craft to execute his project. But ere he could do so the fate of Missolonghi was decided; the last act of the glorious tragedy had arrived. Since the 1st April no rations had been distributed; the firing had driven away every kind of fish, and the people subsisted on cats, rats, raw hides, and sea-weed. But even these deplorable resources were ere long exhausted; absolute famine stared the wretched inhabitants, with their wives and children, in the face; the earth was strewn with the wounded, the sick, the famished, and the dying, for whom there was neither food, nor beds, nor medicines, nor assistance. Three days more, and not a living soul would remain within the walls from absolute famine. Yet even in these desperate circumstances they again refused to
April 20. capitulate on the same terms which Anatolicon had accepted, and determined that if they were forced to abandon the place it should be with arms in their hands. They resolved on the desperate attempt to cut their way through the enemy's lines with their wives and children, and if they could not
2 Gordon, ii. 259, 261; escape, at least die with arms in their hands, combating for their
Ann. Hist. ix. 412, 414. religion, their country, and their hearths.²

Between the 10th and 20th April great numbers of persons in the town died of famine and the rapid diminution of the miserable means of subsistence proved that the desperate attempt could no longer be delayed. An attempt of Colonel Fabvier to disturb the besiegers in rear, with fifteen hundred men from Attica, was defeated. Miaulis in vain strove to force the maritime blockade with a third of the forces of his opponents. In these circumstances a census was taken of the remaining inhabitants, and it was found there were three thousand men capable of bearing arms, a thousand unfit to wield them, and five thousand women and children. It was agreed that the sortie should take place on the night of the 22d, and be executed in the following manner: The three thousand fighting men, with all the convalescents, were to throw themselves headlong on the besiegers' lines, force a way through, and open a passage for the non-combatants, women, and children; and then the whole, issuing silently from the eastern face of the rampart, should lie prostrate till they received a signal from their friends without: they were then to break into two divi-

sions, each headed by fifteen hundred fighting men, and endeavor to force their way through Ibrahim's camp, and reunite in a
1 Gordon, ii. 260, 261; vineyard a league and a half from
Ann. Hist. ix. 414, 415. Missolonghi, and pursue their way together toward Salona.¹

This extraordinary and heroic attempt met with a success which could hardly have been anticipated. The women
139. generally put on male attire, and
Commencement of the sortie. carried pistols and daggers in their
April 22. girdles, and weapons were given to such of the boys as had strength to use them. The gunners were ordered to spike and overturn their guns before leaving the ramparts. The hopes of the besieged were high, and their courage equal to any trial; but the difficulties they had to encounter were much greater than had been anticipated, owing to a Bulgarian deserter having revealed the design to Ibrahim, who made every disposition to frustrate it. At the appointed hour, the garrison, with their wives and children, assembled at night, crossed the moat in silence, and lay quiet, with their faces on the earth, on the opposite bank. Presently, however, the nailing of the bridges over the moat, and the wailing of the women and children at leaving their homes, attracted Ibrahim's attention to the quarter where the sortie was to be made, and a violent fire of grape and musketry was directed against it, which killed and wounded several. For an hour they lay prostrate in the dark under this galling fire, waiting for a signal from Karaïskaski without, who had been warned of the project, and was to aid it by an attack on the besiegers' lines with his Albanians; but none such was heard, and at length their situation became intolerable, and further suspense impossible. A bright moon shone forth, light whispers ran through the ranks, and up they sprang with a loud shout, "On, on! Death to the barbarians!" The onset was irresistible. Neither ditch nor breast-work, the fire of grape and musketry, nor the bayonets of the Arabs, could resist the desperate shock. In a few minutes the trenches were passed, the infantry broken, the batteries silenced, and the artillerymen slaughtered at their guns. A wide opening was made in the besiegers' lines, through which the helpless crowd in rear immediately began to pour in
2 Gordon, ii. 262, 263; great numbers, and sanguine hopes
Ann. Hist. ix. 415, 416. were entertained that the passage
Issue of the sortie. was secured and the danger over.²

In this hope, however, they were disappointed. In the enthusiasm of victory, the warriors, instead of dividing into the two columns, as they had been ordered, pushed across the plain in one solid mass, and defeated with great slaughter a body of five hundred Mohammedan horse who tried to obstruct them. The cavalry, however, fell on the unarmed multitude in rear, and cut many to pieces. In the confusion, a cry arose, "Back to the batteries!" and great numbers rushed in wild despair again to the town, which they entered at the same time as the besiegers, who were now rushing in on all sides. A general massacre immediately commenced of all who were found within the walls; and the universal consternation was increased at midnight by the blowing up of the grand powder-magazine

under the bastion of Bozzaris, which was fired by the Greeks, and destroyed several hundred Turks who had crowded into it. Indeed, such was the desperation with which the Greeks fought, that the loss of the Turks in that awful night was fully equal to their own. Of the column which issued, eighteen hundred, including two hundred women, forced their way through every obstacle, and, after undergoing incredible hardships, reached Salona in safety, where they were received with transports by the inhabitants. Ibrahim boasted that he had collected three thousand heads, and sold four thousand women and children; but great numbers of the latter were purchased and restored to their families by the benevolence of the Christians, which was strongly aroused

¹ Gordon, ii. 264, 267; Ann. Hist. ix. 416, 418. over all Europe by this memorable enterprise, closing, as it did, a siege of immortal glory.^{1*}

Thus fell Missolonghi; but its heroic resistance had not been made in vain. It laid the foundation of Greek independence; for it preserved that blessing during a period of despondence and doubt, when its very existence had come to be endangered. By drawing the whole forces of the Ottoman empire upon themselves, its heroic garrison allowed the nation to remain undisturbed in other quarters, and prevented the entire reduction of the Morea, which was threatened during the first moments of consternation consequent on Ibrahim's success. By holding out so long, and with such resolute perseverance, they not only inflicted a loss upon the enemy greater than they themselves experienced, but superior to the whole garrison of the place put together. The Western nations watched the struggle with breathless interest, and when at last it terminated in the daring sally, and the cutting through of the enemy's lines by a body of intrepid men, fighting for themselves, their wives, and children, the public enthusiasm knew no bounds. It will appear immediately that it was this warm sympathy which mainly

* The following is the statement of the losses of the Greeks during the siege and sortie by an eye-witness:

Killed in the town.....	2100
Killed in the sortie.....	500
Men made prisoners.....	150
Women killed.....	1500
Women and children who drowned themselves.....	800
Women and children made prisoners.....	3400

8450

—*Histoire du Siège de Missolonghi*, 76, 84. Par M. AUGUSTINE FABRE.

The following letter, happily preserved, was written by E. Meyer, a few days before the sortie:

"The labors we are undergoing, and a wound in the shoulder, have hitherto prevented my writing to you. We are reduced to the necessity of feeding on the most unclean animals; we suffer horribly from hunger and thirst, and disease adds much to our calamities. 1740 of our comrades are dead; 100,000 shot and shells have overturned our bastions and houses; we are in want of firewood, and pinched by cold. It is an exhilarating spectacle to behold the devotion of the garrison under so many privations. Yet a few days, and those heroes will be incorporeal spirits. In the name of Nothi Bozzaris and our brave soldiers, I declare to you that we have sworn to defend Missolonghi foot by foot, to listen to no capitulation, and to bury ourselves in its ruins. Our last hour approaches! History will do us justice, and posterity will weep our misfortunes. May the relation I have drawn up of the siege survive me!" The author of this letter was cut down in the sortie, and his wife and child taken: his description of the siege was lost.—GORDON, ii. 268.

contributed to the success of the Philhellenic societies which had sprung up in every country of Europe, and ultimately rendered public opinion so strong as to lead to the treaty of July, the battle of Navarino, and establishment of Greek independence.

The Hellenic cause stood much in need of the breathing-time and interest awakened by this memorable siege, for never since the commencement of the contest had it been placed in such danger as at this time. A feeling of despondence pervaded all classes, arising from the apparently interminable nature of the contest, and the experienced inability of their troops to withstand in the open field the disciplined battalions which Ibrahim had now brought to bear upon them. The male population of the country was sorely reduced by six campaigns, which, however glorious, had been attended with an immense consumption of human life, and money in every department was still more wanting than men. Considerable loans, indeed, had been contracted for their behoof in London, but very little of the money had reached the Hellenic shores, and the collection of revenue in Greece itself had become wholly impossible. Lord Cochrane had, indeed, been prevailed on by the Hellenic committee, and the promise of £37,000 paid down, and £20,000 more when the independence of the country was secured, to devote his splendid nautical talents to their cause; but even his vigor and capacity were paralyzed by the inefficiency or cupidity of inferior agents.* Thus the weight of the contest still fell with undiminished force on the Greeks themselves; and so strong and general, in consequence, were the feelings of despondency which prevailed, that the representatives of the nation signed a solemn act, placing the nation under the absolute protection of Great Britain.[†]

But meanwhile the defense of Missolonghi stood the Greeks in good stead during the anxious period which preceded and followed its fall. The public voice in England, France, and Germany had become so strong that it could no longer be resisted; and it met with a responsive echo in the breast of Mr. Canning, whose ardent mind, always enthusiastic in the cause of Greece, was now still more strongly impelled by obvious considerations of policy. The memorial of the Hellenic government had requested that Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg might be appointed sovereign of Greece. The memorial was received; and although no immediate answer was returned, it soon became evident how agreeable

* Near £400,000 of Greek money was spent on the building of two frigates, and in defraying the cost of Lord Cochrane's six steamboats, which ought to have been at Napoli before the end of 1825; whereas the first reached Greece in September in 1826, the Hellas frigate in December of that year, Lord Cochrane in March, 1827, a second steamer in September, 1827, and a third and last in September, 1828.—GORDON, ii. 276.

† "1. In virtue of the present act, the Greek nation places the sacred deposit of its liberty, independence, and political existence under the absolute protection of Great Britain.

"2. The President of the Council shall immediately execute the present law. Napoli, July 2 (Aug. 1), 1825."—Ann. Hist. viii. 113.

the proposal was to the British government.

Jan. 9. In the beginning of January, 1826, Mr. Stratford Canning, nominated to the embassy at Constantinople, had a secret interview with Mavrocordato in an island near Hydra, at which terms of accommodation were agreed on to the satisfaction of both parties. These were an entire separation of the Greeks and Turks in the revolted districts, and the recognition of

the Sultan's supremacy, on payment of a fixed tribute, to be collected by the Greeks themselves.¹

The death of the Emperor Alexander, and accession of Nicholas, in the end of

144. December, 1825, made a great difference on this question. Not only was a formidable and persevering enemy to the cause of Greek independence removed by that event, but his successor upon the throne might reasonably be presumed to be actuated by very different sentiments. Nicholas was eminently *national* in his feelings and ideas, and the national object of Russia for a century and a half has been to advance the Muscovite standards into Turkey, and place the cross upon the dome of St. Sophia. The public feeling had been strongly manifested on many occasions: even the restraints of discipline and the presence of the Emperor had been unable to prevent a tumultuous expression of this feeling at a great review of the guards in September, 1824; and nothing but the personal weight and known opinions of the old Emperor had prevented the public voice manifesting itself in a way still more serious and unmistakable. It was not to be supposed that a new Emperor would any longer resist the national voice, or that he would forego the present fair opportunity of realizing all the ancient projects of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg for the destruction of the Turkish empire. Impressed with these ideas, the British government most properly resolved to take the initiative in the transaction, and by making the liberation of Greece the *joint* act of the maritime powers, to prevent it from falling under the exclusive protection of one of their number. Accordingly, while Mr. Stratford Canning was directed to do every thing possible to mollify the Turks, the Duke of Wellington was sent to St. Petersburg, professedly to congratulate the young Czar upon his accession, but really to arrange the terms of a convention for the protection of Greece. This was accomplished by a protocol, signed on 4th April by the Duke of Wellington, Prince Lieven, and Count Nesselrode, which may be considered as the corner-stone of Greek independence.²

By this deed it was stipulated that his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of an application from the Greeks, consented to interpose his good offices to put an end to the contest with the Turks; and, desiring to concert measures with the Emperor of Russia, it was agreed that Greece should be a dependence of the Ottoman empire, paying an annual tribute, and governed by native authorities, in whose nomination the Porte was to have a voice, enjoying liberty of conscience and freedom of trade; and the two high contracting parties invited the courts of Vienna,

Paris, and Berlin to concur in this protocol, and interpose their guarantee. But although Nicholas eagerly closed with this proposal for erecting Greece into a semi-independent state, he declined admitting of any mediation of the other powers in regard to his own differences with the Porte, which, he alleged with reason, Russia was able to adjust for herself.¹

The experienced superiority of Ibrahim's disciplined troops to the levies *en masse* in the Morea, led to the Hellenic government taking some steps for the formation of a regular army. A law was passed by the legislature establishing a conscription, and with the force thus obtained Colonel Fabvier succeeded in organizing a body of three thousand troops, of whom five hundred were stationed at Napoli, and two thousand five hundred at Athens. With the latter force he marched out of that city, in order to reduce the fortresses in the island of Eubœa, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans. But the success of the enterprise was far from corresponding to the expectations which had been formed of it. After being baffled in several encounters, Fabvier was obliged to re-embark his troops after sustaining a loss of two hundred men; and so discouraged were the remainder with the bad success of the expedition that one half of them deserted. Encouraged by this success, the Turkish commanders invaded Attica, and laid siege to the Acropolis of Athens, which operation lasted a long time, and led to several expeditions being set on foot to raise the siege, all of which failed of effect.²

Never since the revolution commenced had so deep a gloom hung over the nation as in the end of 1826, and the liveliness of Hellenic fancy magnifying the danger, it was expected that in a few days Ibrahim would encamp under the walls of Napoli, and the Captain Pacha repeat at Hydra the tragedies of Ipsara. The force employed in the reduction of Missolonghi had been dislocated after the fall of that place; and Ibrahim himself, with six thousand men, had returned to the Morea, where no force existed capable of keeping the field against him. Indeed, the Greek chiefs, taught by experience, did not attempt it, but wisely took post in the defiles of the mountains, where the superiority of his regular troops would be less felt, and in that desultory warfare they frequently gained considerable advantages. The government was in the most miserable state; the treasury contained only sixteen piastres—about five shillings. The public revenue, which in 1825 had been 5,500,000 piastres (£90,000), sunk in 1826 to 1,650,000 piastres, or £25,000. Some generous loans received from the Philhellenes in western Europe alone kept the armaments on foot. The sailors, receiving no pay, were in a state of open mutiny; the regular troops had nearly all disbanded; and Colocotroni could only muster two thousand men in the mountains of the Morea.³ The primates of Hydra and Spezzia were taking steps to send away their hidden wealth, while the

¹ Protocol, April 4, 1826; Parl. Deb. 1826, 744.

² Gordon, ii. 146. Operations in Attica. Sept. 22, 1825.

³ Feb. 24. 2 Gordon, ii. 289, 295; Ann. Hist. ix. 437, 439.

² Ann. Reg. 1826, p. 74; Gordon, ii. 280, 281.

¹ 145. Its provisions. tannic Majesty, in consequence of an application from the Greeks, consented to interpose his good offices to put an end to the contest with the Turks; and, desiring to concert measures with the Emperor of Russia, it was agreed that Greece should be a dependence of the Ottoman empire, paying an annual tribute, and governed by native authorities, in whose nomination the Porte was to have a voice, enjoying liberty of conscience and freedom of trade; and the two high contracting parties invited the courts of Vienna,

¹ 147. Deplorable situation of Greece at this period.

³ Gordon, ii. 298, 299, 303, 304.

populace, suspecting their design, kept sullen watch at the harbor, declaring that their own fate should be the fate of all.

In the beginning of July, the fleet of the 148. Capitan Pacha set sail from the Dardanelles in such strength that the Naval operations. Greeks had no force whatever capable of opposing it. It embraced two line-of-battle ships and six large frigates. One division coasted round the Morea, and cast anchor in the bay of Navarino, with succors of all kinds for Ibrahim, who was now reduced to the most miserable state by the interminable warfare. Of twenty-four thousand Arabs who had been shipped off from Alexandria within two years, only eight thousand were alive, and fifteen hundred of these were in hospital; his magazines were exhausted, his military chest empty, and his Africans, without pay, were becoming mutinous and unruly. The other division of the Ottoman fleet, consisting of the two line-of-battle ships and twenty-seven frigates and brigs, crept down along the coast toward Samos, and excited the utmost alarm in Spezzia, the whole population of which took refuge in Hydra, where the preparations were so complete as to defy attack. The Greek fleet hove in sight, and Canaris, with his usual daring, advanced alone in his fireship into the midst of the enemy's squadron. He had almost grappled a frigate, when, two shots striking him between wind and water, his vessel began to sink; and two Turkish launches approaching, he lighted the train, and took to his long-boat. One of the Turkish launches was burnt by the fireship, but the other overtook Canaris, and although he extricated himself from their grasp, it was only after being severely wounded. On the 11th September, Miaulis having come up with twenty sail, a general action ensued, in which the Greeks had the advantage; and such was the terror which they inspired among their opponents that on 7th October their whole fleet, consisting of forty sail, fled from fourteen Greek vessels; and in the middle of November the Capitan Pacha re-entered the Dardanelles, and laid up his ships in the Golden Horn. Justly elated with this glorious campaign, and with having a second time saved Samos from destruction, the Greek fleet returned to Hydra, and were received with the transports due to their important deeds.¹

1 Gordon, ii. 321, 325; Ann. Hist. ix. 439, 440.

149. Progress of the siege of Athens.

Meanwhile the Turks, more fortunate at land than sea, were actively pressing the siege of the Acropolis, where Ghouras had shut himself up with five hundred men. By drawing the garrisons from Negropont and other places in his rear, Kalahi had collected ten thousand men for the siege, with twenty guns and six mortars, harnessed in a way which would have done credit to any battering-train in Europe. As the slender resources at the disposal of Ghouras were wholly inadequate to resist such formidable forces, the greatest exertions were made to raise the siege. Karaïskaski received the command of the troops destined for that end, and he soon collected fourteen hundred men, and, including the remnant of Fabvier's regu-

lars, the whole force was about three thousand five hundred men. On the 17th September a general action took place, which terminated to the advantage of the Greeks; and if Fabvier's advice to march direct upon Athens when it was over had been taken, the siege would probably have been raised. But the favorable moment was allowed to pass without attempting that decisive movement; and two days after, Redschid Pacha himself attacked the Greeks. An obstinate and bloody action took place, in which, though no decisive success was gained on either side, yet the advantage, upon the whole, was with the Turks, as they kept their ground, and the siege was not raised. Ghouras was soon after killed, as he was going his rounds at night, by a chance shot from the Turkish lines; but the spirits of the besieged were ere long raised to the highest pitch by the safe arrival of four hundred and fifty Roumeliots, who with great skill were thrown into the fortress. A supply of powder was soon after introduced, with equal skill and daring, by Karaïskaski; and in December he entirely defeated a body of fifteen hundred Albanians, near Daulis, destroying twelve hundred of their number. He soon after routed the garrison of Lepanto, an event which so elated the peasantry that they flocked in crowds to his standard, and the flag of independence once more waved along all the hills of northern Greece.¹

But these partial successes and disasters determined nothing, except to increase the mutual exhaustion of the contending parties. The Greeks at this period had twenty-eight thousand men under arms, a force small indeed, but nearly equal to that of their opponents, for Ibrahim had not above eight thousand men around his standards; and such was the horror at the Greek war which pervaded all classes of the Ottomans, that all corps marched overland into the country melted away by desertion before they arrived at the scene of action. The campaign, so far as the land forces were concerned, depended entirely on the siege of Athens, and accordingly the utmost efforts were made by both parties for its prosecution or interruption. For this purpose, a combined attack was arranged between Karaïskaski's and General Church's men, whom Lord Cochrane had disembarked from his frigate, the *Hellas*, in the Piræus. On the 27th April the convent of Saint Spiridion, after gallantly braving a terrible bombardment from the guns of the *Hellas* and those of Church, capitulated; but the terms were violated by the infuriated Greeks, who massacred half the garrison. In the night of the 5th May, General Church disembarked three thousand five hundred men, in part regulars; but they were totally defeated, with the loss of two thousand men. So complete was the rout, so swift the sabres of the Turks, that Lord Cochrane owed his escape to a precipitate flight, and had the utmost difficulty in regaining his ship by swimming. This disaster necessarily drew after it the surrender of the Acropolis; their provisions were entirely exhausted, and ammunition was becoming extremely scarce.

¹ Gordon, ii. 330, 331; Ann. Hist. ix. 441, 443.

^{150.} Unsuccessful attempts to raise the siege of Athens, and its fall.

May 5.

April 27.

A capitulation was accordingly agreed to, under the auspices of General Church; the garrison ^{May 17.} marched out with their arms in their hands, so great an object to all soldiers, especially the Oriental, and the standard of Mohammed once more waved on the battlements of the Acropolis.¹

But the time had now arrived when the vengeance of the Almighty was to overtreaty of take the oppressors, and the cry of an 6th July. injured race was to ascend to Heaven, and find mercy at the Throne of Grace. For seven long years had the Greeks, now reduced to half their number, contended single-handed with the whole force of the Ottoman empire, and come off victorious. If they had latterly suffered many reverses, and were now in a condition all but desperate, it was not from their inability to contend single-handed with the Turks, but from the overwhelming weight of the Egyptians, whose regular disciplined bands had interfered with decisive effect in the close of the struggle. But if the Turks had brought one powerful ally to bear upon the Greeks, the Christians brought another to their assistance. The protocol signed by Russia and England, on the 4th April, 1826, was not allowed to remain a dead letter. The generous heart and ardent soul of Mr. Canning labored incessantly to effect such an alliance as should render it a matter of impossibility for the Ottoman government to resist the terms which they might impose. In this he was energetically aided by the French government, which justly felt the necessity of taking active steps to prevent the great work of Grecian emancipation from falling exclusively into the hands of the Russians. The result was the conclusion of the TREATY OF 6TH JULY, 1827, between England, France, and Russia, the corner-stone of Greek independence, and one of the most glorious diplomatic acts of which modern Europe can boast.²

By the preamble of this celebrated treaty, it was declared that the motives ^{152.} which led the high contracting parties to interfere, was "the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gives occasion to piracy, which not only exposes the subjects of the contracting parties to considerable losses, but renders necessary burdensome measures of suppression and protection." The object of the treaty was declared to be "the reconciliation of the Greeks and Turks." For this purpose, so soon as the treaty was ratified, the mediation of the three powers was to be offered to the Sultan, in a joint note signed by all their ministers at Constantinople; but an armistice was to be absolutely insisted on by both parties as a preliminary to the opening of any negotiation. The terms proposed to the Sultan were, that he should still retain a nominal sovereignty over Greece, but receive from them a fixed annual tribute, to be collected by the Greek authorities, in the nomination of whom the Sultan was to have a voice. All the Mussulman property in Greece was to

be abandoned upon receiving an indemnity, and the fortresses were to be given up to the Greek troops. If the Porte did not, within a month, declare its acceptance of these terms, he was to be informed that the state of things which had reigned six years in Greece, and to which the Sultan seemed unable, by his own resources, to put an end, made it imperative upon them, for their own security, "to come to an ¹ Treaty, 6th approximation with the Greeks, July, 1827; which was to consist in establishing ^{Ann. Reg. 1827: Public Documents, 403, 409; An. Hist. x. 102; Doc. Hist.} commercial relations with Greece, and receiving from them consular agents;" in other words, acknowledging their independence.¹

When this treaty was intimated to the Sultan, he manifested, not without ^{153.} reason, the utmost astonishment ^{Countermand, festo of the Porte.} and indignation at its contents, and declared his fixed determination to adhere to the last in his endeavors to reduce his rebellious subjects to submission. He replied in a manifesto—"The Greeks, who form part of the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms, and who from generation to generation have been tributary subjects of the Sublime Porte, have, like the other nations that since the origin of Islamism remained faithfully in submission, always enjoyed perfect repose and tranquillity under the ægis of our legislation. It is notorious that the Greeks have been treated like Mussulmans in every respect; and as to every thing which regards their property, the maintenance of their personal security, and the defense of their honor, that they have been, especially under the glorious reign of the present sovereign, loaded with benefits far exceeding those which their ancestors enjoyed. It is precisely this great degree of favor, this height of comfort and tranquillity, that has been the cause of the revolt, excited by malignant men incapable of appreciating the value of such marks of benevolence. Yielding to the delusions of heated imaginations, they have dared to raise the standard of revolt, not only against their benefactor and legitimate sovereign, but also against all the Mussulman people, by committing the most horrible excesses, sacrificing to their vengeance defenseless women and innocent children with unexampled ferocity.

"The Sublime Porte being engaged in punishing, in its own territory, and in conformity with its sacred law, such ^{154.} of its turbulent subjects as have ^{Continued.} revolted, can never admit the right of any other power to interfere with it. The Ottoman government must consider those who address such proposals to it as intending to give consequence to a troop of brigands. A Greek government is spoken of, which is to be recognized in case the Sublime Porte does not consent to some arrangement; and it has even been proposed to conclude a treaty with the rebels. Has not the Sublime Porte great reason to be struck with astonishment at hearing such language from friendly powers? for history offers no example of conduct in all respects so opposite to the principles and duties of government. The Sublime Porte, therefore, can never listen to such propositions, which it will neither hear nor understand, so long as the country inhabited by Greeks forms part of the Ottoman dominions;

and they are tributary subjects of the Porte, which will never renounce its rights. If, with the aid of the Almighty, the Sublime Porte resumes full possession of that country, it will

¹ Manifesto, then act, as well for the present as the future, in conformity with the 10th June, 1827; An. Reg. ordinances which its holy law prescribes with respect to its subjects."¹ 406, 410.

It soon appeared, however, that the allied powers were not to allow the strength of the treaty of 6th July to remain a dead letter. A British squadron, of four ships of the line, under Admiral Sir EDWARD CODRINGTON, was already in the Levant, and a French squadron, of equal strength, under Admiral DE RIGNY. So eager was the Czar to take a leading part in the approaching conflict, that he dispatched eight ships of the line, under Admiral Heiden, from the Baltic; but as this proportion was deemed excessive on the part of Russia, four of them returned to Cronstadt, and the remainder only proceeded to the general rendezvous in the *Ægean Sea*.¹

Meanwhile the Porte was not remiss in measures of defense; on the contrary, the preparations, both for the reduction of the Greeks and the general defense of the empire, went on with redoubled activity. Heavy cannon, directed by European officers, were mounted on the castles of the Dardanelles and the Hellespont; the garrison of the isle of Tenedos, at the entrance of the Straits, was greatly strengthened, and the utmost efforts were made to increase Ibrahim's force in the Morea, who received orders to prosecute with the greatest vigor the war of extermination in which he was engaged. These exertions met with entire success. The grand Egyptian fleet, consisting of two line-of-battle ships of eighty-four guns each, twelve frigates, four of which carried sixty-four guns, and forty-one transports, having on board five thousand regular troops, arrived in the bay of Navarino in the end of August. Ibrahim immediately landed the soldiers, and, thus reinforced, prepared for the resumption of hostilities on a great scale on shore. The European admirals were there with their fleet, but as the Porte had not, to their knowledge, declined the terms of the allied powers, no resistance was made to the landing of the troops; but it was intimated to him that, if he attempted to leave the bay of Navarino, he would be resisted. Ibrahim replied, as became a good soldier, that he would not be the first to commence hostilities; but that, if he received orders from his sovereign to sail and attack Hydra, he would at all hazards obey his instructions.²

Meanwhile the ambassadors of the allied powers, on the 16th August, presented a final note to the Turkish government. They intimated the treaty, and required the Sultan to conform to it. They formally offered to mediate between him and his revolted subjects, and demanded a categorical answer within fifteen days; adding, "that it was their duty not to conceal from the Reis-Effendi that a new refusal, an evasive or insufficient answer, even a total silence on the part of the government,

would place the allied courts under the necessity of recurring to such measures as they should judge most efficacious for putting an end to a state of things which had become incompatible even with the true interests of the Sublime Porte, with the security of commerce in general, and with the general tranquillity of Europe." On the 30th August, as the period allowed for giving an answer had expired, the ambassadors demanded an answer. It was given verbally, and repeated, in the most decided terms, the refusal to admit the interference of foreign powers in the Greek contest, referring to the manifesto of 9th June as containing the deliberate and firm determination of the Porte. The ambassadors then presented an additional note, informing the Porte that, in consequence of its refusal, their sovereigns would take the necessary steps to carry the treaty into execution, and enforce a suspension of hostilities, without in any manner interrupting the friendly relations between them and the Sublime Porte.¹

Meanwhile Ibrahim was not slow in prosecuting the war of extermination in the Morea, which he had received orders from the Porte to undertake. On 19th October he marched a corps of six thousand men to Calamata, and another of three thousand to Arcadia, while he himself, at the head of an equal force, marched against Marna. His footsteps were marked by desolation. He issued orders to put every one to death in the villages where resistance was attempted; and in several this was actually done. The whole olive and fruit trees, the growth of centuries, and sole resource in many places of the inhabitants, were cut down or burnt. The women and children were all carried off to be sold as slaves, the men slain, the houses burnt, and continual clouds of smoke around the gulf of Coron bore frightful testimony to the devastation that was going forward. The miserable survivors, who escaped the edge of the cimeter by flying to the mountains, wandered about half starved, and in many instances perished only by a more lingering and painful death than being put to the sword, or blown from the mouth of a cannon.—the usual fate of all Ibrahim's male prisoners above sixteen years of age.²

Informed of this devastation, and seeing Ibrahim's determination to set the proposed armistice at defiance, the allied admirals held a consultation off Navarino, and unanimously came to the opinion that they had only one of three courses to adopt—either to continue the blockade of Navarino during the winter, which would certainly be difficult, perhaps impossible; or to unite the squadrons in Navarino itself, and by their presence in that secure anchorage compel the inactivity of the Ottoman squadron; or to enter Navarino, and there renew to Ibrahim propositions entering into the spirit of the treaty. This last mode was the one unanimously adopted; and it obviously meant, that they were to call on Ibrahim to desist from hostilities, under pain of being attacked in case of re-

¹ An. Reg. 1827, 310, 311.

^{158.} Ibrahim's war of extermination in the Morea.

² An. Reg. 1827, 316; Gordon, ii. 417, 418.

^{159.} Plans of the admirals in consequence. October 18.

Oct. 18.

fusal. Having adopted this resolution on the 18th October, they proceeded to carry it into execution on the 18th, and thus brought on one of the most glorious events in the annals of Christendom.¹

The forces of the Allies consisted of ten ships of the line, ten frigates and a brig, and a few smaller vessels; in all, twenty-six sail, carrying 1324 guns. Of these, three line-of-battle ships—viz., the Asia, of eighty-four guns, which bore Sir Edward Codrington's flag, the Albion, of seventy-four guns, and the Genoa, seventy-four—were English; three French, viz., the Sirène, which bore the flag of Admiral de Rigny, the Scipio, and the Breslau; and four Russian, under Admiral Heyden, whose flag was hoisted on board the Azoff. The Ottoman force consisted of seventy-nine vessels, of which four were of the line, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, besides lesser vessels, armed with 2240 guns; so that, independent of the batteries and forts on shore, which were very formidable, they had nine hundred guns more than the Christians. There can be no doubt, however, that, as the latter had a great superiority in sail of the line, having ten to four, they were, upon the whole, superior in strength; and if the battle had been fought at open sea, it probably would not have lasted an hour. But the advantage arising from this superiority of force was very much lost by the position of

the enemy, crowded into the bay of Navarino, where they lay under the guns of the batteries in the form of a vast semicircle, having their broad-sides turned toward the centre of the bay, and so near each other as to resemble rather a huge floating battery than a fleet of detached vessels.²

The combined fleet entered the bay at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th October. Sir Edward Codrington led the van in the Asia, followed by the Genoa and Albion; next came Admiral de Rigny in the Sirène, followed by the Scipio and the Breslau; Admiral Heyden, in the Azoff, brought up the rear, with his three other line-of-battle ships. The six leading ships passed the batteries at the entrance of the bay, within pistol shot, without opposition, and took up their stations directly opposite to the heaviest vessels in the enemy's line; the Russians, in the rear, were placed abreast of the batteries; and the frigates of the squadron were directed to look after the enemy's frigates and fireships. Nothing could exceed the precision with which the different vessels came in, and took up their respective positions. The Asia passed close to the ship of Moharem Bey, and with silent and awful grandeur clewed up her topsails, rounded to, and let go her small bower-anchor on the larboard of the Capitan Pacha's ship of equal size. The Capitan Bey said to his colleagues as they came in, "The die is now cast. I told you the English were not to be trifled with." Strict orders had been given not to fire; and although all the ships on both sides were cleared for action, and every preparation made, not

a shot was discharged, until the Dartmouth sent a boat to one of the fireships, which was fired upon, as it was supposed they were coming to board. Several men were wounded by this discharge, which immediately induced a defensive fire from the Dartmouth, which became extremely warm. At the same time, an officer bearing a flag of truce, sent by Sir Edward Codrington to the Turkish admiral's ship, was slain; and a cannon-shot was fired at Admiral de Rigny's ship from one of the Egyptian vessels. This brought on a return from the Asia and Sirène; and immediately the fire became general along the whole line.¹

With characteristic hardihood, Sir E. Codrington anchored his vessel between the ships of the Capitan Bey, the Turkish, and Moharem Bey, the Egyptian admiral, and immediately began a tremendous fire, right and left, on his antagonists. The Asia at the same time was exposed to a raking fire from the frigates in the second and third line, which carried away her mizen-mast by the board, disabled several of the guns, and killed and wounded numbers of the crew. Despite these disadvantages, however, the fire of the Asia was kept up with such vigor and precision that the two admirals' ships were soon silenced, and floated away mere wrecks. Meanwhile the Genoa and Albion took up their positions in the most beautiful manner, and commenced the action with the utmost vigor; while the French and Russian admirals, aided by their respective crews, took their ground, and rivaled the British seamen in skill and daring. The Sirène ran the greatest risk of being burned by the fireships which were launched against her by the Egyptians; but she was saved by the able exertions of Captain Fellows of the Dartmouth. By degrees the superiority of the Christian fire became very apparent; most of the vessels in the enemy's line were either sunk, silenced, or in flames, and such of the crew as could escape threw themselves into the sea and made for the shore, after setting fire to their respective ships. The Asia was for long so enveloped in smoke that her flag only could be seen at the mast-head, and when a frigate near her blew up, it was thought she had exploded; but in a few minutes, the smoke clearing away, she was seen still maintaining the fight with untiring energy, and a general shout along the whole fleet announced the joyous discovery. The battle lasted four hours, at the close of which time the whole Ottoman ships were burnt, sunk, or destroyed, with the exception of twenty-eight of the smallest, which were cast ashore, or still afloat, and were spared by the conquerors. Fifty-one vessels, including the four line-of-battle ships, nineteen frigates, and twenty-nine corvettes, were destroyed, with seven thousand of their crews. History has scarcely preserved the record of so complete a conquest, or so awful a devastation.²*

* Ibrahim Pacha's own account of the circumstances which led to the battle of Navarino is substantially the same as that given above on the authority of the allied admirals:

¹ An. Reg. 1827, 316; Gordon, ii. 419, 421.

^{160.} Forces on both sides.

² An. Hist. x. 357, 358; Gordon, ii. 431; Sir E. Codrington's Dispatch, Oct. 21; Ann. Reg. 1827, 410, 411.

^{161.} Commencement of the battle. October 20.

¹ Sir E. Codrington's Dispatch; An. Reg. 411; Ann. Hist. x. 358, 359; Brenton, ii. 616, 617.

^{162.} The battle, and defeat of the Turks.

² Admiral Codrington's Dispatch, An. Reg. 410, 412; Ann. Hist. x. 358, 359; Brenton, ii. 618.

Indescribably sublime was the scene which presented itself at the close of the action, when the sun declined, serene and unclouded, over this theatre of carnage. The line of the Ottomans had disappeared; a few floating wrecks alone were to be seen in the bay, clustered round their conquerors; flames were bursting out on all sides, and the sea was covered with fragments of burning vessels, upon some of which the standard of the Prophet was still to be seen, unsubdued even in ruin. Calamitous beyond measure to the vanquished, the victory was by no means bloodless to the conquerors, for the Mussulmans fought with their wonted valor, and neither asked nor accepted quarter. The loss on the part of the Allies was severest in the British squadron—a sure proof upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and with

“I had returned, and again left Navarino for some days, when the English, French, and Russian squadrons have in sight. A frigate and an English brig entered the harbor without showing their colors, and, after making several tacks in the bay, again left it without hoisting a flag; conduct which I can neither justify nor account for. On the 20th the pacha who commanded in my absence, observing the allied fleet bearing down on Navarino in order of battle, and with apparently hostile intentions, sent a boat on board the English admiral, and delivered to him the following communication—viz., that the pacha would be sorry to see so large an armament enter the port of Navarino during the absence of Ibrahim; but that if the Allies had any occasion to communicate with the shore, they could do so with perfect security, and that part or parts of each squadron could enter without endangering the peace. I appeal to you, sir—do you observe any thing calculated to give offense in a similar request? Was it not natural for the commander to object to the presence of so powerful a force, and protest against its entering the port, especially as that force was four or five times superior to the Turkish, and likely by its warlike presence to provoke hostilities? The English admiral sent back the boat with the insulting answer, that he came to give orders, and not receive advice; while the combined fleet continued to bear down on Navarino in line of battle. At two o'clock P.M. the three squadrons entered the harbor, and immediately took up their berths within pistol-shot of the Turkish fleet. In the meanwhile a frigate detached itself from the fleet, and anchored athwart two fireships which were moored at the mouth of the harbor: the French and Russian squadrons followed the English admiral, and imitated his manœuvres. The Turkish admiral sent a boat a second time on board the English flag-ship, to demand some explanation of these hostile proceedings; but the messenger was driven back in a manner equally insulting and unjustifiable, while the frigate above mentioned sent her boats to seize on the fireships athwart which she had taken up her berth. At this moment a discharge of musketry took place, which proved to be the signal for a general action—an action which was only terminated by the approach of night, and the utter destruction of our squadron. The Turkish squadron was composed of three line-of-battle ships, fifteen frigates, and several transports, and was not prepared for action; while the fleet which it had to contend with consisted of ten line-of-battle ships, besides a number of frigates and corvettes. This being the case, do the three admirals really think that they have reaped a rich harvest of glory, by crushing with their superior forces an opponent who neither expected nor had given cause for such an attack, and who was not prepared for action, nor had taken the precautions of defense? But to return to the subject, and state who began the action, and who has the blame or merit of having fired the first shot. On this point each party is anxious to exculpate itself. What, however, is positively known on the subject is, that the English frigate, without reason or provocation, endeavored to take possession of some fireships, and that the just resistance made by the fireships caused the first shot to be fired. To conclude, sir—being conscious of having given no offense, I avow that I am still ignorant of the motive which gave occasion for this unaccountable conduct. The high powers profess a wish to prevent the further effusion of blood in the Levant, while, behold! their admirals crimson the waters of Navarino with blood, and cover the entire bay with floating corpses.”—IBRAHIM'S *Dispatch*, October 26, 1827; *Dublin Review*, April, 1837.

whom its principal honor should rest: it amounted to 75 killed, and 197 wounded; the French to 43 killed and 117 wounded. The Russian loss is unknown—a certain sign it was not great. Sixteen of the killed and 26 of the wounded were in the Asia alone; among the former was a son of the admiral. She had 28 shot in her mainmast. The Asia, Albion, and Genoa, were so much damaged in the fight that they were sent home by Sir E. Codrington, after having been so far repaired at Malta as to be able to bear the voyage. Captain Bathurst, of the Genoa, nobly fell at the commencement of the action. Sir E. Codrington was on the poop the whole time; his clothes were in several places perforated by balls: it was almost a miracle how he escaped unhurt.¹

Ibrahim was absent on an excursion toward Ryogos at the time this disaster was incurred; but he arrived at Neocastion on the 21st, in time to see the shattered and smoking fragments of his navy. As soon as the battle had ceased, the correspondence with the admirals was renewed: it was agreed there should be no further hostilities; and indeed they were not to be apprehended, for the Ottomans had no longer the means of carrying on the contest. Seeing at once that all his visions of Grecian conquest were at an end, Ibrahim wisely applied himself to securing the means of exit from a country, the warfare in which had proved so disastrous to his house. He set about repairing such of his transports as had escaped the conflagration, and in the beginning of December he took the first steps toward the evacuation of the country, by dispatching his harem, and five thousand sick and wounded soldiers, who arrived safe in the harbor of Alexandria in a few days. They were much required in Egypt, for a fresh war had broken out there with the Wahabites, which severely taxed the resources of the country, already strained to the uttermost by the Grecian contest.²

Great apprehensions were entertained that when the intelligence of the disaster at Navarino was heard at Constantinople, the rage of the Sultan would burst forth in the most dangerous manner upon the European residents, and even the representatives of the allied powers. It proved otherwise, however, and the crisis passed over with less violence than could have been expected. The firm attitude of the Divan, however, was not in the least shaken by the news of the misfortune, and the allied ministers having pressed for an answer to their note of 16th August, which had never yet received one, the Sultan replied by the Reis-Effendi, “My positive, absolute, definitive, unchangeable, eternal answer is, that the Sublime Porte does not accept any proposition regarding the Greeks, and will persist in its own will regarding them even to the day of the last judgment.” The Divan even went so far as to demand, as their final terms, after the catastrophe of Navarino, that they should receive a compensation for the destruction of their

¹ An. Reg. 1827, 319; Admiral Codrington's Dispatch, *Ibid.*, 412, 413; De Rigny's Dispatch, *Ann. Hist.* x. 107; Moniteur, Nov. 9, 1827; Brenton, *ii.* 619.

^{164.} Ibrahim's proceedings after the battle.

Nov. 9.
² Ann. Hist. x. 403, 405; An. Reg. 1827, 120, 122; Gordon, *ii.* 434, 435.

^{165.} Final rupture of the Turks with the allied powers.

flect, and satisfaction for the insult offered to them by the attack made upon it, and that the Allies should abstain from all interference in the affairs of Greece. To these demands the allied ambassadors returned for answer, that the treaty of 6th July obliged them to defend Greece; that the Turks had no claim for reparation on account of Navarino, as they began the battle; and that the Porte had still less reason to complain, as it had been warned that such an event would probably follow the rejection of the terms proposed by the allied powers. Accommodation was now obviously hopeless; the ambassadors left Constantinople on December 8th, and soon after Count Capo d'Istria, who had been elected President of Greece, took possession of his new dominions, and issued a proclamation, declaring the Ottoman yoke forever broken, and the independence of Greece established.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1827, 321, 322; Gordon, ii. 434, 444.

No words can convey an idea of the transports of joy which pervaded entire Greece when the intelligence of the battle of Navarino was received. Fast as the flaming beacon which conveyed the news of the fall of Troy to Argos, the joyous tidings were transmitted from mountain to mountain, from crag to crag, from isle to isle, and one throb of exultation and thankfulness was felt in every bosom. Never since the defeat of Hasdrubal by the consul Nero, on the banks of the Metauris, had such a sensation pervaded the heart of a nation. Every one felt as if he himself were delivered from captivity or death. The terrible contest of seven years' duration, upon which their lives, those of their families and their property had been staked, was brought to a close. Christendom had come to the rescue; again, as in the days of the Crusades, the Cross had been triumphant over the Crescent. True, their numbers had been halved during the struggle, their wives and daughters sold as slaves, their houses burned, their fields wasted—what then? These evils had ceased: their sons would now be secure from the Turkish cimeter, their daughters from the Turkish harems; industry would revive, property be rendered secure, and freedom, spreading its blessings over their hills and valleys, would restore the days of their ancient glory.²

Equally great was the sensation produced by this memorable event over entire Christendom. Never, save by the taking of Jerusalem in 1199 by the crusading warriors under Godfrey of Bouillon, had so unanimous a feeling of exultation pervaded the Christian world; it exceeded that felt at the battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria; for that triumph only averted a remote danger from Europe generally, but this rescued one of its most interesting peoples from the jaws of instant destruction. Opinions in England were somewhat divided, from the obvious increase which it gave to the preponderance of Russia in the East; but on the Continent the rejoicing was universal. Slow, but certain, had been the march of Divine justice; the final blow was not struck till many opportunities of repentance had been neglected, and many occasions of res-

titution thrown away: but when it was delivered, the balance was at once righted; an entire people rose from the grave; the blood of Chios was avenged by the flames of Navarino. No further resistance was practicable; the fleets of Asia had been sunk in the deep, and its armies had wasted away in the struggle; a single day had secured the independence of Greece, and restored her to her place in the European family. Such a result was felt by every generous bosom to be the fit subject of exultation. In vain did political considerations intervene; in vain did the caution of statesmen stigmatize this glorious achievement as "an untoward event." The chilling phrase, the unworthy sentiment, was drowned in the universal shout of Christendom. A voice superior to worldly wisdom made itself heard; a feeling deeper than the desire for national advantage was generally experienced. The cause of religion and humanity was felt to have been at stake, and men were thankful that, after so many alliances had been formed for the purposes of ambition and national rivalry, one at last had been found, where nations were banded together in defense of the oppressed, and the sword of Christendom had been drawn to rescue one of its families from destruction.

Much discussion took place at the time, as to which of the contending parties was the aggressor at Navarino, and, as usual in such cases, contradictory accounts appeared as to which of the parties fired the first shot. Such special pleading is unworthy of the cause in which Europe was engaged on that occasion. The Allies undoubtedly were the aggressors in the battle; the sailing in a hostile guise into the bay was, as Lord Eldon justly remarked, a hostile act, which authorized the Ottomans to repel them by force. But as clearly as the Allies were the aggressors in the action, were the Turks the aggressors in the war; for they refused to accede to the terms of pacification proposed to them by the Allies for the settlement of the Greek question, and had made up their minds to brave the united hostility of Christendom rather than suspend the war of extermination Ibrahim was waging in the Morea. It is true, that war was one waged against their own revolted subjects; it is true that no stranger has a right, in the general case, to interfere in such a contest; and it is not less true that such interference came with a peculiarly bad grace from the Allies at that time, seeing they had recently interfered with decisive effect in Spain and Italy, not to support, but to put down revolutions. But that consideration only brings out the more clearly the justice of their interference the other way in the present instance, and the vital distinction between the contest closed by the flames of Navarino, and that terminated by the capitulation of Cadiz.

Though unfortunately confounded with them by the Emperor Alexander, the Greek war was, both in principle and object, essentially different from the revolutions of Rio de Janeiro or Pepe. It was not a social, but a national contest; it was not a war of principles or privileges, but of religion and race. The statesmen of western Europe, whose

² Gordon, ii. 438, 439.

^{167.} Immense sensation produced by the news over Christendom.

^{168.} Who was the aggressor at Navarino?

^{169.} The Greek war was a strife of religion and race, not principles.

vision was blinded on both sides by the social convulsions so strongly raging among themselves at the time, mistook the signs of the times in the Eastern world; they thought they saw the marks of revolution in Peloponnesus, when, in fact, it was the contest, as old as the Trojan war, of Europe against Asia, which was then raging; it was the spirit of Richard against Saladin which had really been elicited. The conduct of the Turks throughout the whole of this contest had been so atrocious; their cruelty, their massacres, their bloodthirstiness, had been so infamous that they had cast themselves out of the pale of civilization: like Robespierre, they had been declared, and rightly so, *hors la loi* by the human race. Beyond all question, non-interference is the rule, and interference the exception; but there are cases, as in the instances of the French and Spanish revolutions, where a different principle must be established, when the interests of humanity require interference with a nation abusing the right of the strongest within itself, as of a man threatening with death his wife or children. And if ever there was a nation which had brought itself within the exception, it was that which had perpetrated the massacre of Chios, and was yet reeking with the slaughter of Missolonghi.

In truth, so far from the treaty of 6th July, 1827, having been an unjustifiable interference with the rights of the Ottoman government as an independent power, it was just the reverse; and the only thing to be regretted is that the Christian powers did not interfere earlier in the contest, and with far more extensive views, for the restoration of the Greek empire. After the massacre of Chios, the Turks had thrown themselves out of the pale of civilization; they had proved themselves to be pirates, enemies of the human race, and no longer entitled to toleration from the European family. Expulsion from Europe was the natural and legitimate consequence of their flagrant violation of its usages in war. Had this been done in 1822—had the Congress of Verona acceded to the prayers of the Greeks, and restored the Christian empire of the East under the guarantee of the allied powers—what an ocean of blood would have been dried up, what boundless misery prevented, what prospects of felicity to the human race opened! A Christian monarchy of 10,000,000 of souls, with Constantinople for its capital, would ere this have added a half to its population, wealth, and all the elements of national strength. The rapid growth, since the Crescent was expelled from their territories, of Servia, Greece, the isles of the Archipelago, Wallachia and Moldavia, and of the Christian inhabitants in all parts of the country, proves what might have been expected had all Turkey in Europe been blessed by a similar liberation. The fairest portion of Europe would have been restored to the rule of religion, liberty, and civilization, and a barrier erected by European freedom against Asiatic despotism in the regions where it was first successfully combated.

What is the grand difficulty that now surrounds the Eastern question, which has ren-

dered it all but insoluble even to the most far-seeing statesmen, and has com-
pelled the Western powers, for their
own sake, to ally themselves with a
state which they would all gladly,
were it practicable without general danger, see
expelled from Europe? Is it not that the Ot-
toman empire is the only barrier which exists
against the encroachments of Russia, and that
if it is destroyed the independence of every
European state is endangered by the extension
of the Muscovite power from the Baltic to the
Mediterranean? All see the necessity of this
barrier, yet all are sensible of its weakness,
and feel that it is one which is daily becoming
more feeble, and must in the progress of time
be swept away. This difficulty is entirely of
our own creation; it might have been obviated,
and a firm bulwark erected in the East, against
which all the surges of Muscovite ambition
would have beat in vain. Had the dictates of
humanity, justice, and policy been listened to
in 1822, and a Christian monarchy been erect-
ed in European Turkey, under the guarantee
of Austria, France, and England, the whole
difficulties of the Eastern question would have
been obviated, and European independence
would have found an additional security in the
very quarter where it is now most seriously
menaced. Instead of the living being allied to
the dead, they would have been linked to the
living; and a barrier against Eastern conquest
erected on the shores of the Hellespont, not
with the worn-out materials of Mohammedan
despotism, but with the rising energy of Chris-
tian civilization.

But modern Turkey, it is said, is divided
by race, religion, and situation;
three-fourths of it are Christian,
one-fourth Mohammedan; there
are six millions of Slavonians,
four millions of Bulgarians, two
millions and a half of Turks, and
only one million of Greeks—
how can a united and powerful empire be
formed of such materials? Most true; and in
what state was Greece anterior to the Persian
invasion: Italy before the Punic wars; England
during the Heptarchy; Spain in the time of the
Moors; France during its civil wars? Has the
existence of such apparently fatal elements of
division prevented these countries from becom-
ing the most renowned, the most powerful, the
most prosperous communities upon earth? In
truth, diversity of race, so far from being an
element of weakness, is, when duly coerced, the
most prolific source of strength: it is to the
body politic what the intermixture of soils is
to the richness of the earth. It is the meagre-
ness of unmingled race which is the real source
of weakness; for it leaves hereditary mala-
dies unchanged, hereditary defects unsupplied.
Witness the unchanging ferocity in every age
of the Ishmaelite, the irredeemable indolence
of the Irish, the incurable arrogance of the Turk;
while the mingled blood of the Briton, the Ro-
man, the Saxon, the Dane, and the Norman has
produced the race to which is destined the
sceptre of half the globe.

Such was the resurrection of Greece; thus
did old Hellas rise from the grave of nations.
Scorched by fire, riddled by shot, baptized in

170.
The great error
committed was,
that the Euro-
pean nations did
not sooner inter-
fere, and in behalf
of the Greeks.

able interference with the rights
of the Ottoman government as
an independent power, it was
just the reverse; and the only
thing to be regretted is that the

172.
The division of
race and religion
in Turkey is no
bar to the estab-
lishment of a
Christian mon-
archy.

blood, she emerged victorious from the contest: she achieved her independence because she proved herself worthy of it: she was trained to manhood in the only school of real improvement, the school of suffering. Prosperous condition of Greece since its independence. Twenty-five years have elapsed since her independence was sealed by the battle of Navarino, and already the warmest hopes of her friends have been realized. Her capital, Athens, now contains thirty thousand inhabitants, quadruple what it did when the contest terminated; its commerce has doubled, and all the signs of rapidly advancing prosperity are to be seen on the land. The inhabitants have increased fifty per cent.; they are now above seven hundred thousand; but the fatal chasms produced by the war, especially in the male population, are still in a great measure unsupplied, and vast tracts of fertile land, spread with the bones of its defenders, await in every part of the country the robust arm of industry for their cultivation. The Greeks, indeed, have not all the virtues of freemen; perhaps they are never destined to exhibit them. Like the Muscovites, and from the same cause, they are

often cunning, fraudulent, deceitful: slaves always are such; and a nation is not crushed by a thousand years of Byzantine despotism, and four hundred of Mohammedan oppression, without having some of the features of the servile character impressed upon it. But they exhibit also the cheering symptoms of social improvement; they have proved they still possess the qualities to which their ancestors' greatness was owing. They are lively, ardent, and persevering, passionately desirous of knowledge, and indefatigable in the pursuit of it. The whole life which yet animates the Ottoman empire is owing to their intelligence and activity. The stagnation of despotism is unknown among them; if the union of civilization is unhappily equally unknown, that is a virtue of the manhood, and not to be looked for in the infancy of nations. The consciousness of deficiencies is the first step to their removal; the pride of barbarism, the self-sufficiency of ignorance, is the real bar to improvement; and a nation which is capable of making the efforts for improvement which the Greeks are doing, if not in possession of political greatness, is on the road to it.

CHAPTER XV.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS IN 1825, TO THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE IN 1829.

It is a markworthy circumstance, that all the serious wars in Europe, between 1. 1815 and 1830, occurred between the Christians and Mohammedans. The English attack on Algiers in 1816, the French capture of the same place in 1830, the Greek revolution and its seven bloody campaigns, the war of 1826 between the Russians and the Persians, that of 1828 between the Russians and Turks, all partook of this character. Even the distant contests of the English in India were at last of the same description; the Mussulman soldiers were not the least formidable that the English had to encounter on the ramparts of Bhurt pore, and on the plains of the Doab; and they never encountered such danger as when they approached Ghuznee, the cradle of Mohammedan power in Central Asia. It would seem that, when the social contests of Europe itself are hushed, the ancient and indelible hostility of the European to the barbarian breaks forth; and that, when all domestic grounds of dissension have been removed from civilized man, the inherent causes of discord, arising from difference of race, religion, and physical circumstances between him and more savage tribes, never fail to arm one part of the species against the other.

Placed on the confines of Europe and Asia, the hereditary enemy, in every age, of the Mohammedan faith, it was impossible that Russia could long escape this general antagonist movement of Islamism and Christianity, which followed the closing the wars of the French Revolution. The pacific habits of the Emperor Alexander, indeed, and the strong direction of his mind, in his later years, to mystical objects, and the establishment of the reign of peace and benevolence among mankind, long prevented the collision, and averted the conflict of the Cross and the Crescent, under circumstances when it otherwise would have become unavoidable. But with the accession of a new emperor this state of strained and unnatural pacification terminated. His character and feelings were essentially national; the frightful civil war which had preceded his accession to the throne rendered him doubly anxious to direct the popular passion to external objects; and the warm sympathy of the entire nation, and in an especial manner the army, with the religious struggle of the Greeks, rendered it not doubtful in what manner this direction might most effectually be given. No one, therefore, entered more cordially than the new Czar into the advances of the British government toward effecting a settlement of the Eastern question, by securing the virtual independence of Greece; and the protocol of 4th April, 1826, signed by the Duke of Wellington and Count Nesselrode, which, as

already mentioned, laid the foundation of that independence, was one of the most popular and agreeable acts of the new reign.¹

The last treaty between Russia and Persia, concluded on 24th October, 1813, under the mediation of Great Britain, had recognized the principle of *uti possidetis*; and so largely had Russia been a gainer by previous hostilities that she acquired a very great accession both of territory and influence on that occasion. She had crossed the ridge of the Caucasus, established herself in a solid way between the Caspian and the Black Sea, and spread her dominion far to the south in the vast province of Grandseha, better known under the name of Georgia. The influence of Russia, however, by these acquisitions, was ere long felt by the Persian government to be too great for a lasting pacification; various disputed questions of territory still remained unadjusted; they had, under the terror of their new and formidable neighbor, drawn more closely their connection with the British government; and a considerable number of English officers had communicated to the tumultuary array of Teheran, in a certain degree, the consistency of European organization and discipline. Aware of these hostile preparations, the Emperor Nicholas, soon after his brother's death, dispatched Prince Menschikoff upon a friendly mission, ostensibly to notify his accession to the throne, really to endeavor to effect an arrangement of the disputed points of territory. But this mission proved unavailing; the Prince Abbas Mirza was intoxicated with the thought of commanding an army of fifty thousand men, armed and disciplined in the European method; and so strong did the war party become that hostilities were commenced, and a considerable part of the territories occupied by the Russians to the south of the Caucasus wrested from them, before any declaration of war had been made between the two countries.²

The intelligence of the commencement of these hostilities reached the Emperor Nicholas during the festivities of his coronation at Moscow, in August, 1826; but it related to too distant a province to occasion any interruption to that joyous event. Orders were sent to General Yermoloff, who commanded the troops beyond the Caucasus, to concentrate his men, and attack the enemy; and these orders were executed by that able general with decisive effect. On the 2 (14) September he attacked Abbas Mirza, who was at the head of eight thousand soldiers, and so entirely defeated him that nearly his whole army dispersed. The victorious general, after this success, advanced with his little army, consist-

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 358; Ante, c. xiv., § 144.

³ Advantages gained by Russia over Persia.

² Fonton, 164, 166; Ann. Hist. ix. 362, 363.

⁴ Repeated defeats of the Persians by the Russians.

Sept. 14.

ing of six thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and twelve guns, against the main Persian army, composed of twenty thousand regular infantry, twelve thousand horse, eight thousand irregulars, and twenty-four guns, who

Sept. 21. were posted at the distance of four miles from Elizabethtol, on the banks of the little river Djeham. Though the forces were so unequal, the contest was of very short duration; and it soon appeared, as had so often been proved in India, how little the Asiatics have gained by the attempt to engraft European steadiness and discipline on their fiery squadrons. They were totally defeated, with the loss of twelve hundred prisoners, and double that number killed and wounded; while the loss of the Russians was under three hundred men. In

Nov. 6. consequence of this check, the Persians retreated across the Araxes; and the Russian army on the right having gained similar advantages, the Russians again recovered and received the submission of the whole provinces which they had occupied before the war.¹

Some idea of the strength of the Russian empire at this period may be formed from the result of a general survey of Russia at and enumeration of the inhabitants, this period.

Statistics of Russia at this period. which took place in the course of this year. From this it appeared that the entire superficies of the empire in Europe, Asia, and America, consisted of 375,154 square German miles (sixteen to an English); the population to 59,534,000; the excess of births over deaths to 700,000; and the army to 1,039,000 men, of whom, however, not more than 600,000 could be relied on as effective; and the revenue amounted to 388,000,000 francs, or £11,500,000.* Various important regulations were at the same time made for the establishment of military colonies, especially in the newly-acquired territories beyond the Caucasus, which promised at length to give consistency to the Russian

² An. Hist. ix. 369. dominion in those vast recent acquisitions.²

The interminable negotiations between the Russian and Turkish governments

6. State of the negotiations between Russia and Turkey. May 14. regarding the subjects of complaint which the former had against the latter for violating the clause in favor of its Christian subjects, contained in the treaties of Kainardji

and Bucharest, appeared this year to have reached an extraordinary and unlooked-for issue. The Ottoman Government, impatient to bring the Greek war to a termination, and intent on the prosecution of the siege of Missolonghi, resolved to dissemble, and avert the threatened invasion of a hundred thousand Russians from Bessarabia by a temporary submission. M. Miniacki, the Russian *chargé-d'affaires*, had on 5th April presented a note, in which he recapitulated the demands of his imperial mas-

ter, and required their unconditional acceptance within six weeks, failing which, hostilities were to commence. These conditions were—1. The immediate re-establishment of the two principalities and Servia in the condition in which they were prior to the commencement of the troubles of 1821; 2. The instant redress of all their grievances, conformable to the treaty of Bucharest in 1812; 3. The evacuation of these provinces by the Ottoman troops, and the liberation of the Servian deputies, whom they still held in detention; and, 4. An entire satisfaction to Russia for the insult offered to her by

May 14. the silence observed in regard to former notes. Contrary to all expectation, the Divan, at the expiration of the prescribed period, gave in their entire and unqualified adherence to the demands of the cabinet of St. Petersburg; the Servian deputies were immediately set at liberty, and orders dispatched for the instant evacuation of the principalities and Servia.¹

This sudden acquiescence in the demands of Russia, and departure from the old procrastinating policy of the Turkish government, excited at the time general surprise in Europe; but it soon appeared that it was the result of a deep-laid design, and formed part of a change of policy long contemplated in Turkey, and which its government now considered itself strong enough to carry into effect. The janizaries had for ages been the terror of the government at Constantinople, and more than once they had prescribed their own terms to the Sultan, and even imbrued their hands in his blood. Various projects had at different times been formed for the breaking of their pride and the curtailing of their influence; but they all had hitherto proved abortive, from the want of any adequate armed force at hand to restrain the hostility and coerce the excesses of these unruly defenders. The present Sultan, whose predecessor, Selim, had been dethroned and murdered in his attempt to shake off the authority of these imperious masters, had been obliged at the commencement of his reign to dissemble, and he had not only been forced to abolish the *Nizam Djedib*, or new troops, but to swear to preserve all the privileges of the janizaries, and even to enrol himself in one of their regiments or *ortas*, for his service in which he regularly drew pay. But his determination was not the less irrevocably taken; he was only dissembling, to gain time for their destruction. During the interval he was indefatigable in his efforts to gain the confidence of the *Oulemas*, or learned and legal bodies; and the long wars with Ali Pacha and the Greeks had both afforded evidence of the necessity of putting the military force on a new footing, and given time for the formation of a very considerable body of men, who might be relied on in the convulsion which was approaching. The preparations were now so far advanced that, though the janizaries saw their danger, they did not feel themselves in sufficient strength openly to take steps against it. Fourteen thousand *topjees* or artillerymen had been distributed in the barracks in and around Constantinople; and as they were the avowed rivals of the janizaries,

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 374, 376; Miniacki's Note, April 5, 1826, and Answer, May 13; Ann. Hist. 94, 96; Doc. Hist.

^{7.} Measures contemplated against the Janizaries.

	Square German miles (sixteen to an English).	Population.
Russia in Europe.....	72,861	44,118,600
Poland.....	2,293	3,702,300
Russia in Asia.....	276,000	11,663,100
Russia in America.....	24,000	50,000
	375,154	59,534,000

—Rapport semi-official, Dec. 30, 1826. *Annuaire Historique*, ix. 369.

and had been enrolled to coerce them, the utmost pains had been taken to secure their fidelity by every possible means. The pacha who commanded them, as well as the Grand Vizier, Capitan Pacha, and their own aga or general, were all devoted to Sultan Mahmoud, who had also secured the support of the muftis, and the powerful body of the Oulema.¹

In the end of May, after the differences with Russia had been adjusted, government took the first step in the proposed reform of the janizaries, by the promulgation of a new plan of organization, which, although cautiously conceived, to avoid exciting their jealousy, was yet calculated, when carried into full effect, to give a fatal blow to their influence. Their statutes and privileges were preserved entire, and all those who drew pay or emoluments allowed to continue them during their lives; but the existing holders of these immunities were not to be permitted to sell or alienate them, and at their demise they were entirely to cease. From the *ortas*, or regiments, a hundred and ninety-six in number, fifty were to be selected to furnish a hundred and fifty men each, who were to be incorporated with the new troops, and clothed and disciplined after the European fashion. This hattî-sheriff was sanctioned by the signature of the Sultan, and of all the dignitaries of the state, and instantly proclaimed in all the mosques and places of public resort in the capital and chief cities of the empire. The pay of the new troops was raised to thirty *paras* a day for private men, and to the officers in proportion. In addition to this, they were to receive dress and arms complete from the government—the latter consisting of a musket, sabre, and bayonet to each man; the former of a vest of red cloth, a pair of pantaloons of blue, and a cap of green cloth, edged with black sheepskin. Notwithstanding the magnitude of these changes, they had been so prepared, with the consent of the muftis, oulemas, and several of the chiefs of the janizaries themselves, that no resistance was at first experienced; the decree was read in the mosques without opposition; Egyptian officers

² Ann. Hist. ix. 379; Gordon, ii. 310, 311.
² Ann. Hist. ix. 379, 380; Ann. Reg. 1826, 172, 174.

This state of things continued for the first fortnight, and it was hoped the danger had blown over; but it soon appeared that these hopes were fallacious, and that a desperate conflict awaited the government in their attempt to introduce the new regulations. The furnishing of the hundred and fifty men from the selected *ortas* went on without difficulty in the capital and neighboring towns; but when the recruits began to be drilled and marched in the European fashion, the discontents at once broke out. On the evening of the 14th of June the ill-humor of the troops assumed the form of open mutiny: the new regulations were stigmatized as a violation of the law of the Prophet, and the men were worked up to such a pitch

that they burst in a tumultuous manner from their barracks, assailed the palace of the Grand Vizier, the Capitan Pacha, their own Aga, and the Pacha of Egypt's diplomatic agent, which they plundered in the most shameful manner. These exalted functionaries only saved themselves by a precipitate flight; and if the insurgents had been conducted with more ability, and marched in the first moment of alarm on the Sultan's palace and the batteries, they would in all probability have proved successful, and might without difficulty have imposed their own terms on the government. But being destitute of leaders, of prudence, or foresight, they neglected these obvious and necessary measures; and instead of improving their victory, when only half gained they thought of enjoying its fruits. Accordingly, after the pillage of the palaces they dispersed among the wine-vaults in the neighborhood, and gave themselves up to the most revolting excesses.¹

The Sultan and his ministers turned to much better account the breathing-time afforded by the intoxication of their antagonists. The Grand Seigneur hastened to Constantinople from his beautiful palace of Benhickdash, on the shores of the Bosphorus, and put himself at the head of the topjees or artillerymen, and faithful troops of every description, which were directed from all quarters upon the capital. A large park of artillery was brought from the arsenal of Topkhana, the gunners of which were entirely at his devotion; and the Sultan, whose gallant bearing animated the courage of all his adherents, soon found himself at the head of the chief civil functionaries and principal military authorities of the empire. By their advice—indeed, by their express orders—the famous *Sandjak Sheriff*, or sacred standard, said to be composed of part of the dress actually worn by the Prophet, was brought forth from the sacred treasury, where it had so long lain, shrouded from the eyes of the faithful, and conveyed to the mosque of Sultan Achmet, with the whole solemnities practiced on such occasions, which is of the rarest occurrence, and only resorted to on the most extreme danger. At the same time the public criers in every quarter published a proclamation denouncing the janizaries as enemies to the Prophet and his holy religion, and calling on every true believer to rally without delay around the standard of Mohammed.²

These decisive measures had an instantaneous effect. The streets were immediately filled with a prodigious crowd of Mussulmans, of all ages and descriptions, fully armed, and inspired with the utmost zeal, who hastened to the various rallying-points assigned them, to swell the array of the followers of the Prophet. The regular force assembled amounted to ten thousand men; and the preparations being deemed complete, the rebels were three times summoned to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance to Mohammed and his vicegerent the Sultan. They positively refused, until they had received the heads of the Grand Vizier, of their own Aga, of Hussein Pacha, and of Redschid-Effendi. These demands being of course refused, a de-

^{9.}
 Insurrection of the janizaries.
 June 14.

^{11.}
 Defeat of the janizaries.

² Ann. Hist. ix. 382, 383; Gordon, ii. 311, 312.

cree was hastily passed declaring the abolition of the janizaries, and ordering Hussein Pacha to march against the rebels. They, on their side, prepared for the most vigorous resistance; the Atmeidan was filled with ferocious bands, whose cheering was incessant; and the overturning of all their camp-kettles, the well-known signal of determined revolt, told but too plainly that they were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The combat, when the topjees approached, was brief but terrible. The janizaries commenced an immediate discharge of small arms, which was kept up with great rapidity, and resolutely withstood several rounds of grape-shot at point-blank range from the artillery. At length, however, a large number having been mowed down, the remainder retired, but still in good order, and firing steadily on their pursuers, to their barracks, where they had prepared the means of the most determined resistance. But an awful catastrophe, almost unparalleled in civil warfare, there awaited them. Without attempting to force the gates, the Turkish commanders contented themselves with incessantly throwing shells into the building, which was speedily set on fire, and firing grape on the gates by which alone egress could be obtained. In these frightful circumstances the rebels offered to submit, but it was too late. Their petition was sternly refused, and the shells continued to fall and the grape to be discharged till the barracks were totally consumed; and the whole insurgents, four thousand in number, had perished in the flames, or been cut down in endeavoring to force their way out of them.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 381, 383; Gordon, ii. 311, 312; Ann. Reg. 1826, 188.

The victory of the Sultan was complete, but the strength of the party of the janizaries, both in the capital and the provinces, was too well known, and their innumerable deeds of violence too fresh in recollection, not to make the government determined to push its advantages to the utmost, and utterly exterminate the unruly body which had now become as formidable to the throne as they had formerly been to its enemies. A summary court, composed of the principal officers of state, was formed in the Atmeidan, before whom all the janizaries who could be hunted out were brought, and on being identified as belonging to the obnoxious body, instantly sentenced to be executed. Above a thousand were put to death daily for several weeks. When the Sultan went to return thanks at the mosque of Sultan Achmet, it was observed that he was attended only by the topjees, and that the janizaries were entirely discarded. It soon appeared not only that all those engaged in the revolt were to be sacrificed, but that the insurrection was to be made a pretext for the destruction of the entire body throughout the whole empire. The sandjak-sheriff was carried with great pomp to June 18. the Seraglio, where it was deposited in one of the inner courts, in token of the public danger, and the Sultan and all his attendants lived in the outer courts, encamped and in tents, as in presence of the enemy. During three months they remained in that situation, constantly engaged in examining spies and informers, and taking depositions and issuing orders

for the execution of the janizaries in every part of the empire. It was calculated that, before the executions ceased by the exhaustion of their victims, above forty thousand had perished, besides an equal number driven into exile. In addition to this, the most severe measures were adopted against the whole body. Their name was proscribed, their barracks demolished, their camp-kettles, so often the signal of revolt, broken to pieces, their standards destroyed, and their whole duties transferred to a new corps of regular troops, to whom the defense of the city and empire was intrusted. The eighty gates of the capital, which it had been their privilege to guard, were intrusted to the topjees and bostandjis. The Sultan with his whole court assumed the Egyptian military dress; the old costumes were forbidden; the command of the entire new force given to Hussein Pacha, who established his head-quarters at the old Seraglio, which he fortified in the strongest manner; the beauties of the harem who formerly inhabited it were transferred to the new Seraglio; and on the 3d September, as the pacification was deemed complete, the sandjak-sheriff was with great pomp carried back to its place of sacred deposit, in the mosque of Sultan Achmet.¹

This great and sanguinary revolution, which produced such lasting effects upon the Ottoman empire, and was intimately interwoven with its whole future destinies, produced an immediate effect, very different from what had been foreseen, on the negotiation between the Porte and Russia. Sultan Mahmoud had very magnificent ideas regarding the new military force which he was to raise; and he already contemplated the formation of a regular standing army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. But he soon found that it is easier to destroy one military force than raise up another, and that the destruction of so numerous, ancient, and venerated a body as the janizaries, could not be effected without endangering the very existence of the empire. He received repeated warnings how deeply the public mind had been stirred on the occasion; a dreadful fire broke out, in August, in Constantinople, the work of incendiaries, which in a few hours consumed six thousand houses. On several occasions, when he appeared in public, he was received with unequivocal marks of displeasure; and instead of two hundred and fifty thousand recruits, not fifteen thousand were arrayed round the standard of the Prophet. The losses occasioned by the conflagration were immense; they were estimated at 140,000,000 francs (£5,800,000). So great did the public discontent become, that a proclamation was at length issued, denouncing the instant penalty, the men by being beheaded, the women by being sewn up in a sack and thrown into the sea, against whoever spread reports or used expressions tending to disturb the public peace; and these terrible denunciations were the very next day carried into execution in every quarter of the city with unrelenting severity.²

^{13.} Effect of this revolution on the negotiations with Russia.

Aug. 31.

² Ann. Hist. 392, 393; Ann. Reg. 1826, 164, 167.

Nowise deterred by these alarming proofs of

the public discontent, the Sultan pursued his plans of reform and regeneration with the utmost vigor. Inexorable in the destruction of all such as opposed his determination—terrible in the punishments he inflicted on all such as were suspected even of exciting the public mind against him, he rewarded generously such as adhered to his fortunes, and distributed frequent largesses among the troops, to reconcile them to the new exercise and uniform. He was equally vigorous in the prosecution of civil reforms, which he was well aware were, even more than military, essential to the restoration of the empire; and two important decrees, introducing a very different system of administration, date from this period. He first abolished the confiscation of the movable estate, which had hitherto invariably followed every execution by orders of Porte, and forbade the officers of justice to interfere with the estate in the event of the heirs being minors; the second enjoined on all the cadis and mollahs the most strict and rigorous administration of justice, and recommended the immediate prosecution of false witnesses, and all disturbers of the right course of the law—all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the amelioration of the internal economy of the state, but the success of which too soon demonstrated that more depends on national feelings and habits than on any regulations that can be made for the direction of the people. And at the same time the Divan gave the strongest proof that they had no inclination to abate by far the greatest social evil—the distinction of races and religions

—which afflicted the empire; for, by a decree published in the end of September, the whole population of the country other than the Mussulmans was enjoined to wear the ancient dresses, both in form and color, and not to venture on those reserved for the followers of the Prophet.¹

The first effect of the destruction of the janizaries appeared in the negotiations between Russia and the Porte, which, as a humiliation to Ottoman pride, the Emperor Nicholas had directed to be transferred to Ackerman, a town of Bessarabia, in the Russian dominions. The conference began on the 1st of August. Great difficulty was experienced in the outset, as might have been expected, when the pride of the Osmanlis was compelled to yield to the stern necessity of the times, and the Russians made the most of the extraordinary advantages which circumstances had thrown in their way to exact the most rigorous terms from their ancient antagonists. The demands of Russia related chiefly to three points: 1st, The immediate restitution of the whole six fortresses in Asia, which the Turks were bound to cede to the Russians by the last pacification, but of which they had only given up two; 2d, The relations and legal privileges of the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, of which the emperor had been declared the guardian by the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest; 3d, The political emancipation of the Servians, whose present chief, Prince Molosch, had obtained his appointment contrary to the wishes of Russia, to the partisans of which he had showed himself peculiarly hostile. At

the receipt of these demands, which were rendered more peremptory from a requisition that a categorical answer should be returned by the 25th September, the Turkish commissioners were so indignant that, in the first burst of indignation, they threatened instantly to leave Ackerman. But the Russians, who desired nothing better than to commence hostilities when the janizaries were destroyed, and no other military force had been organized to supply their place, having at once offered them an escort to conduct them beyond the frontier, they deemed it best to temporize, under pretense of sending to Constantinople to obtain fresh instructions. They agreed, accordingly, to prolong the period for giving an answer to the 7th October, receiving intimation, however, that if they were not then acceded to without reservation the Russian troops would cross the Pruth.¹

Such was the situation of the Turkish empire that, hard and even insulting as these propositions were, the Divan had no alternative but submission. The Greek insurrection, like a devouring fire, was consuming the vitals of the state, and entirely absorbed the resources of Egypt, the only part of it which could be relied on for military aid. The janizaries, who had for centuries formed the chief strength of the empire, were in part destroyed, and the survivors were animated with such an unextinguishable animosity against the government, that if armed they might be regarded as its most formidable enemies. Of the new levies, from which so much had been expected, not fifteen thousand were as yet grouped round the Sultan's standard, and even they were as yet imperfectly disciplined. The English and French ambassadors had intimated the intention of their respective courts to take an active part in the intervention in favor of Greece, and throw into the scale in the conflict with that power the weight of their arms and the terror of their name. Pressed by so many dangers, the Ottoman government, though with no intention, as it ultimately appeared, of adhering to their engagements, resolved on submission; and, on the last day allowed, their plenipotentiaries signed the celebrated *Convention of Ackerman*, which has ever since occupied so prominent a place in the diplomacy of the East. Some delay occurred in the ratification of the Sultan, but at length it too was adhibited, and the act became part of the international law of the two empires.²

By the treaty, which was reduced into the form of two conventions, it was stipulated—1. That the whole provisions of the treaty of Bucharest, of 17th June, 1812, were ratified and confirmed in their fullest extent. 2. Certain stipulations favorable to Russia, in regard to two large islands in the mouth of the Danube, contained in a convention between the two powers on 22d August, 1817, were ratified and renewed. 3. The Sublime Porte solemnly engaged to observe all the treaties, privileges, and acts, on every occasion, in favor of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, contained in the treaty of Bucharest, as also the hatt-i-sheriff of 1802, which enumerated

14. Civil reforms of the Sultan. in the destruction of all such as opposed his determination—terrible in the punishments he inflicted on all such as were suspected even of exciting the public mind against him, he rewarded generously such as adhered to his fortunes, and distributed frequent largesses among the troops, to reconcile them to the new exercise and uniform. He was equally vigorous in the prosecution of civil reforms, which he was well aware were, even more than military, essential to the restoration of the empire; and two important decrees, introducing a very different system of administration, date from this period. He first abolished the confiscation of the movable estate, which had hitherto invariably followed every execution by orders of Porte, and forbade the officers of justice to interfere with the estate in the event of the heirs being minors; the second enjoined on all the cadis and mollahs the most strict and rigorous administration of justice, and recommended the immediate prosecution of false witnesses, and all disturbers of the right course of the law—all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the amelioration of the internal economy of the state, but the success of which too soon demonstrated that more depends on national feelings and habits than on any regulations that can be made for the direction of the people. And at the same time the Divan gave the strongest proof that they had no inclination to abate by far the greatest social evil—the distinction of races and religions

Sept. 30. decree published in the end of September, the whole population of the country other than the Mussulmans was enjoined to wear the ancient dresses, both in form and color, and not to venture on those reserved for the followers of the Prophet.¹

15. Conferences at Ackerman, and demands of Russia. dominions. The conference began on the 1st of August. Great difficulty was experienced in the outset, as might have been expected, when the pride of the Osmanlis was compelled to yield to the stern necessity of the times, and the Russians made the most of the extraordinary advantages which circumstances had thrown in their way to exact the most rigorous terms from their ancient antagonists. The demands of Russia related chiefly to three points: 1st, The immediate restitution of the whole six fortresses in Asia, which the Turks were bound to cede to the Russians by the last pacification, but of which they had only given up two; 2d, The relations and legal privileges of the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, of which the emperor had been declared the guardian by the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest; 3d, The political emancipation of the Servians, whose present chief, Prince Molosch, had obtained his appointment contrary to the wishes of Russia, to the partisans of which he had showed himself peculiarly hostile. At

16. The Russian demands are acceded to without reservation.

Oct. 8. brated *Convention of Ackerman*, which has ever since occupied so prominent a place in the diplomacy of the East. Some delay occurred in the ratification of the Sultan, but at length it too was adhibited, and the act became part of the international law of the two empires.²

17. Its provisions. June, 1812, were ratified and confirmed in their fullest extent. 2. Certain stipulations favorable to Russia, in regard to two large islands in the mouth of the Danube, contained in a convention between the two powers on 22d August, 1817, were ratified and renewed. 3. The Sublime Porte solemnly engaged to observe all the treaties, privileges, and acts, on every occasion, in favor of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, contained in the treaty of Bucharest, as also the hatt-i-sheriff of 1802, which enumerated

¹ Decree, Sept. 30, 1826; Ann. Hist. ix. 391, 393.

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 395, 397.

² Ann. Hist. ix. 396, 397; Ann. Reg. 1826, 174.

these privileges. 4. The frontiers of the two empires in Asia were fixed as they were at the moment of signing the treaty. 5. The privileges and concerns of the Servian nation shall be regulated by a hatti-sheriff, which shall be issued at latest in the period of eighteen months. 6. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to determine the compensation which was to be awarded to the Russian subjects who had suffered under the depredations of the Barbary pirates, for which the Porte was held responsible, and to restrain all such acts of piracy in future. 7. The hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia shall be chosen, agreeably to ancient usage, by the boyards of those provinces respectively, subject to the consent and approbation of the Sublime Porte, the period of their enjoyment of power being in every instance seven years. 8. No hospodar was to be dismissed from office without notification to the Russian ambassador; but if no cause of complaint has been stated by that power, he may be re-elected, after notification to the Russian ambassador, for a second term of seven years. 9. The confiscated properties in the two provinces shall be restored to the former proprietors, and those implicated in the troubles of 1821 are to be permitted to return without being molested or disquieted in any particular. 10. All taxes and impositions

were to be remitted to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia for the period of two years, and entire freedom of commerce and exportation of the produce of their industry to any part of the world.¹

Considered in themselves, and with reference only to present results, there was nothing in these conditions which appeared very detrimental to the Turkish empire. There were neither provinces ceded, nor fortresses surrendered, nor alliances imposed. But viewed in reference to ultimate consequences, the case was very different. By solemnly recognizing the provisions in the treaties of Bucharest and Kainardji, which gave Russia a right of interference in behalf of the members of the Greek Church in certain parts of the empire, it established a RIGHT OF PROTECTORATE in a foreign power inconsistent with national independence, and which opened the door to perpetual foreign interposition. By the impunity which it stipulated for the rebels in Wallachia and Moldavia, the immunities provided to Servia, and the important right of free exportation of their produce, which it secured to all these provinces, it gave a striking example of the benefits which those sheltered by this protectorate might expect from its influence. A large part of the inhabitants of the country were taught to look to a foreign court for protection and redress of grievances. The ruling power was felt to be elsewhere than at Constantinople. We may form some idea of the effects of such a foreign protectorate in dissolving an empire, from what we have ourselves done in India, and might assuredly expect if a similar system were turned against ourselves by France or Russia in Ireland.

Undeterred by the prospect of these remote dangers, or rather secretly resolved to avert them, by breaking the treaties when the pro-

per moment arrived, Sultan Mahmoud continued, without intermission, his military and civil reforms. The Seraglio, so long the seat only of indolence or pleasure, resounded with the din of arms; military officers were seen hurrying to and fro in every direction, bearing orders or dispatches, as at the head-quarters of a great army; and the Sultan himself was constantly engaged in the organizing of fresh battalions, and the instructing the troops in the new exercises. Notwithstanding all his exertions, however, the raising of the new force proceeded but slowly; and it soon appeared that it had been a matter of absolute necessity to submit to the terms dictated at Ackerman. Before the end of the year, not more than twenty thousand men were assembled who had been instructed in the new exercises; and as they constituted the whole regular military strength of the empire, it may easily be figured to what perilous straits it was reduced, and what an opportunity was afforded to Russia for prosecuting her long-cherished projects of ambition on the shores of the Bosphorus.¹

Secured, in the mean time, in a great advantage, on the side of Turkey, by this convention, Nicholas pursued, during the next year, the projects of social amelioration which he had so much at heart, and the necessity of which the revelations made, during and after the great conspiracy of 1825, had so clearly demonstrated. Such was the activity which he communicated to the judicial department that, in the course of the year 1826, no less than 2,850,000 causes were decided in the ordinary tribunals; and out of 127,000 persons under arrest when he came to the throne, only 4900 remained in detention in the beginning of 1827. A report to the Emperor, in the beginning of 1827, however, showed that there were still sixty thousand processes in arrear—a state of things which gave him so much concern that he immediately issued a fresh commission to dispatch them; and the Minister of Justice, Prince Labanoff-Rastowsky, received intimation that he might retire to his estates, and he was succeeded in his functions by Prince Dolgorowsky. A ukase of 5th March abolished a cruel species of torture, long practiced among the Cossacks of the Don, which consisted in attaching the feet of a victim to huge blocks of stone in a room, while his hands were fastened at extreme tension to the ceiling, and leaving him in that position till he often expired. But amidst these noble cares, the vigilance of internal administration was in no respect lessened; and the increase of the exiles of Siberia, during the course of 1826, from nine thousand to twelve thousand, proved how wide-spread had been the conspiracy of the preceding year, and how strongly government felt the necessity of extirpating, root and branch, so formidable a combination. The Polish patriots, in the course of the same year, were discovered to have been engaged in a great conspiracy, veiled under the name, and conducted by the fraternity of Free Masons, which seriously attracted the attention of government. A commission of inquiry was issued, which published an elaborate report, and a

¹ Convention, Oct 7, 1826; Ann. Hist. ix. 100, 105; Doc. Hist.

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 398, 400.

^{20.} Internal reforms of Nicholas in Russia.

great number of noble Poles were arrested; but happily the proceedings against them were distinguished by unusual mildness, as the evidence against them was found to be insufficient; for, after a few months' detention, they were all set at liberty.¹

Notwithstanding the victories of the preceding campaign in Persia, the Russian government was far from being satisfied with the general result of the operations. Little durable advantage had been gained from all these successes, chiefly from the want of foresight in providing magazines, which rendered it impossible to move the troops in advance, whatever victories they had achieved. General Yermoloff, in consequence, whose talents, however great, had not proved equal to the emergency, was deprived of the command, which was bestowed on GENERAL PASKEWITCH, who had greatly distinguished himself in the preceding campaign in the capacity of aid-de-camp, and who was intrusted with the supreme command in Georgia. Great exertions were made to augment the military force at his disposal, which was increased to seventy thousand men and eighty-six guns—by far the largest Christian and disciplined body of men which had yet appeared to the south of Caucasus.

The campaign began, in the beginning of April, by an advance on the fortified convent of Elschmiadzine, long celebrated from its strength and commanding position, but which was now abandoned by the Persians without opposition. On the 17th May, having got up the requisite supplies and reinforcements, General Benkendorf moved in the direction of ERIVAN, a fortress of great strength, deemed impregnable, and justly regarded as the bulwark of northern Persia. The fort of Abbasabad lay on the road, and was the first object of attack. A brilliant cavalry action took place on the 20th June, when

seven thousand horse, under the command of Hassan Khan, were defeated by the Russian dragoons, on the banks of the Araxes. This was the prelude to the siege of the fortress of Abbasabad, which was invested, in the middle of July, by Paskewitch in person.²

Informed of the danger of this important frontier fortress, Abbas Mirza advanced at the head of forty thousand men, the chosen troops of the monarchy, to raise the siege; and the Sardar of Erivan joined him with a large body of irregular horse. The Russian general resolved to anticipate the attack; and, leaving eight battalions and a few guns to observe the fortress, passed the Araxes by a ford, by means of hides forming air-bladders, adopted from the Orientals by Paskewitch for the occasion. He found the Persians in a strong position outflanking his right, and supported on their left by an imposing mass of five thousand irregular horse. The enemy appeared in great strength, and the position extremely formidable; but a headlong charge of the dragoons of Nijni-Novgorod and a body of Cossacks having checked the horse on the left, the infantry in the centre succeeded in making themselves masters of an elevated plateau in their front,

from which their guns commanded the whole field of battle. The Persians, seeing their centre forced, and their left in disorder, broke and fled on all sides. It was no longer a battle, but a rout; and before the Russians sheathed their victorious swords, the Persians had lost five thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, several standards, and nearly their whole artillery. Abbas Mirza himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner, and owed his escape entirely to the fleetness of his horse. The loss of the Russians was only forty-nine men; and Paskewitch soon after reaped the substantial fruits of victory by the acquisition of Abbasabad, which surrendered on 31st July.¹

The Persians, however, were not discouraged by this defeat, which was, in truth, rather a "battle of the spurs" than a regular action. They made a vigorous attack on General Sipiagine, who was conducting a considerable park of artillery to Krasowsky; and though he succeeded in effecting the junction, it was only after repeated assaults, and a very severe loss. They next laid siege to the monastery of Elschmiadzine, which was soon seriously endangered by the fire of their batteries. Upon this Krasowsky took the field to raise the siege; but so weakened was the Russian force by detachments, that it was only with four battalions of infantry, five hundred Cossacks, and twelve guns—in all scarce four thousand men. He was met by Abbas Mirza at the head of five thousand infantry and five thousand irregular horse, with twenty-eight guns. Notwithstanding this great disparity of force, the Russian general, moved by the danger of the beleaguered stronghold, resolved on an attack. The combat, which ensued, though in the end favorable to the Russians, was extremely bloody, and evinced a degree of discipline and organization in the Persian army much beyond what had been hitherto encountered. The Russians, without much difficulty, made themselves masters of the Persian position, which was the summit of a rocky ridge. But when they were there, they found the reverse side to consist of steep precipices, almost impracticable for artillery; and while hesitating what to do next, the Persians attacked them with the utmost impetuosity on all sides, while their artillery, which was admirably served, made fatal ravages in their ranks. At length the enemy were repulsed, but not before they had inflicted on the Russians a loss of twelve hundred men in killed, prisoners, and wounded, Krasowsky himself being among the latter. The Persians were weakened by nearly two thousand men. It was remarkable, in this well-contested action, that two Persian battalions charged two of the Russian guard, and came off victorious.²

Informed of the narrow escape of this corps from destruction, Paskewitch hastened to the support of his lieutenant with all the forces which he could collect, and obliged Abbas Mirza to retire to the right bank of the Araxes; after which he undertook the siege of Sardarabad, the reduction of which was

¹ Rapport, Jan. 3, 1827; Ann. Hist. x. 314, 319.

² Ann. Hist. x. 324, 325.

^{22.} Battle of Djevan-Boulak. July 18.

¹ Ann. Hist. x. 324, 327.

^{23.} Battle of the Abbas-rane.

^{29.} Aug. 29.

² Krasowsky's Bulletin, Aug. 30, 1827; Ann. Hist. x. 326, 327.

^{24.} Fall of Sardarabad and Erivan. October 13.

necessary before undertaking the siege of Erivan. It yielded after a siege of only four days, and Paskewitch immediately sat down before Erivan. The garrison, which was three thousand strong, made a gallant defense, and repulsed several attacks; but such was the consternation of the inhabitants, that they could not be brought to take any efficient part in the defense; and on the 13th October, when a battalion of the imperial guard had already mounted the breach, they insisted on the governor imploring the clemency of the conqueror. The garrison, consisting of three disciplined battalions, the governor, and seven other khans, were made prisoners of war; the whole artillery of the fortress, with immense stores of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the Russians; and the bulwark of Persia, regarded over all Asia as impregnable, fell into the hands, and permanently remained under the power of the Muscovites. Though the place had been in a manner taken by assault, no disorders of any kind were committed by the besiegers. The Russians were received rather as deliverers than enemies, and victors and vanquished met together in peace within its formidable ramparts. With great but not undeserved pride, Paskewitch addressed to his brave companions in arms a proclamation, which recalled the bulletins of Napoleon in his Italian campaigns: "Brave comrades! you have conquered in this campaign two provinces, taken eight standards, fifty guns, two sirdars, twenty khans, six thousand prisoners in arms, ten thousand who had cast them away, Paskewitch's and great stores of provisions: such are your trophies!"¹

The remainder of the campaign was nothing but a series of easy successes, which cost the Russians more fatigue than blood. Prince Eristoff, whom Paskewitch had detached upon that service, occupied Ourdabad on 7th October, passed the Araxes on the 10th, the rugged defiles of Daradis on the 13th, and received the submission of all the tribes on the south of the Araxes. Such was the terror which the fall of Erivan inspired, that scarce any resistance was any where attempted; and before the end of October, Abbas Mirza found himself deserted by all his forces except five thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, with which, and twelve light guns, he retired in haste toward Khoi. Eristoff having received intelligence that Abbas Mirza was preparing to destroy the important magazines in Tauris, the second city in the empire, and the residence of the heir-apparent to the throne, moved by forced marches upon that town. It formerly contained 250,000 inhabitants, now reduced by Mohammedan tyranny to 40,000; but it was still, next to the capital, the most important place in the kingdom. At the first news of the approach of the Russians, five thousand of the troops in the garrison left the town and disbanded. This disgraceful defection left the governor, Ali-Yar, only two battalions, with which it was impossible to defend a town of such extent. With this handful of men, however, he endeavored to defend the ramparts; but he was deserted in presence of the enemy even by them, and compelled to seek safety in flight attended only by two followers. He was

soon made prisoner; and the town, with its whole artillery, having been taken, Prince Eristoff next day, being the birth-day of the Empress, celebrated a solemn service of thanksgiving in the great square of the place. The English consul and all his suite were present on the occasion. Two days afterward Paskewitch made his solemn entry into Tauris, where he was received with great solemnity by the whole dignitaries of the Armenian Church, accompanied by an immense concourse of people, who rent the air with their acclamations, and strewed the road with flowers; and the Russian general immediately set about the organization of the conquered provinces as part of Russia, and established a landwehr, as a lasting barrier against their Mohammedan enemies.¹

These repeated disasters convinced the Persians at length of the necessity of coming to terms. On 29th October the governor of the province of Tauris sent in offers of accommodation; and Paskewitch having stated the conditions on which he was empowered to treat, and accorded a delay of six days, within which they might be accepted, the Persian government sent in their unqualified submission on the 9th November. The Persians agreed to every thing that the conquerors demanded, and the Russians were forthwith put in possession of the ceded territories, which were very considerable, including the fortress of Erivan, and the province in which it is situated. Prince Abbas Mirza did the most flattering homage to the Muscovites by repairing in person to their camp, and commissioners were appointed to arrange the terms of a definitive treaty.²

Hardly was the war with Persia at an end when Russia engaged in another. In the beginning of September the Emperor Nicholas gave the most decisive proof of his warlike intentions by a ukase, which ordered the levy of two males in every five hundred over the whole extent of the empire. By another ukase, published on the same day, the Jews were, for the first time, subjected to the military conscription. The departure shortly before of the Emperor's aid-de-camp, Count Capo d'Istria, with great pomp, to take possession of the presidency of Greece, indicated not less clearly in what direction the views of the cabinet of St. Petersburg were set; and the battle of Navarino, which occurred in the end of October, naturally led to violent recriminations on the part of the Porte, and brought the two empires into a state of scarcely disguised hostility with each other. It was soon apparent that war had been resolved on on both sides. Military preparations on a great scale were commenced in all the harbors both of the Baltic and the Black Sea, immense magazines were formed in Bessarabia and at the mouth of the Danube, and every preparation was made for the crossing of the Pruth and invasion of the Principalities by an army of eighty thousand men.³

But when all eyes were turned from the Araxes to the Bosphorus, and a new war was

¹ Ann. Hist. x. 328, 330; Dispatch.

² Capture of Tauris. Oct. 25.

¹ Ann. Hist. x. 330, 332.

² Peace with Persia. Nov. 9.

³ Ann. Hist. x. 335, 337.

²⁷ Preparations of Russia for a war with Turkey.

Sept. 7.

Oct. 20.

³ Valentini, 221, 222; Ann. Hist. x. 337, 338.

hourly anticipated with Turkey, advices were received at St. Petersburg that hostilities had been suddenly resumed on the side of Persia. In effect, the court of Teheran, informed of the battle of Navarino, and foreseeing an approaching rupture between the Muscovites and Ottomans, deemed the opportunity too favorable to be lost, and resolved upon recommencing hostilities when the strength of Russia was mainly directed to the Danube. They refused accordingly to ratify the preliminaries agreed to, and insisted on the Russians retiring behind the Araxes before they paid any of the promised indemnity. But they did so too soon, before any Russian battalions had been withdrawn from the banks of the Araxes, and met, in consequence, nothing but disaster.

Jan. 27. In the middle of winter, and during a most rigorous season, Paskewitch resumed hostilities; General Pankratieff, in the middle of January, occupied Urumiyah; while Feb. 5. Count Suchtelen moved upon Ardabil, where two sons of Abbas Mirza had taken refuge with two thousand men, who were obliged to capitulate. These disasters convinced the court of Teheran that Russia was still too strong for their forces, and they determined to yield to necessity. The treaty was signed at Feb. 22. Tourkmantchai, on terms even more rigorous than the preliminaries. It stipulated the payment of 20,000,000 silver rubles (£3,200,000) toward the expenses of the war, and the cession of the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan, with the fortress of the first name, and a military frontier which commanded the entire north of Persia. That power lost by this treaty, which was justly regarded as a glorious triumph at St. Petersburg, the only defensible frontier toward Russia, and all means of resisting its encroachments; for which it obtained a poor compensation in the guarantee of the succession of Abbas Mirza to the throne.¹

This outbreak in Asia hardly suspended for a moment the approaching hostilities in Europe. As usual in such cases, the hostile powers published manifestoes, in which they mutually accused each other of having given occasion for the rupture of pacific relations. There was too much truth in both sets of complaint. The Porte accused the Russians of having secretly fomented the insurrection of Greece, and openly attacked and destroyed their fleet at Navarino, with having violated the treaties of Bucharest and Ackerman, and established connections with the malcontents in every part of the empire. The Russians replied by accusing the Porte of having excited the mountaineers of Caucasus to revolt, and invited them to embrace Islamism; with having violated or delayed the execution of all the treaties in favor of its Christian subjects, and arbitrarily closed the Bosphorus on various occasions, and deeply injured thereby the southern provinces of the empire. It must be confessed that the balance of injuries inflicted was here decidedly in favor of Russia, as might have been anticipated in a contest between the

superior and the weaker power; but, what was really extraordinary, and perhaps unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy, the Turks had the candor to admit, in a published declaration, that they had signed the treaty of Ackerman without any intention of performing its conditions, and merely to gain time—a thing often done, but rarely confessed.^{1*}

Although hostilities had thus been determined on on both sides, yet it was not till the beginning of April that they actually commenced. The vast extent of the Russian empire renders it a matter of absolute necessity to have several months, generally half a year, to complete their preparations and bring up their forces. When most of the troops have a thousand or fifteen hundred miles to march before they reach the theatre of war, it may readily be conceived how long a time must elapse before any considerable concentration can take place. Every preparation, however, was made during the spring months to augment the military forces of the empire, and communicate a warlike spirit to the inhabitants. The army stationed in Poland was in great part moved to the Pruth, and the troops there augmented by a fresh levy of twenty-five thousand men, calculated, with the forty thousand already in arms in that kingdom, to form an imposing reserve. General DIEBITCH was appointed adjutant-general of the army on the Danube, which by the beginning of April mustered on paper 108,000 men, though its effective force probably never exceeded 100,000, and it certainly never produced 80,000 men in the field. This force was augmented by the guards and 2d corps, which arrived in the end of August, in all, 158,800.† A grand review of the guards in presence of the Emperor, the Prince-royal of Prussia, and the Prince of Orange, took place in St. Petersburg in the beginning of April, at which the most unbounded enthusiasm was evinced. They defiled, with the Grand Duke Constantine at their head, amidst the cheers of an innumerable crowd of spectators, and took their departure for their distant

* “Les demandes faites par les Russes, l’an passé à Ackerman, au sujet des indemnités, et surtout à l’égard des Serviens, ne furent aucunement susceptibles d’être admises; néanmoins, les circonstances étant pressantes, on y acquiesça bon gré mal gré, et par nécessité, afin de saisir l’occasion de conclure un traité pour le salut de la nation Mahométane.”—*Circulaire aux Ayams de l’Europe et d’Asie*, 20 Décembre, 1827. *Ann. Hist.* x. 120; *Documents Historiques*.

† Wittgenstein’s army consisted of three corps d’armée and a reserve, in all eight divisions of infantry and five of cavalry, which should have presented 100,000 men and 80,000 effective under arms. Their numbers on paper stood thus:

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artil.	Guns.
3d Corps, Gen. Roudzewitch.	38,400	8,300	3,800	228
6th Corps, Gen. Roth	19,200	4,900	1,600	96
Joined after campaign began . . .		2,400	400	16
7th Corps, Gen. Vornoff. . . .	19,200	5,300	4,800	141
<i>Arrived in end of August.</i>				
Imperial Guard	16,200	3,150	1,600	96
2d Corps, Gen. Tcherbutoff.	28,800	2,400	1,650	88
	121,800	26,450	13,850	668
Making a total of 158,800.				

—Table in *Annuaire Historique*, xi. 371.

28. Fresh rupture with Persia, and conclusion of the peace at Tourkmantchai. Feb. 22, 1828.

1 Treaty, Feb. 22, 1828; *Ann. Hist.* xi. 72; *Docum. Hist.* 365.

29. Mutual recriminations of the Russians and Turks.

destination to defend "the holy cause in which they were engaged," amidst the tears and enthusiasm of the entire inhabitants.¹

The bad weather retarded the commencement of military operations till the beginning of May; but on the 7th of that month, the sun having broken forth, and the ground beginning to be covered with the first verdure of spring, the armed multitude began to cross the Pruth. The spectacle was grand and imposing in the extreme. As far as the eye could reach, the left bank was crowded with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which, at a signal given after singing *Te Deum*, began to defile in admirable order to the bridges which had been previously thrown across at Skouleni, Falchey, and Ipatska, amidst cheers which resounded over the vast expanse. The Turks, who were in no force to resist such a crusade, and had resolved on making their first stand on the Danube, had merely a few videttes of cavalry on the spot, which retired as the Russians advanced, and left the entire principalities to the invaders. In a few weeks the level country was overrun, Jassy and Bucharest occupied; Galatz, with its valuable harbor, taken; their advanced guards observed Brahilov and Widdin, and the entire left bank of the Danube was occupied by the Muscovite troops.²

The Divan on their part made the most vigorous efforts to maintain their independence. Though taken at a moment's disadvantage, from the old military force of the empire having been destroyed, and the new one not yet organized, they succeeded, by rousing the religious zeal of the Mussulmans, in putting themselves, in a short time, in a surprisingly respectable posture of defense. The ships which had escaped the disaster of Navarino were equipped anew, and got ready for sea; the forts on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus armed and garrisoned with trusty troops; war proclaimed against the Russians with the utmost solemnity in the mosques, and all Mussulmans called on to take up arms in defense of their holy religion and national independence; a manifesto published against the Czar, embodying with great ability all their grounds of complaint against the cabinet of St. Petersburg; and at length the sacred relic, the Sandjak-sheriff, was solemnly brought forth, and the well known symbol of war to the death—the horse-tails, which recalled the pristine conquests of the Osmanlis—were displayed on the gates of the Seraglio.³

By these means, acting upon the naturally intrepid and warlike spirit of the Ottomans, a very considerable force was in a short time got together, though but a small part was sufficiently disciplined to be able in the open field to contend with the formidable legions of the Muscovites. In the beginning of May, when the campaign commenced, the Turks had got together in Europe fifty thousand regular infantry (*Massouris*), several squadrons of regular cavalry, fifteen thousand spahis or feudal horsemen, of the most admir-

able description, and twenty thousand gunners, who already had been brought to a surprising degree of efficiency and skill. The fortresses on the Danube had all been armed and provisioned, and for the most part provided with adequate garrisons; and a reserve force was already beginning to be formed at Adrianople, from whence to strengthen any part of the front line which might be menaced. Schumla had been greatly strengthened with outworks, and already contained a garrison of thirty thousand men, in a position equally difficult to force and incapable of being left behind; and in addition to this, the irregular hordes of the Albanians, the Bosniaeks, the Roumelians, and the Bulgarians, had been called out; and as every Turk is trained to arms, and an accomplished horseman, they formed, though not regularly disciplined, a very formidable force, especially for the defense of walled cities. It was calculated that, with the aid of these rude but brave and effective auxiliaries, the Turkish force in Schumla might, if the barrier of the Danube was forced, be raised to a hundred thousand men. In Asia Minor, where the Mussulman population constituted three-fourths of the entire inhabitants, and the religious spirit was at its height, the preparations, so far as numbers were concerned, were still more formidable; and it was calculated that the commander-in-chief, the Pacha of Erzeroum, could collect a hundred thousand men round his banners—a force triple any which Paskewitch could bring against him. But they were the old feudal militia of the country, with a very slender intermixture of regular troops; and though most formidable in the defense of fortresses, or in detached cavalry actions, could not be trusted to move under fire in the open field, and were liable to disperse on any serious reverse.¹

By the Russian plan of the campaign, General Roth's corps was to occupy the two principalities, and extend itself to the upper Danube; while the seventh corps, under the orders of the Grand Duke Michael, was to undertake the siege of Brahilov, and having reduced it, to push on to Schumla; and Roudzewitch, with the third corps, should pass the Danube at Isaktchi, and move along the Black Sea to Varna, lending a hand at the same time to the seventh corps, which had advanced to Schumla. But this plan of operations, which was analogous to all those which the Russians had adopted in former wars, was open to very serious difficulties, owing to the peculiar conformation of the country, and the nature of the positions which the Turks occupied in it. Whoever will cast his eyes on the map will perceive that the Muscovite army extended in this manner from the shores of the Euxine to the frontiers of Austria, and, having its communications extending from the Pruth to Widdin, over a distance of above five hundred miles, exposed its long flank, in a most hazardous manner, to the Ottoman forces, comparatively concentrated, and resting on the fortified towns, which gave them the command of both banks of the Danube. As long as the latter were in possession of the triangle of which Silistria and

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 367, 368; Valentini, 223.

² Valentini, 223, 224; Ann. Hist. xi. 372, 373.

³ An. Hist. xi. 374, 375.

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 374, 375; Fonton, Guerre de l'Asie Mineur, 174, 177.

^{34.} Russian plan of the campaign, and its dangers.

Roudschuck formed the base, and Schumla the apex, the Muscovites not only could not, without extreme hazard, venture to push across the Balkan, either by the shores of the Black Sea or the great road by Sophia to Belgrade, but they were exposed to great risk from the power which the enemy possessed of making an inroad from their fortified posts on the Danube *into the very middle of their long line of communications*. It was impossible that every point of this line could be equally guarded; and if broken through at any one point by twenty or thirty thousand men, the whole supplies of the army would be interrupted, and its most advanced corps exposed to total ruin. This is the secret of the paralysis communicated to the whole Russian army, eighty thousand strong, by the defeat of inconsiderable bodies of men at Oltenitza and Kalafat in the campaign of 1853. These defeats endangered their whole line of communication, and arrested the march of entire corps, some hundred miles in advance, from the risk of being separated from their supplies and reserves.

To avoid this danger, of which the experience of former wars had made them well aware, the Russian generals, in the present campaign, resolved to push at once from Brahilov and Silistria on Varna and Schumla, by which means their columns, instead of being *échelonnés* across the Turkish forces in a long line, would come up in front, one behind another, in a comparatively short one, so as to be able to give mutual support in case of danger. This plan was of course based on the command of the sea—a matter of great importance in all wars in maritime districts, but which, in every age, has been of vital consequence, and generally decisive, in those of Turkey and Greece. The reason is, that the countries around the Euxine and *Ægean* seas are so desolate and unhealthy in the plains, and so rugged and inhospitable in the mountains, that the passage of troops by land is attended with great loss of life, and the bringing up of supplies a matter of extreme difficulty, often impossibility; while, on the other hand, the ocean, penetrating every part, forms an interior line of communication, readily traversed in every direction, and affording to whoever had the command of it the means of transporting troops and the muniments of war in a few days to the most distant parts of the empire. The battle of Navarino, however, had given the Russians this immense advantage, and their dispositions soon showed that they were aware of its importance, and resolved to make the most of it in the operations which followed.* Yet was the country to which the war was in a manner confined, between the direct road

from Roudschuck to Schumla and the sea, one presenting great difficulties to an invading army. The mouldering rampart of Trajan still ran, like the wall of Antoninus, in Scotland, across the narrow neck of land which led from Rassoza on the Danube to Kustendji on the Euxine; and when it was passed, the country between the river and the Balkan presented very great difficulties to an invading army. Intersected, as that to the north of the Po is by the Adige, the Piave, and the Tagliamento, by a series of streams with impetuous torrents and rocky banks, which descend from the mountains of *Hæmus* to the Danube, it presents a succession of defensible positions of which a retreating army can avail itself, and of which the Ottomans made good use in the two campaigns which followed.¹

The Emperor of Russia set out from St. Petersburg for the seat of war on the 7th May, and arrived on the 20th before Brahilov, situated on the left bank of the Danube, the approaches to which were conducted by the Grand Duke Michael in person. But the formidable nature of the place, and the difficulties in getting up the siege equipage, owing to great floods in the Danube, having rendered it apparent that little progress could be made in the siege for some time, he resolved to push forward in person the operations for the passage of the Danube. But there a fresh difficulty presented itself. The place where the passage was to be attempted at the end of the rampart of Trajan, near the mouth of the river, was low and swampy, and a dike required to be driven a considerable distance through the inundation before the stream could be approached. The Emperor had been led to believe, from the information transmitted to St. Petersburg, that the piles for the bridge and its approaches were already fixed. On arriving at the spot he found that the wood for them was not yet cut down in the forests of Bessarabia.² Finding that nothing could be done 184, 185. Ante, there for some time, he withdrew to Bender, where he spent two weeks with the Empress; and the preparations having at length been brought into a state of forwardness, he returned to the banks of the Danube on the 8th June. The third corps was to force the passage, which was opposed by eight thousand Turks, with a powerful artillery, resting on the fort of Isakchi. The Emperor established a battery of twenty-four twelve-pounders on the bank, which vigorously replied to the Turkish guns; and under cover of this fire eight battalions were embarked, and hurried across. The boats grounded far from the opposite bank, and the men, leaping out, found themselves up to the knees in water, through which they had to wade under a fire of grape for a considerable distance, and then through deep swamps, before they reached firm ground. Protected by the fire of the gun-boats, however, which kept up a vigorous cannonade, the brave Muscovites pushed forward, and the Turks, abandoning their guns, fled in disorder. Isakchi was immediately surrendered, a *tête-du-pont* constructed, and the bridge having been laid across, the passage commenced and was con-

¹ Valentini, 222, 223; Jomini, l'Art de la Guerre, i. 165.

^{36.} Passage of the Danube by the Russians. June 8.

^{35.} Which was mainly based on the command of the sea.

² Schnitzler, ii. c. viii. § 50.

* "Il est un cas dans lequel il est peut-être convenable de dévier de ce que nous venons de dire, et de porter ses opérations du côté de la mer: c'est lorsqu'on a affaire à un adversaire peu redoutable en campagne, et qu'étant maître décidé de cette mer, on pourrait s'approvisionner aisément de ce côté, tandis qu'il serait difficile de le faire dans l'intérieur des terres. Quoiqu'il soit fort rare de voir ces trois conditions réunies, ce fut néanmoins ce qui arriva dans la guerre de Turquie en 1828 et 1829. Toute l'attention fut fixée sur Varna et Bourgas, en se bornant à observer Schumla—système qu'on n'eût pas pu suivre en face d'une armée Européenne, lors même qu'on eût tenu la mer sans s'exposer à une ruine probable."—JOMINI, *L'Art de la Guerre*, i. 165.

tinued during the following day without further interruption.* Count Nesselrode published from Isaketchi an address to the inhabitants of the principalities, in which, disclaiming all projects of territorial aggrandizement, he declared that the wishes of his imperial master were limited to securing to them their legal rights and privileges under the *protection* of Russia.¹

Rudiger was intrusted with the command of the Russian advanced guard, which moved upon the rampart of Trajan. They encountered only small bodies of the enemy, which skirmished while retiring, till they came to the fortress of Kustendji, at the extremity of the old rampart next the sea. It held out, however; but the approaches having been rapidly made, on the 20th the garrison, having exhausted all its means of defense, capitulated on condition of the men being conducted to Pravadi. The Russians found on the ramparts thirty-six pieces of artillery; and, what was of much more importance, they became masters of a fortified harbor on the Euxine, where supplies could be landed with facility from the sea. The importance of this acquisition appeared the very next day in the arrival of twenty-six ships laden with provisions and stores from Odessa.²

Meanwhile the siege of Brahilov continued to be prosecuted with vigor; but there the Russians encountered a most sturdy resistance, and were taught that, in the defense of fortified towns at least, their antagonists had not degenerated from the valor of their ancestors. This fortress, the most important and strongest place on the Lower Danube, is situated close to that river, on a plateau elevated seventy or eighty feet above its level. The Danube, a little way above the town, divides into two branches; and the smaller, which flows past its walls, is only four hundred yards broad. The other and larger branch passes the little fort of Matchin, rather more than a league distant. The place itself had no outworks, and none of the outer salient angles which in Vauban's system expose each face to a raking fire from the adjoining one. It has a rampart, however, thirty feet high, and nine bastions, with a deep wet ditch in front: the covered way is narrow, but it terminates in a glacis, which forbade any access to the place except by regular approaches. The citadel is situated on an eminence on the right bank, and commands the whole interior of the place. It is surrounded by a strong bastioned wall, but has no casemates or protection

against bombs other than the rude excavations behind the rampart, in which the Turks are in use to deposit their ammunition and combustible materials. The interior of the town bore no likeness to a modern city; it resembled rather the description which Montesquieu has given of ancient Rome. It had no regular streets, but passages cut for the entrance of cattle, booty, and provisions, through a confused mass of wooden houses or mud cottages. But in these hovels dwelt thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom ten thousand were capable of bearing arms; and these, joined to a garrison of nearly equal strength, constituted a most formidable body of defenders, whose resolution the Russians were too fatally taught in the siege which followed.¹

The first Russian troops appeared before this formidable fortress on the 11th May, when they made themselves masters, with scarce any resistance, of the suburbs. Operations in form, however, did not begin till the 17th, when the first parallel was begun. The trenches were armed with 24-pounders on the 25th, and a heavy fire commenced on the place. The Mussulmans, according to their usual custom, gave themselves very little trouble to disturb the advances of the besiegers, which were generally conducted in the night; they amused themselves with firing at single figures at a distance, as if to evince their skill in ball-practice. Their whole serious care was devoted to preparing a warm reception for the enemy, when he should venture to mount the breach. Their isolated shots were so well directed, that they struck down daily fifteen or twenty men in the besiegers' lines. Several sorties at daybreak were also attempted, but with little success, though the vehemence of the besieged was evinced by their issuing forth with a pistol in each hand, and a poniard in their teeth. Meanwhile the besiegers continued their advances with great vigor, and several mines having been run under the walls, three great globes of compression were fired at nine in the morning of the 15th June, while the assaulting column stood ready to rush forward when the last had exploded.²

A breach of forty paces wide was formed by the third explosion, and the Russian column, before the smoke had cleared away, and when the fragments were still falling, rushed forward to the assault, the generals and chief officers at their head. Some of the column, however, missed their way, and got into the ditch at a distance from the rampart, where they were exposed to a plunging fire from its summit, which occasioned a very severe loss. A few hundreds succeeded in reaching the summit of the breach, but they were immediately mowed down by the deadly fire which issued from the Turkish musketeers, retrenched behind the breach and posted on the tops of the houses. Several bold men on the right and left of the breach succeeded in making their way in by escalade, and mounted on each others' shoulders, by the embrasures of the guns; but they too were instantly bayoneted on the top, or struck down by the murderous fire which assail-

* "Le dessein de sa Majesté n'est pas, et n'a pas jamais été, d'agrandir ses états aux dépens des provinces qui l'avoisinent. Vos doctrines sont donc à l'abri de tout projet de conquête: mais l'ordre légal dont vous êtes appelés à jour; mais les bienfaits d'une administration régulière et stable; mais l'inviolabilité des privilèges que vous possédez, l'exercice paisible des droits qui en découlent, le bonheur, enfin, de votre terre natale, sous l'égide des lois qui doivent la gouverner—tels sont et seront toujours les objets de vœux que l'Empereur formera pour vous; tels seront aussi, il se plaît à le croire, les résultats de la Protection qu'il ne cessera d'exercer sur les deux Principautés, et de l'administration provisoire qu'il veut d'y établir."—Réponse de M. le Comte Nesselrode à l'Adresse du Divan de Wallachie, 12 June, 1828. *Annuaire Historique*, xi. 378, 379.

¹ Valentini, 224, 225; Ann. Hist. xi. 377, 378.

² First operations. Fall of Kustendji. June 20.

² Ann. Hist. xi. 381, 382; Valentini, 242.

¹ Valentini, 233, 234; Ann. Hist. xi. 379, 380.

³⁹ Commencement of the siege.

² Valentini, 235, 237; Ann. Hist. xi. 380, 381.

⁴⁰ Bloody repulse of the assault.

ed them on all sides. In vain the Grand Duke Michael, who directed the assault, and the officers who headed it, exerted themselves to the utmost to encourage the troops, and repeatedly led them back to the attack. All their efforts were vain, all their assaults repulsed; and at length, gnashing their teeth with vexation, the Russians withdrew on all sides, having, by their own admission, three thousand killed and wounded around the breach. Soliman, the governor of the town, had made good his words when summoned to surrender: 1 Valentini, 238, 239; "Should the rampart be destroyed, we will make a second living one with our bodies."¹* Ann. Hist. xi. 380, 382.

Nothing discouraged by this bloody repulse, 41. the Russians on the following day sprung a fresh mine, which opened a place. still wider breach than the preceding; June 18. and the troops having been disposed for an assault, the brave governor, who did not feel himself in sufficient strength to resist a second attack, proposed to capitulate, provided he was not relieved in ten days. The Grand Duke, however, would grant only a respite of twenty-four hours; at the end of which time, as no relief approached, the governor capitulated. He obtained the most honorable terms, the troops marching out with the honors of war, and being conducted to Silistria with their arms and field-pieces. The Russians found two hundred and seventy guns on the ramparts, and seventeen thousand pounds of powder, besides immense stores of wood and provisions in the magazine, which entirely subsisted the army for a month. There can be no doubt that the place made a noble defense, and that the governor was deserving of every commendation for his conduct in directing it; nevertheless, by the Mussulman customs, which do not distinguish between misconduct and misfortune, he incurred the penalty of death by consenting to a surrender. "Soliman," said the Grand Vizier, "has done well; but he should not have survived the fall of Brahamov." In effect, the bow-string was sent him; and it was with the utmost difficulty, and at the earnest solicitation of the Russian general, 2 Valentini, 240, 241; Ann. Hist. xi. 381. that he was saved from death as the reward of his devotion.²

The Russian besieging force, after the fall of 42. Brahamov, was divided into several columns, and soon overran the whole level country between the Danube and the sea, as far as the rampart of Trajan. The fortresses of the district, Hirschova, Toulteha, Matchin, and Kustendji, capitulated at the first summons; the rapidity with which they lowered their colors begat the suspicion that the old janizary party was still predominant in them, and that they took this method of revenging themselves on their oppressors. Meanwhile the Seraskier, Hussein Pacha, having collected twenty-two thousand men in Schumla, and an advanced guard of eight thousand horse, under

the orders of the celebrated Karadjeineem (Black Devil), advanced toward the Russian army on the road to Bazardjik. Jussuf Pacha, a great feudatory in Macedonia, was thrown into Varna with ten thousand men, and the garrison of Silistria augmented to nine thousand. A reserve began to be collected at Adrianople, to succor any point in the line which might be menaced; while the Sultan himself, with the standard of the Prophet unfurled, was making the utmost efforts to organize and forward reinforcements from the capital. The system of defense adopted, and the orders issued to the generals, were to take advantage of every defensible position, and harass the enemy in all possible ways, but avoid general 1 Valentini, 243, 245; actions, and in the fortified towns to defend themselves to the last extremity.¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 383, 384.

The Euxine is the interior line of communication to the Turkish empire; the 43. party who has the command of it enjoys the inappreciable advantage of being able to direct his forces at pleasure in a few days to any place on its margin, while the enemy, toiling round its rugged or inhospitable shores, with scarce any roads practicable for carriages, is unable to render any timely support. Throughout the whole of this war, the Russians took the utmost advantage of the naval superiority which the battle of Navarino had secured to them; indeed, it was the main cause of their success. This is more especially the case on the side of Asia, for there is no road practicable for carriages along the shore of the Black Sea, by Anapa, from north to south; so that the troops proceeding from Russia to Asia Minor must have made the immense round by the pass of Vladikavkas, or the Gates of Derbend, on the shores of the Caspian, before they could have reached their destination. On the 15th May an expedition, consisting of eight ships of the line and six frigates, having on board seven thousand land troops, sailed from Sevastopol, and made for Anapa, a fortress on the opposite shore of Asia Minor, at the foot of the Caucasus, valuable both on account of its strength, and as containing a safe harbor of great value on that dangerous coast. The garrison consisted of three thousand men; but the Russians, having made themselves masters of the peninsula on which the place is situated, pushed their approaches with such vigor—the land forces being under the orders of Prince Menschikoff, the sea of Admiral Greig, a Scotchman in the Russian service—that on the 10th June three practicable breaches were made in the walls, and on the 11th the place capitulated. The besiegers found eighty-five guns on the ramparts, abundant stores of ammunition and provisions in the magazine, and became masters of a fortified harbor of great value on the 2 Ann. Hist. xi. 382. northeastern coast of Asia Minor.²

The first engagement in the open field which took place in the campaign was in 44. the neighborhood of Bazardjik, on Combat of the 8th July. The Turks had evacuated it in the course of their retreat, July 8. and their rear guard, consisting of six thousand horse, was imprudently attacked by General Read with an inferior Russian body of cavalry.

* Such was the spirit of the besieged, that a boy of twelve years of age, who was made prisoner on the breach, when his younger brother, a boy of ten, had just been killed, having been brought before the Grand Duke Michael, and asked whether he did not lament his brother, he replied, "Why should I weep for him?—did he not die upon the breach?"—VALENTINI, 239.

After a furious conflict the Muscovites were routed. Some squadrons of the hussars of Alexander, sent up to support them, shared the same fate; a gun was taken; and it was only by the opportune arrival of a brigade of foot that the Ottoman horse was at length arrested. The Russians in this affair lost twelve hundred men, and at one period six guns had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The superiority of the Turkish horse was rendered manifest by its result, and the sense of this never left either party during the remainder of the campaign. It was observed on this occasion, that though the Turkish horse were still equipped in the old fashion, and assailed their opponents by a swarm charge, yet they resumed their ranks more rapidly than formerly, and obviously obeyed the will of a single chief, instead of every one following, as heretofore, the dictates

of his own impetuous courage. Such was the spirit of the men, that one of the Ottoman horsemen threw himself on a cannon which had been taken, as if to secure his prey, and was bayoneted while still sitting astride on it.¹

After this check Nicholas paused a week at Bazardjik, to give time for his reinforcements to come up. At length, deeming himself in sufficient strength to face the Turkish horsemen in the field, the march was resumed, on the 15th July, with fifty-five thousand men and a hundred and eight guns. Another cavalry action took place between the Russian advanced guard, under General Rudiger, and a body of eight thousand Ottoman horse, with five guns, on the road between Bazardjik and Jenibazar. The Russians were here more rudely handled than on the former occasion; their advanced guard was surrounded, and in part broken, by the Turkish horse; and it was only by the advance of Rudiger himself, with two brigades of infantry and a battery of horse-artillery, that the enveloped squadrons were at length extricated, after having lost six hundred men. In this, as in the other cavalry actions at the commencement of the campaign, the Russian horse were greatly inferior in number; but it was evident, from their result, that they had conceived an undue contempt for their adversaries, and that the spahis were as formidable still on their admirable steeds as they had been in the days of Soliman the Magnificent, or Bajazet the Invincible. Nothing could exceed the vehemence of their charge, or the impetuosity with which they threw themselves on the guns or bayonets of their adversaries; and their courage was now restrained by discipline, and directed by prudence; for they withdrew, when ordered, as readily as they had advanced, and thus escaped the disasters which, in former wars, had so often succeeded their greatest successes. It was the spahis of Bulgaria, each mounted on his own horse, superbly armed, and holding their lands by military tenure, which constituted this most formidable feudal militia.²

Their strength was soon put to the test on the greatest scale. On the 20th July, the reserves having come up, and the troops being concentrated, a general movement took place

toward Schumla, with the cavalry in advance. The right was commanded by Rudiger, at the head of the third corps, the left by General Woinoff, with the assistance of Diebitch, in whose suite the Emperor placed himself. They had need of all their strength; for the Ottomans had ten thousand magnificent horsemen and sixty guns in the field, and watched only for an imprudent advance of some isolated corps to fall upon it, and trample it under their horses' hoofs. Several cavalry charges, with various success, took place; in the course of which the Turks evinced their improved military skill, by the manner in which they supported their cavalry by masses of infantry, and the masked batteries which they opened, on a repulse of their own men, on the pursuing squadrons of the enemy. The Ottoman horse maintained their wonted superiority over the Muscovite; but the invading army was too strong in infantry and artillery for their opponents; and, after several brilliant charges, seeing the Russians established in great force with a hundred guns in front of their position, the Turks withdrew in the best order within their intrenched camp around Schumla, where forty thousand men were now assembled.¹

The Emperor had at first intended to hazard an attack upon this important stronghold, the key to the Balkan, and the crossing point of all the roads in that quarter which traverse that mountain barrier. But these ideas vanished at the sight of the strength of the position, and the experience they had had of the tenacity with which the Turks maintained their ground on every occasion. It was resolved, therefore, to observe Schumla only with a corps of thirty thousand men, and to direct the remainder of the army against Varna, which presented fewer obstacles, and in the attack of which the command of the sea and the co-operation of the fleet promised several advantages. The army before Schumla was divided into two parts; the fifth corps received orders to occupy the redoubts erected to the north of the town, while the seventh was to extend itself by Eski-Stamboul, in its rear, so as to interrupt the communication and complete the blockade. Count Suchtelen, with four thousand men, had taken a position before Varna, and sustained, with great intrepidity, the attacks of the garrison, which was superior in number. Silistria was blockaded by General Roth with ten thousand men, who had been employed in the siege of Brahamlov; but they were not in sufficient strength to undertake till August the siege of so important a fortress; and General Geismar, on the extreme right, with a little corps of five thousand men, protected Little Wallachia against the incursions of the Pacha of Widdin, with the garrison of that place, and Kalafat, its *tête-du-pont* on the left bank of the Danube. It was evident that this line of operations was too extensive for the force which the Russians as yet had in the field;² the more especially as the powerful garrison of Schumla, instead of remaining within their

46.
General cavalry action before Schumla. July 20.

¹ Valentini, 250, 251; Russian Bulletins; Ann. Hist. xi. 98; Gocum. Hist. 386.

47.
Blockade of Schumla, and plans of the Russians.

² Ann. Hist. xi. 388, 389; Valentini, 255, 257.

lines, made daily sorties, which, though attended with various success, were accompanied also with great loss of life, and for the most part turned to the advantage of the Turks.

The Emperor, perceiving that he was not in sufficient strength to undertake the siege of Schumla, or any thing decisive, with the main army, till the guards and reserves, who had left St. Petersburg in the beginning of May, came up, and deeming it derogatory to the majesty of the Czar to remain with the army in a state of inactivity, set out on the 2d August with a strong escort, consisting of twelve pieces of cannon and a large body of infantry and cavalry, for Varna. He arrived before that town on the 5th, and, after inspecting the approaches, which hitherto had made very little progress, he embarked, in the evening of the same day, on board the *Flora* frigate, part of Admiral Greig's squadron, which lay in the bay, for Odessa. He arrived on the 8th, and joined the Empress at a country palace at a little distance from the town. He there carried through two measures eminently indicative of the charges of the war, and the vast loss of life with which it had already been attended. The first was a loan of 18,000,000 of florins (£1,800,000), contracted with the house of the *Hopes* at Amsterdam; the other a general levy of four men in five hundred for the service of the army, promul-

gated by a ukase on 21st August. At the same time, a decree was issued, prohibiting the exportation of all sorts of grain from the harbors of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof—a measure destructive of the agricultural industry of the south of Russia, but adopted in the hope that it might starve the Sultan into submission.¹

Great as had been the progress and incontestible the advantages gained by the Russians since the commencement of the campaign, matters had now become more gloomy, and it was evident that the issue of the campaign, unless large reinforcements came up, was very doubtful. The plague had broken out in the rear of the army, and made great ravages; the usual pestilential fevers of autumn had made their appearance in the principalities, and on the banks of the Danube; the hospitals were filled with sick; and without having as yet engaged in any pitched battle, the invading army was weakened by nearly half its numbers. Add to this, the roads, at all times bad, had been rendered all but impassable by the continued passage of carriages over them; provisions had become scarce, notwithstanding all the advantages enjoyed from the command of the sea; and the inhabitants of the principalities, overwhelmed by contributions, and the passage of one large body of men after another, did their utmost to conceal what they had, or fled into the woods and mountains to avoid the exactions of their oppressors.²

On the other hand, the condition of the Turks was hardly less critical, for they were pierced to the heart of their empire, blockaded in their stronghold, the last and greatest bulwark

of the realm; they had lost the important fortress of Brailov, commanding a passage of the Danube; a third of their territory in Europe was in the hands of the enemy; and Constantinople itself was blockaded by sea, and shut out from the supplies from the Euxine, on which it had hitherto depended for the subsistence of its inhabitants. In these circumstances, the firmness of the Sultan and his council was worthy of the very highest admiration. In a grand council held at Constantinople on Aug. 2. the 2d of August, it was resolved that the Grand Vizier, Mohammed Selim Pacha, should forthwith join the army; on the 5th, the horse-tails were again displayed in the court of the Seraglio, in presence of Aug. 5. the Sultan, his ministers, and an immense crowd of spectators; public prayers were offered up for the prosperity of the empire and the preservation of the true faith; and a fresh proclamation was issued, calling upon all Mussulmans to take up arms, and combat in defense of their country and holy religion. These energetic measures were attended with a great effect. Recruits came rapidly in from all quarters, the armaments went on with redoubled activity, and Constantinople resembled an immense camp, where military exercises and preparations were incessantly going forward. On the 9th the Grand Vizier set out for Adrianople, attended by a splendid retinue, and in great pomp; but that gave rise to an occurrence which demonstrated how deep-felt had been the wounds recently inflicted on the old patriotic party, and on how precarious a footing the public tranquillity rested. When the procession set out, the well-known ensigns of the *ortas* of the janizaries were not to be seen; the public discontent soon became visible, and a tumult arose, which was not suppressed without measures of great severity, and the execution of a number of the persons suspected of favoring that hated body.¹

Meanwhile the operations before Schumla continued with various success, but on the whole to the advantage of the 51. Ottomans. On the 15th August Rudiger received orders from Wittgenstein to move on Kioitei, a village near Eski-Stamboul behind that fortress, and on the road to Constantinople, in order to dislodge a body of three thousand Turks who were stationed there, and kept up the communications with the interior. He was at Aug. 15. first successful, and drove the enemy back, but, attacked in his turn by superior forces, he was routed with the loss of four hundred men, and a gun taken. This check revealed the superiority of the enemy in detached actions, the ascendancy which their horse had acquired, and the extreme danger to which the army was exposed in consequence. Provisions were becoming scarce, and forage in particular, in consequence of the first growth of summer having been consumed or past away, was every where wanting. The Turkish horses, accustomed to be fed entirely on barley or bread, did not suffer in consequence; but the Russian, accustomed to the green pastures of the Ukraine and the Don, were daily becoming weaker, and died in great numbers from pure inanition. This rendered a more extensive circuit

48. Journey of the Emperor to Odessa, and measures adopted there.

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 390, 391.

49. Position of the Russians.

² Ann. Hist. xi. 396, 397.

50. Defensive measures of the Turks.

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 397, 398.

51. Operations before Schumla. Aug. 15.

for foraging indispensable; and that in its turn induced fresh dangers, by exposing the advanced parties to attack, not only from the indefatigable light troops of the enemy, but the armed peasants, who had every where taken up arms to defend their hearths from spoliation. In a word, the situation of the Russians before Schumla in 1828 closely resembled that of the French around Moscow in 1812; great numbers of foraging parties were every day cut off, the horses of the army were rapidly melting away; and the Russians were experiencing the danger so often encountered by a victorious invader in Eastern warfare, that of being starved in the midst of their conquests by the superiority of the enemy in light horse.¹

These dangers were brought to light in the clearest manner by an event which took place on the 26th August, and what was really extraordinary, by a phenomenon wholly unknown in Ottoman warfare—a nocturnal surprise. At one in the morning a large column of Turkish infantry silently defiled out of Schumla, and attacked the last redoubt on the Russian right. The surprise was complete; the redoubt was carried, six guns taken, and General Wrede, with five hundred men, put to the sword. The Russians experienced an equal loss in their efforts to regain the redoubt, which was obstinately defended, and in the endeavor to rescue the guns, which the Turks succeeded in carrying off. This attack was not a mere detached operation, but was intended to divert the attention of the Russians from the principal design, which was nothing less than to crush by a concentric attack the troops of Prince Eugene at Morai, in the redoubt of Tchangelick, four thousand strong, and then assault General Rudiger at Eski-Stamboul, who would in that event have been seriously compromised. These attacks were not entirely successful, but such as they were they inflicted a serious loss upon the Russians, and demonstrated the extreme danger which they ran when scattered around Schumla, in presence of a powerful and enterprising enemy.²

The column destined to attack Eski-Stamboul, composed of eight thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and eight guns, met with more resistance than that which destroyed General Wrede, for the enemy were informed of what was intended, and were on their guard. One Russian battalion was cut to pieces in the first fury of the assault, and although obliged to retire by the vigorous attack which three other battalions directed against it, the besieged carried with them one gun, and inflicted a very severe loss upon the enemy. The division destined for the attack of Prince Eugene, in the redoubt of Tchangelick, was still more successful, for by a vigorous assault they made themselves masters of the redoubt; and though obliged soon after to evacuate it, by the cross fire of several other redoubts by which it was enfiladed, they did so in the best order, and carrying with them as a trophy one of the enemy's guns. In these different actions the Russians lost above fifteen hundred men and eight guns; alarm and inse-

curity were spread over their whole lines, and the Turks gained the substantial fruits of victory by the introduction, two days after the tumult, of a considerable body of troops and large convoy of ammunition and provisions into Schumla.¹

These disasters convinced Wittgenstein of the necessity of concentrating his troops, and evacuating the ground which he held around the Turkish position on the southern side. The redoubts on the Balkan side of Schumla were held for a few days after, to avoid the appearance of a defeat, but finally evacuated on the 6th August. The 7th corps, which had been stationed to the south of the place, was withdrawn, so as to be placed in close communication with the 3d, on the north of it, and both occupied positions on the roads to Jenibazar and Silistria. The communication of the troops at Schumla with both Adrianople and Constantinople was thus left open; not even the semblance of a blockade was kept up: the Russians merely occupied a position to the north, observing the place. The Turkish general profited by this opening to throw large supplies into the place, which augmented the strength and audacity of the garrison so much, that, no longer confining themselves to operations on the Balkan side, they threw out detachments on the road to Jenibazar, intercepted several Russian convoys, and daily made prisoners of great numbers of their foraging parties.²

While affairs were beginning to wear this sombre aspect on the side of Schumla, the siege of Varna had come to be seriously prosecuted. The reinforcements from Russia, which began to come up in the end of August, were directed to that place, and the communications connected with it; and as they amounted to above forty thousand men, including sixteen thousand of the guards, the best troops in the empire, the besiegers were enabled to assume the offensive in that quarter with every prospect of success. Admiral Greig, with eight sail of the line and as many frigates, kept up a close blockade by sea, and not only prevented any supplies from being thrown in, but destroyed a flotilla of twenty-eight Turkish gun-boats in a bay in the vicinity. Prince Menschikoff unfortunately was severely wounded in the thigh by a cannon-ball in the commencement of the siege, which rendered it necessary to confer its direction on Count Woronzow, who immediately pushed it with rigor on the side next the sea, in order to obtain the advantage of the co-operation of the fleet. Foreseeing that important events were approaching, the Emperor returned in person to Varna, and took the command of the besieging army; while General Golownin was detached to the other side of the bay, between the sea and the lake of Dewno, to take the command of the covering force.³

It soon appeared how necessary the great reinforcements which were now coming up were to the invaders, and how serious were

¹ An. Hist. xi. 404; Turkish and Russian Bulletins, *ibid.* 109; *Pièces Just*; Val. 269, 271.

² Retreat of the Russians from the south of Schumla. Sept. 6.

³ An. Hist. xi. 404, 405; Valentini, 271, 272; Russian Bulletins, August 27 and Sept. 2, 1828; *ibid.* 111; *Pièces Hist.*

^{55.} Operations before Varna. September 3.

³ Valentini, 271; An. Hist. xi. 404, 405.

the dangers which threatened them on the side of Schumla. Vague reports of late reached the Russian outposts of the arrival of the Grand-Vizier with ten thousand men at Adrianople, and the concentration of daily increasing numbers in Schumla, and ere long Wittgenstein had convincing proof of their presence. Half an hour before daybreak on the morning of the 8th September, three of the Russian redoubts on the left were attacked by eight thousand Turkish foot, while nearly an equal force assailed the left under Prince Eugene. The Ottomans were vigorously resisted, for the Russians were forewarned and on their guard, and after a bloody combat they were obliged to retire; but the Russians having pursued with their attenuated horse, the spahis turned upon them fiercely and slew great numbers, so as entirely to stop the pursuit. Such was the exhaustion of the Muscovite horse, that sixteen in one brigade dropped down dead under their riders during the pursuit, and every day afterward they lost one hundred or one hundred and fifty men in detached combats with the enemy. Seeing that it was now impossible to keep up even the semblance of a blockade, and that his army was daily melting away under the Osmanli sabres, Wittgenstein resolved on a general concentration of his troops in front of Janibazar, in a position which in some degree covered the siege of Varna, and entirely barred the advance to Silistria.¹

Meanwhile the siege of Varna was slowly advancing; for the extraordinary intensity of trepidity of the Turks greatly interrupted the operations, and their activity gave the Russians no respite night or day. In the night of the 31st August, the besieged made three sorties, and gained possession of an important post, which was only wrested from them the following night by a great expenditure of life. On the 5th September the Emperor arrived in person, and communicated new vigor to the besieging force, which was now reinforced by 21,000 men, with 96 guns. The two divisions of the guard, which were reviewed by his majesty, presented, after a march of 1700 miles, as magnificent an appearance as when they left St. Petersburg four months before. The besieged, however, were 10,000 strong, had a powerful artillery on the ramparts, and were animated by the best spirit. They made a vigorous sortie on the 1st September, captured the most advanced of the besiegers' works, and nearly destroyed two Russian regiments; but they were in the end driven back. By the 5th September the blockade was complete on the north side; where the approaches were most complete, trenches had been opened on the 31st August; and on the 14th September the Russians sprung a mine, which brought down the northeast bastion of the place, and left a practicable breach. The Emperor immediately summoned it to surrender; and the Capitan Pacha, who commanded, repaired on board the Ville de Paris to treat for a capitulation. But as it was evident he was only feigning to gain time, the negotiations were broken off, and the fire resumed on the 15th; but although the breaching batteries

kept up a continual and very heavy cannonade, little progress was made during the next ten days, and it was evident the means of defense of the besieged were very far from being exhausted.¹

The Turks on their side were not indifferent spectators of this strife, but were preparing a grand armament of the rear, to interrupt, and if possible raise the siege. A corps of twenty thousand men had been collected under the orders of Omer-Vrione, by means of the reinforcements which had been collected at Adrianople, and detachments from the army in Schumla; and it had advanced as far as the village of Hadgi-Hassan-lar, a little to the south of the Lake of Dewno, within a few miles of Varna, where it had taken a position in very strong ground, flanked on either side with impenetrable forests. As soon as the Russians received intelligence of their approach, they detached fifteen hundred men to make a reconnaissance, under the command of General Harting; but having fallen unexpectedly in with a large body of the enemy, he was totally defeated, with the loss of half his force, and driven back to the lines before the place, without having effected his object. Upon this success the Turks advanced several miles forward in the forest, to a position in front of Kurteppe, which they strongly fortified with several advanced posts between it and Hadgi-Hassan-lar. Upon this the greatest efforts were made to collect a respectable force to oppose the enemy, and next day General Bistrom was dispatched with five thousand men from the lines round Schumla, while Wittgenstein received orders to detach as large a force as he could spare to attack them in rear. He sent Prince Eugene accordingly with nearly six thousand men, which, after winding their way with difficulty through the forests, were approaching it, when the post of Hadgi-Hassan-lar, in the Turkish rear, was surprised by some troops that had come up from the lines before Varna and the post of Dewno, under the orders of General Sochozannet. Forces deemed sufficient for the undertaking having arrived during the 28th, a general attack was made on the Turkish position at Kurteppe by General Bistrom in front, and General Sochozannet in rear; but although the Russians displayed their wonted valor in the attack, and two battalions of the guard were brought into action, they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, among whom were General Tregtay, and two colonels of the guard killed at the head of their troops. After the combat was over, Eugene came up with his men to Hadgi-Hassan-lar, united with Sochozannet, and assumed the general command of the troops operating on the Turkish rear.²

Notwithstanding this check, the Russian generals prepared a grand attack on both sides the following day. It met with no better success. At the first onset the Russians under Eugene made themselves masters of an advanced redoubt of the enemy at a distance from their camp, and took a gun; but having arrived in front of the central camp, they were received

56. Attack on Wittgenstein. September 8.

¹ Valentini, 272, 273; An. Hist. xi. 404, siege of Varna, and entirely barred the advance to Silistria.¹

57. Siege of Varna.

¹ An. Hist. xi. 408, 409; Valentini, 260, 261.

58.

Advance of the Turks to raise the siege.

Sept. 26.

Sept. 27.

Sept. 28.

² Ann. Hist. xi.

410, 411; Valentini, 280, 281.

59.

Bloody defeat of the Russians. September 30.

by so terrible a fire of artillery that they were obliged to recoil. Finding that the position was unassailable in front, Prince Eugene divided his force, and placed the weight of his men in the two wings; and some words of encouragement having been communicated to them from the Emperor, they returned to the assault with indescribable enthusiasm. A terrible conflict ensued, for the Turks fought with not less resolution than their antagonists, and the slaughter was dreadful. General Limanski was killed as he mounted the intrenchments; the two colonels of the regiment of Azof shared the same fate; and the regiment itself, which burned with desire to wipe away a reproach received in one of the conflicts before Schumla, was almost entirely destroyed. On his side, General Bistrom with his little force did his utmost to aid the main attack, but his troops were too weak to enable him to effect any thing, and he was repulsed with the loss of five hundred men. At length Prince Eugene was obliged also to draw off his shattered battalions, burning with shame

¹ Valentini, at being obliged to retire before 283, 286; An. the enemy, and found shelter in Hist. xi. 410, the surrounding forest, after hav- 411; Russian ing fourteen hundred killed and Bulletin, Oct. 1; Ibid. 115; wounded around the foot of the in- Pieces Hist. trenchments.¹

Had Omer-Vrione, after this hard-fought success, possessed, in addition to 60. his own, ten thousand English or The siege is not interrupted. French troops capable of encountering the Russians in the open field, he would have raised the siege of Varna, and the Muscovites, driven in all quarters across the Danube, would have been unable to effect any thing material in the succeeding campaign. But the want of such a force rendered this impossible. The Turks, admirable in the defense of fortified posts, could not be trusted in combat with the Russian guards in the open country; and not deeming himself strong enough to force his way through, Omer-Vrione halted, and busied himself in fortifying his position, awaiting the opportunity of a sally from Varna to endeavor to throw supplies into the place. Such an opportunity, however, did not occur. The Russians also strengthened their position, and as the Turks were not in sufficient force to storm it, the operations of the siege were not interrupted; and the Russians, succeeding in their main object, reaped from their bloody repulse all the fruits of a brilliant victory. One of the last outworks of the place was stormed on the night of the 25th September; and two mines having been run under the ramparts, they were sprung on the night of the 3d October, and a large opening made; and another mine fired on the following night made a still larger breach. On the night of Oct. 7. the 7th, some companies of the Russian chasseurs succeeded in making their way into the blown-up bastions, and even got into the centre of the town; but, not being supported, ² Valentini, they were obliged to retire, after 292, 294; An. sustaining a loss of four hundred Hist. xi. 411. men.²

This event, however, coupled with the obvious inability of Omer-Vrione to force his way into the fortress, opened the eyes of the governor to

the hopeless nature of his situation, and the impossibility of longer continuing the defense. Accordingly, on the 8th, at mid-day, negotiations were commenced with Jussuf Pacha, the *second in command*, which, on the 10th, led to the surrender of the place unconditionally on the 11th, the garrison being prisoners of war. They were still 6800 strong; 162 pieces of cannon were taken on the ramparts, with considerable stores of ammunition and provisions. The Capitan Pacha, who was governor, was so indignant at these proceedings that he shut himself up with three hundred brave men in the citadel, when he threatened to blow himself up if he was not permitted to join the forces on the Kamtjik. The Emperor, respecting his courage or dreading his despair, acceded to the terms; and on the 12th he marched out and joined Omer-Vrione, who had, on hearing of the fall of the place, retired behind the Kamtjik, and thence to Aidos, without being seriously disquieted in his retreat. The Emperor Nicholas, with praiseworthy remembrance of former valor in misfortune, sent twelve of the guns taken in the town to Warsaw, to form a monument to Wladislaus VI., King of Poland, slain under its walls by the Turks under Amurath II. in 1444. The times were far distant from those when the chivalry of France perished under the sabres 413, 414; Ibid., of the janizaries of Bajazet, after Russian Bulletin, Oct. 11, their glorious and victorious charge 1828, 117; Valentini, 294, before the same town four hundred years before.¹ 295.

The Turks, as well they might, exclaimed "Treachery" at this discreditable capitulation. Contrasted with the defense of Brahamlov, there is cer- 62. Reflections on this surrender. tainly too much room for the imputation, for that fortress repulsed a desperate assault, and capitulated on condition of the garrison being sent to Silistria, after having stood it; whereas Jussuf Pacha surrendered at discretion, without any assault at all having been delivered, and when still in possession of considerable means of defense. Whatever doubt might have been entertained on this point was soon removed by the conduct of Jussuf Pacha himself. Not content with repairing in person first on board the Ville de Paris in the roads, and then to the Emperor's tent ashore, to conduct the capitulation, he sailed away in a Russian frigate when it was concluded, to Odessa, where he soon after received an ample grant of lands in the Crimea from the Emperor, in compensation, as it was alleged, of his extensive estates in Macedonia confiscated by orders of the Sultan! The Russians allege that his means of defense were exhausted; that the first assault would have proved fatal to the garrison and inhabitants; that the fate of the governor of Brahamlov, who only escaped the bowstring by voluntary exile to Mitylene, demonstrated that the Grand Seigneur did not know how to distinguish between misfortune and misconduct, and that Jussuf Pacha had no alternative between exile and death. There can be no doubt that there is some truth in these observations; but every man of honor will feel that the good deeds of an enemy are always suspicious, and that he was not in reality reduced to the dilemma which his advocates represent.² Valentini, 295.

^{61.} Fail of Varna.

While these important events were determining the campaign in favor of the Russians on the shores of the fore Widdin. Euxine, operations, subordinate indeed, but worthy from their heroism of being recorded, occurred at the other extremity of the line, where General Geismar, with an inferior force of five thousand men, observed the Pacha of Widdin in that fortress. In the middle of August, when the Russian general was making preparations for an inroad into Servia to raise the warlike inhabitants of that province, the pacha suddenly issued from Kalafat, the *tête-du-pont* of Widdin on the north of the Danube, with fifteen thousand men, and moved upon Bucharest. Unable to resist forces so superior, Geismar retired as far as Slatina, abandoning his whole magazines to the enemy; and the inhabitants of Little Wallachia in consternation fled into the adjoining provinces of Austria. At length, having received a reinforcement of two thousand men, the Russian general advanced to Krajowa, where he was attacked by the Seraskier of Widdin with eighteen thousand men. The combat was obstinate, but the Russians had the worst of it, for they retired at nightfall to a position in rear, and the Turks remained masters of the field of battle. All seemed lost, for a retreat in presence of so superior a force through the level plains of Wallachia was utter ruin. But then was seen what can be effected by the resolution and conduct of one man. Foreseeing that he would be assailed and outflanked or surrounded on the following day, Geismar resolved to anticipate the enemy by a nocturnal attack. It completely succeeded. Surprised, and thinking they had to do with a fresh enemy, the Turks made very little resistance. In less than two hours they were entirely put to the rout, with the loss of seven hundred prisoners, seven guns, twenty-four standards, and their whole baggage and ammunition. In utter confusion they sought refuge under the cannon of Widdin; Wallachia was delivered from their incursions, and the whole right of the Russian line of operations secured from danger. Following up his success, Geismar, after a march of thirty miles, made a sudden attack on Kalafat, which he carried by escalade, the greater part of the garrison being drowned in attempting to make their way across to Widdin.¹

After the fall of Varna, the Russian generals were in hopes of being able to reduce Silistria before winter. This important fortress had hitherto been only blockaded by General Roth, with ten thousand men. A severe action took place under its walls on the 11th October, which turned out to the advantage of the Russians, and the investment of the place had already commenced when the approach of the autumnal storms, and the alarming news from Wittgenstein's army, rendered it evident that it could not be undertaken with any prospect of success before the following spring. The blockade therefore was raised, and orders were sent to Wittgenstein to retreat with all his forces behind the Danube. The Emperor him-

self, seeing the campaign over, embarked on the 14th October on board the vessel "Empress Mother," and made sail for Odessa. On the second night of their voyage they were assailed by a dreadful tempest, which drove them back almost to the mouth of the Bosphorus. So imminent was the danger that all on board gave themselves up for lost, and the Emperor alone preserved his presence of mind. The captain proposed running the vessel ashore; but Nicholas declared he would prefer death to falling into the Sultan's hands; and the wind having veered round a few points, he was saved either alternative. At length, on the night of the 19th October, after undergoing a thousand perils and hardships, they reached Odessa, the crew more dead than alive; and not without furnishing to the journalists of Europe ample ground for comparison with the flight of Xerxes across the Hellespont after the defeat of Salmis, two thousand years before.¹

Wittgenstein commenced his retreat on the 15th October; and it was conducted with so much secrecy that the Turks, for some days, were not aware of what was going forward, and he at first sustained very little molestation. But this did not long continue. On the 19th, the rear-guard, near the village of Ardokhan, at the entrance of a woody defile, was attacked by eight thousand Turkish horse; and though they kept their ground till the third corps, which was defiling, had got through, this was only done at a very heavy loss. After this, as the weather every day became worse, the retrograde movement became eminently disastrous. Eye witnesses of both compared it to the Moscow retreat. The Turkish roads, bad at all times, had been rendered all but impassable by the ceaseless passage of artillery and carriages over them during the summer and the heavy rains of autumn. Caissons and baggage were abandoned at every step; the stragglers nearly all fell into the enemy's hands, by whom they were instantly massacred; and Wittgenstein experienced in his turn the disasters which he had inflicted on Napoleon's army during the retreat from Witepsk to the Berezina in 1812. At length, after having undergone innumerable hardships, and sustained a very severe loss, his wearied columns reached the Danube, which they immediately crossed, and spread themselves in winter quarters over Wallachia. The Turks made preparations for an attack upon Varna in the beginning of December, and approached the fortress in considerable strength; but they found the Russians too strongly posted to hazard the attempt. Thus ended in Europe the campaign of 1828, in which the Russians, with the exception of the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were abandoned without resistance, and the reduction of Brahamlov and Varna, had made no sensible progress. Both parties, after it was over, found themselves on the banks of the Danube, after being mutually exhausted by the greatest efforts. The Russians, by their own admission, had lost half the troops engaged; for out of 158,800 which during the campaign had crossed the Pruth, only 80,000 remained in November in the fortresses they had subdued

64. Abandonment of the siege of Silistria, and retreat of the Russians beyond the Danube. Oct. 11.

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 400, 401; Kalafat, which he carried by escalade, the greater part of the garrison being drowned in attempting to make their way across to Widdin.¹

65. Disastrous retreat of Wittgenstein. Oct. 19.

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 414, 415.

and in winter quarters. But the Ottomans, too, had sustained very great losses; two of their frontier fortresses had been wrested from them, and of the force which had so gallantly defended Schumla above a half left their colors, after the Ottoman fashion, and returned home in the beginning of winter, so that the Grand Vizier could not muster above twenty thousand men in that important stronghold.¹

¹ Valentini, 293; Ann. Hist. xi. 418, 420.

The campaign in Asia during the same year, though conducted on the part of the Russians with much smaller forces, was attended with much more glorious and decisive results, owing to the extraordinary talents of General Paskewitch, who directed it, and the warlike experience and heroic spirit of his troops. He had won, during his successful campaigns against the Persians, a solid base of operations on the Araxes by the acquisition of Erivan and other fortresses, and from them he commenced the brilliant campaign which has immortalized his name. His force was very small: it consisted only of thirty battalions of infantry, two regiments of regular and eleven of Cossack cavalry, and 114 guns—in all, 20,854 infantry, 5514 cavalry. Of these, however, only 8561 infantry, 3346 cavalry, and 70 guns, were under the immediate command of the commander-in-chief, and achieved all the wonders of the campaign; the remainder were stationed in the two wings, and were destined to subordinate operations, intended chiefly to distract the attention of the enemy from the main object of attack in the centre.²

The formation of the mountains and plains points out three lines of operation, and three only, to an enemy invading Asia Minor from the side of Tiflis and Georgia. The first runs by the shores of the Black Sea; but the road in that direction, bad in all places, stops entirely at Trebizond. The second is the central line by the chain of the Allaghez direct upon Erzeroum. It is the great road, used for thousands of years, from Tiflis to Constantinople; but it traverses several mountain ridges of great height and difficulty in its course, of which the Allaghez chain, traversed by the pass of Saganlugh, lay athwart the road to Erzeroum, and presented many strong positions of defense. The third is the line of Ararat. After mature consideration, Paskewitch became convinced that the central was the preferable line, chiefly in consequence of its presenting fewer difficulties of a physical nature than the other two. It is true that an invasion by this line would be sure to be opposed by the whole military strength of Anatolia while penetrating by the passes of Saganlugh and of Karatchli across the Allaghez range; but even this opposition appeared to him less formidable than the natural difficulties of the other roads. He made his dispositions accordingly. Six battalions, with a Cossack regiment and sixteen guns, under General Hesse, were directed to move through Imeretia upon the mountains of Gurriel and the shores of the Black Sea; three battalions, with a Cossack regiment and eight guns, were disposed in

Armenia to form the left wing, and connected by two battalions in echelon with the centre; while the centre, under the general-in-chief, consisting of eighteen battalions, nine regular squadrons, seven regiments of Cossacks and fifty-six guns, was to penetrate by the middle road, and make itself master of Erzeroum, the capital city, and centre of the Turkish power in Asia Minor.¹

¹ Fonton, 246, 247.

Gumri was the place where the main body of the Russians was concentrated, and from whence Paskewitch commenced his operations. His first movement was directed upon Kars, a fortress of strength, which lay directly upon the road to Erzeroum. The difficulty of the passage and the sterile nature of the country may be judged of by the fact that eighteen hundred and forty-eight chariots, and two thousand two hundred and fifty horses of burden, accompanied the army, though the entire combatants did not exceed twelve thousand men! This little army moved in a very peculiar order, adopted by Paskewitch in all his campaigns, and to the constant use of which great part of his unbroken success was owing. The parks of artillery and luggage were arranged in the centre, in two divisions, each escorted by a brigade of infantry; the remainder of the regular infantry, the cavalry, and artillery, moved on the flanks. In this order the army passed the frontier, and moved upon Kars. The Turks, on their side, had made the most vigorous preparations for defense. The Pacha of Erzeroum, with sixty thousand men, was to advance on Kars to raise the siege, should the Muscovites venture to undertake it; while the Pacha of Akhalzikh, a strong fortress on the Russian right, was to threaten their flank. The Pacha of Erzeroum confidently relied on the strength of Kars, to enable it to hold out till the promised succor arrived. He wrote to the governor of that fortress—"Your soldiers are brave, your fortress is impregnable. Persuade your people that the Russians are few in number and destitute of courage, and make good your post till my arrival."²

² Fonton, 267, 270.

But all these anticipations were disappointed by the activity of the Russian general. Before the Ottoman militia could be collected at Erzeroum, his troops were before Kars. Neither the badness of the roads, nor the intervening ridges, nor the mountain torrents, swollen with heavy rains, could arrest their march. On the 15th they were encamped at Tikhnip, on plains celebrated for a victory of their countrymen in 1807; and on the 19th the little army, mustering, of those come up, only eight thousand combatants, came in sight of the place, and a headlong charge of eight hundred horse drove the enemy back within the walls. On the day following the artillery was brought up, and operations in form were commenced. The fortress, built by Amurath III. during the Turkish war, between 1578 and 1589, is one of the most formidable in Asia. Besides a double circuit of walls, it has three citadels inclosed the one within the other, each surrounded by strong walls and several outworks. In addition to its artificial means of defense, the cita-

^{69.} Siege of Kars, and its description.

June 15.

June 19.

del is inaccessible on the side of the river on which it stands, by reason of a series of perpendicular cliffs, and on the side of the town by numerous batteries placed on its walls. The fortress was celebrated over all Asia, from having in 1735 repulsed all the efforts of the famous Nadir Shah, at the head of ninety thousand Persians, after he had defeated a hundred thousand Turks in its vicinity. Thence it passed over all the East for impregnable. The garrison was ten thousand strong, including four thousand armed citizens, second to none in the

defense of their hearths, and not a doubt was entertained that they would repel all the assaults of the enemy.¹

But they were soon undeceived, and taught that they had a very different enemy to deal with from the desultory bands of the Persians. Trenches were opened on the 22d, the attacks being directed to the two opposite extremities: the first, under General Kariffeki, being against the fortified post on the mountain of Karadagh on the extreme right; the second, under Colonel Borodino, on the extreme left. While the attention of the Turks was thus drawn away to the two extremities, great efforts were making in secret to push forward approaches in the centre. A furious conflict ensued, when the suburbs, protected by bastions, were attacked; and for the next day it was a continual succession of bloody combats, from outwork to outwork, and from house to house, until at length the enemy were expelled, and driven

into the citadel. There the garrison endeavored to obtain terms; but Paskewitch would only give them an hour to surrender at discretion. At the expiration of that time, seeing the Russian columns of assault formed, the governor surrendered at discretion; and this strong fortress, one of the most formidable in Asia, with a hundred and twenty-nine pieces of cannon, twenty-two mortars, thirty-three standards, and great stores of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. The garrison,

seven thousand strong, were made prisoners; and the Russians enhanced the lustre of their triumph by protecting the town, and subjecting it to none of the horrors usual in places taken by assault.²

Immediately after this brilliant success, the advanced posts of Mohammed Pacha appeared in sight, who was advancing with a large body from the heights of the Saganlugh, to raise the siege. Finding the place taken, he retraced his steps to the mountains; and Paskewitch was preparing to follow, when it was discovered that the advancing army had brought from Erzeroum a more formidable enemy than its own bayonets. The plague broke out in the ranks of the prisoners taken, and some Muscovites were seized with it in the regiment of Georgia, and died in a few hours. In this crisis the measures of the general-in-chief were prompt and decided. Not attempting to disguise from the troops the nature of the malady, he set himself in the most vigorous manner to combat it. The sick were immediately separated from the rest of the troops, hospitals prepared for their reception, round which a cordon was established and

rigidly maintained; all infected articles, or those which had been near the sick, were burnt, and the utmost care taken to prevent contact with those affected, or any thing belonging to them. By these measures, enforced with inflexible severity, the malady was in three weeks arrested, but not before it had seized above five hundred persons, of whom only two hundred and sixty-three were cured and restored to the ranks.¹

Delivered from this danger, which threatened to stop him in the very outset of his career of conquest, Paskewitch directed his little army toward Akhalzikh, a strong fortress to the northward, between Kars and the Black Sea, the possession of which was necessary to give him a solid base for future operations, and put a stop to incursions which had commenced from thence on the Russian territory. Preparatory to this it was necessary to reduce the forts of Akhalkalaki and Hertwitz, which lay upon the road. No sooner, therefore, was the plague stayed than by a rapid march to the right, parallel to the frontier, he approached Akhalkalaki, the white towers of which appeared at first to be deserted; but on being summoned to surrender, the garrison replied, "We are not warriors like those of Erivan and Kars: we are the warriors of Akhalkalaki! We have here neither wives nor children: we will die on the walls of our fortress, but we will not do so without a struggle. An old proverb says, 'An inhabitant of Kars is worth three of Erivan, and two of Kars are only worth one of Akhalkalaki!' We shall not belie that proverb." Notwithstanding this bold answer, the garrison did not make a very gallant defense. The approaches were conducted by Colonel Borodino with great rapidity; and the garrison, despairing of success, endeavored to escape by letting themselves down by cords. Borodino, however, overtook the fugitives and cut them to pieces; and the Russians, returning to the ramparts, mounted them by the scaling-ladders by which they had been let down. The fort was then taken, and, with fourteen guns, thirty-three standards, and three hundred prisoners, fell into the hands of the Russians. From thence they moved upon Hertwitz, which soon yielded with fourteen pieces of cannon.²

The attack of Akhalzikh was now resolved on; and as it was a place of the greatest strength, Paskewitch ordered up his reserves and whole resources for its reduction. Mohammed Pacha, at the head of thirty thousand men and fifteen guns, lay on the Saganlugh, ready to interrupt the approaches. A severe cavalry action took place between the contending armies on the 17th, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that the Russian horse extricated themselves from the Ottoman cavaliers. Ground was broken in the night of the 19th, and then the formidable nature of its defenses became at once apparent. Situated on a spur of the mountains of Kaia-Dagh, and flanked by the rocky banks of the Poskhof-Tchai, it was strongly fortified, and strengthened by all the resources of art and nature. The inhabitants, about twenty thousand, were

¹ Paskewitch's Dispatch, July 23, 1828; Ann. Hist. xi. 106, App.; Fonton, 280, 294.

² Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

³ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

⁴ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

⁵ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

⁶ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

⁷ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

⁸ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

⁹ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

¹⁰ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

¹¹ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

¹² Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

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⁹⁹ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

¹⁰⁰ Fonton, 307, 309; Valentini, 349.

in the highest state of prosperity, and resolute in the defense of their hearths and homes. The houses, like those of Saragossa, are strongly built of stone, generally of two stories, with a balcony in front, presenting the appearance each of a little fortress, capable of containing a garrison of from fifty to one hundred men. The defenses of the place consisted in an exterior wall, flanked with towers, after the Turkish fashion, and the citadel, which is an irregular polygon, the bastions of which were almost contiguous to the nearest houses of the town. Forty guns were mounted on the citadel, which commanded every part of the city except that built on the Kaia-Dagh. The inhabitants, however, placed their principal reliance on the exterior defenses of the town, which consisted of a huge tower, on which four guns were mounted, and four bastions, armed with heavy guns, and connected by strong palisades of fir, twelve feet high, and three thick. Within this exterior line was the wall of the town, consisting of an irregular nonagon, armed with twenty-two pieces of cannon. Thus, a triple line of defenses surrounded Akhalzikh, the outer palisades, the walls, and the bastions of the citadel. But, most of all, it was defended by the warlike and indomitable spirit of its inhabitants, who were proud of their ancient renown, and had sworn to bury themselves in the ruins of the place rather than surrender it to the ancient enemies of their country and their faith. The spirits of the garrison had been greatly raised by the recent arrival, in an intrenched camp round the town, of Kiossa Mohammed Pacha, with a reinforcement of ten thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry—a force more than double that which the Russian general could bring against it.¹

To attack such a force in such a position, with an army so inferior, was a very bold attempt; but Paskewitch had sufficient confidence in his own resources, and the courage of his troops, to hazard it. General Popoff came up, on the 19th August, with two thousand additional troops, and, thus reinforced, he determined to make a sudden attack on the Turkish intrenched camp which surrounded the town. It was indispensable to do this without delay, as the Turks were daily in expectation of reinforcements, which would have tripled their numerical strength. After mature consideration, the Russian general resolved to distract the enemy's attention by an attack on a quarter where their principal depots were placed, near the village of Tskhout, and meanwhile make the real attack on the heights of the intrenched camp to the north, which was justly regarded as the key of the position. The Ottomans were in four intrenched camps, but the strongest, against which the attack was first directed, was on the rocky heights close to the northern angle of the town. The cross march to Tskhout was to be made in the night, and the attack in that quarter made before daylight, it being well known that the Turks, like all irregular troops, were peculiarly liable to a panic during a nocturnal attack. So strongly did this plan bear the marks of genius, and so ably was it calculated in all its details,² that it commanded the unani-

mous assent of all the generals assembled in council to determine on its adoption.

Notwithstanding all this, the attack had well-nigh failed from the unforeseen difficulties which occurred in its execution. The Russian column of attack, consisting of seven thousand combatants and twenty-five guns, set out at two hours before dark, and marched the whole night with the utmost expedition. But despite all their efforts, such were the difficulties of the passage through the narrow valleys, intersected with water-courses, through which their route lay, that at sunrise they were still two miles from the enemy's position which was to be first assailed, and already descried, and the Turkish horse crowned all the heights in sight. Surprise was now out of the question; but Paskewitch, with the decision of a great general, saw that there was more risk in retreating than in advancing, and determined to persevere in the attack. It was a bold step, however, for the alarm was now given in the whole Turkish camp; their troops crowded in from all quarters; and thirty thousand Ottomans, of whom nearly half were cavalry, crowned the intrenched heights, which were the first object of the intrepid Russians' assault. The pacha no sooner discovered the small number of his antagonists, not a quarter of his own, than he resolved to anticipate the attack; and, assembling his best infantry in the centre, he ordered an immediate advance out of the intrenchment, and a huge body of Turks, rending the air with their cries, came pouring down upon the leading Russian column of attack, while their numerous cavalry assailed it on either flank.¹

The Russians had need of all their firmness, for the onset was terrible. A frightful *mêlée* ensued. Hand to hand, breast to breast, knee to knee, the Turks and Muscovites contended with the most undaunted resolution. There was no time to load their pieces; but, seizing each other by the arms, or striking with the but-ends of their muskets, they fought, like the *Athletæ* of old, with the rude weapons of nature. But this desperate resistance gave time for two other Russian battalions to come up, which drove back the cavalry, and restored the equality of the combat. Soon after a Russian tumbril blew up, and the Turks, encouraged by this incident, renewed the attack; but the assailants, intimidated by the steady bearing of their adversaries, were at length repulsed; and both parties, exhausted by fatigue and the heat of the day, sunk into repose as at Talavera, close to each other, and remained peaceable for several hours. Paskewitch took advantage of this interval of repose to let his troops get their dinner, and the horses be watered at the adjoining stream; and at two in the afternoon, the men, being thoroughly refreshed, he gave the signal to renew the conflict.²

Skillfully concealing his real design, which was to dislodge the enemy from the heights they occupied on their right, and deprive them of the immense advantage they derived from the guns of the fortress, Paskewitch grouped all his

¹ Fonton, 319, 326.

^{74.} Paskewitch's plan of attack, and its chances.

^{75.} Nocturnal attack on the Turkish camp. Aug. 27.

¹ Fonton, 330, 335; Paskewitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xi. 167; Doc. Hist.

^{76.} Its perilous chances.

² Fonton, 334, 336.

^{77.} Desperate conflict on the heights.

cavalry on his own right, and, drawing it up in battle array, seemed prepared to assault the enemy's left, and so menace their depots in that quarter. Deceived by this, the Turks moved their principal masses of infantry and cavalry in that direction, so as, in a great measure, to strip the heights on their right, the real key to the whole position. As soon as the Russian general saw this, he ordered a vigorous attack on the heights with his main force, while several lesser assaults were directed against other points to distract the enemy's attention. These movements were entirely successful. Surprised, when destitute of part of their artillery, and great part of their defenders, the Turkish intrenchments on the heights were menaced by a vigorous assault of the Muscovite grenadiers. But the defense was not less vigorous than the attack. General Korolkoff fell, at the head of his troops, by a grape-shot, and the assaulting column, pierced by the Turkish fire, recoiled in disorder, while a violent thunderstorm, the peals of which were heard above all the roar of the artillery, added to the horrors of this terrific conflict. The Muscovites staggered, recoiled in disorder; and the Turks, with loud cries, leaping out of the intrenchments with their yataghans in their hands, pursued them a considerable distance with great slaughter.¹

¹ Fonton, 357, 388.

But this disorder was momentary only. At length the hardihood and intrepidity of the Russians prevailed over all the enthusiasm of the Turks. The regiment of Chirvan, led by Colonel Borodino, in the middle of the tumult, and when the redoubt, the object of such fierce contention, was in part stripped of its defenders, assailed it in flank, and, without firing a shot, forced its way in at the point of the bayonet. Encouraged by the sight of the Russian standards in the redoubt, the broken regiments returned on all sides; a *hourra* got up, in the midst of which the intrenchments were carried, with all their guns and seven standards; and the Turks on that point were driven back, with immense slaughter, within the palisades of the town. Of fifteen hundred men who occupied the redoubt only five hundred escaped. This great success was decisive. The Russian column, masters of the fortified heights on the north, which connected the Turkish camp with the fortress, made dispositions to cut them off from it, while the cavalry on the Russian right in the hollow prepared to charge. At this sight the Turks, passing at once from the enthusiasm of courage to the depth of despair, took to flight on all sides. Kiossa Mohammed Pacha, who had been wounded in the thigh, endeavored in vain to rally them. He himself, with five thousand men, seeing the battle lost, took refuge in the fortress; but the remainder of the army fled in disorder toward Ardagan, and in great part dispersed. The whole intrenched camps fell into the hands of the Russians, with ten guns, thirteen standards, and thirteen hundred prisoners; and of the vast array

² Fonton, 338, 339; which had recently crowded round the Valentini, ramparts of Akhalzikh, not a vestige was to be seen on the following day.²

Delivered from this band of enemies, Paskevitch prosecuted the siege with redoubled

activity; and, trusting to the discouragement produced by their recent defeat, summoned the Turks to surrender. Re-
 lying, however, on the strength of the place, and a garrison now fifteen thousand strong, they returned an indignant refusal. The fire of the breaching batteries was immediately resumed, and the approaches pushed with the utmost activity. On the 15th, as a sufficient breach appeared to have been made, the columns of assault were formed, and the attack took place at four in the afternoon. The regiment of Chirvan, destined to lead the assault, received the sacrament with great solemnity, after which they partook of a rude repast, and advanced courageously to the breach, with colors flying and music playing. Colonel Borodino was at their head, and the regiment, passing without hesitation through a severe fire of grape and musketry which opened upon them, got into the bastion in which the breach had been made, which they took with all its guns. But the Turks, who had been in some measure taken by surprise, as the hour chosen for the assault was that usually dedicated to repose, now thoroughly alarmed, soon crowded in on all sides, and the victorious regiment found itself assailed by above four thousand Ottomans, with their formidable cimeters in their hands, before they had time to strengthen themselves in the adjacent
¹ Fonton, 352, 353. houses.¹

A desperate conflict now ensued; for the Turks, rushing toward the breach from all quarters, had a vast superiority of force; and the Russians, surrounded in the bastion, were on the point of being overwhelmed. Such was the fury of the besieged that the women even took part in the conflict, and with their yataghans in their hands were to be seen in the front of the conflict. Colonel Borodino evinced the most heroic intrepidity; but, in spite of all his efforts, he would have been destroyed had he not thought of the expedient of bringing up two guns, which, with infinite difficulty, were got through the ditch, and over the breach. At the first cannon-shot a loud hurrah broke from the Muscovite ranks, and, rushing forward with the bayonet, they carried the churchyard in which the Turks were placed, and got close to the church, where Borodino fell, pierced through the heart by a musket-ball. Colonel Burtsdorff immediately took the command, and succeeded in getting some more guns over the breach; and Paskewitch, informed of the danger of the assaulting column, sent some battalions to its support. By their aid the cemetery was secured, the church carried, almost choked with dead bodies; and the assailants, pressing forward, engaged the Turks in a hand-to-hand conflict in every quarter. So obstinate was the defense, so infuriated the resistance, that it was only by setting fire to the houses that the Russians were able to expel the besieged from them. Steadily they advanced, however, the flames preceding, the artillery following them; and at length discipline and steadiness prevailed over rude valor. Four hundred of the besieged perished in a mosque; and the flames, spreading in all directions, involved the greater part of the city in conflagration. The conflict con-

79.
 Assault of the town.
 Aug. 27.

80.
 Frightful assault of the town.

tinued through the whole night by the light of the burning houses; and a church, in which a great number of the besieged had taken post, with large stores of powder, blew up at midnight with a frightful explosion. At length, after a desperate conflict of thirteen hours duration, the whole palisades and outer walls were conquered by the Russians, and the besieged driven into the citadel. There they soon after capitulated, on condition of being allowed to retire to Erzeroum; and they soon after marched out in two columns, the regular soldiers with the proud air which the consciousness of a noble defense inspired, the armed inhabitants with the dejection consequent on the abandonment of their homes.¹

¹ Fonton, 357, 360.

This great conquest gave the Russians a solid base of operations within the Turkish territory; and the defeated Turks, unable to keep the field, were driven to take post on the lofty ridge of the Saganlugh, where they hoped to be able still to interrupt the enemy in his advance upon Erzeroum. This undertaking, however, appeared to the Russian general too extensive in the close of the campaign, and with an army weakened by so many glorious achievements. He contented himself, therefore, with the reduction of the intermediate forts of Alskhur and Ardagan, which capitulated in the beginning of September, and gave him the command of the entire country to the foot of the Saganlugh, and prepared every thing for the advance on Erzeroum in the following campaign. Meanwhile the bulk of his forces was advanced to Ardagan, which completed the communication with Kars, and established the Muscovites in the most secure manner in a triangle, of which the latter town was the apex, threatening the capital of Asia Minor.²

² Fonton, 365, 367.

Operations of minor magnitude, but still material for future operations, took place on the flanks of the Russian army before the winter set in. After the fall of Akhalzikh, Paskewitch received several offers of submission and alliance from the chiefs in the neighborhood, who, like all Asiatics, lost no time in ranging themselves on the side of success. These offers were accepted; the towns of Ossasghiti and Askani, on the right flank, were occupied, and the whole of the province of Guriel on the sea-coast ranged itself on the side of Russia; while on the left, a Russian division, under Prince Tehevtsevadze, had subdued the whole pachalie of Bajazeth, and stormed its principal fortresses. Relieved by these successes of all disquietude concerning his flanks, Paskewitch distributed his troops in winter-quarters, the excessive rains of autumn having rendered all further operations in the field impossible. He placed 2600 men in Akhalzikh, under Prince Bebutoff, and 2700 in Kars, under General Bergman. The rest of the troops repassed the frontier, and took up their quarters around Teflis, the capital of Georgia, where the general-in-chief fixed his head-quarters. They had good reason to be proud of their exploits, for they had conquered three pachalics, those of Kars, Akhalzikh, and Bajazeth, storm-

ed the three fortresses of these names, and taken, besides three strong castles, with 313 pieces of cannon, 195 standards, and 8000 prisoners! These successes had been gained by the main body, which never had more than 12,000 combatants, and the two wings, whose united force did not exceed 6000! Never had the superiority of the Europeans to the Asiatics been more clearly evinced; and it is still more surprising that the entire loss of the Russians in this most active campaign, by disease as well as the sword, was only 3200.¹

Notwithstanding the small amount of these losses, the forces at the disposal of Paskewitch were obviously inadequate to the extensive operations which the next campaign in Asia Minor would require. Although he had been reinforced by 4000 men during the winter, and the Emperor had ordered 20,000 conscripts to the Caucasus, yet they could not arrive before the middle of summer; and for the opening operations he could reckon only on 13,000 infantry and 3500 horse. In this dilemma, he resolved to embrace a measure which seemed bold, considering the religious character which the wars between the Russians and the Turks have always borne, but which the event entirely justified. This was to organize several Mohammedan corps of cavalry out of the nomad tribes in the provinces he had subdued, and lead them at once against the Mussulmans. This plan was immediately put into execution, and with the most entire success. Several corps of admirable horsemen were formed; and so popular did the service become, that the Pacha of Mush, a powerful chieftain, who had furnished twelve thousand irregular cavalry to the Porte, put his forces at the disposal of the Russian general. The required regiments were immediately completed, and their conduct, when led to battle against their co-religionists, proves that, except in periods of extraordinary fanatical excitement, the military spirit and sense of honor of the Asiatics prevail over their religious sympathies. The Mohammedan regiments were perfectly steady to the Russian colors; they proved valuable auxiliaries through the remainder of the war; they won for themselves a lasting place in the Emperor's service, and it was among them that the adroit horsemen were found, whose equestrian feats excited the astonishment of all the cavalry officers of Europe at the camp of Kalice, many years afterward.²

Thoroughly alarmed by the progress of the Muscovite general in Asia, the Sultan during the winter not only made the most vigorous defensive preparations, but set on foot measures calculated to recover some of his lost possessions. The Seraskier, Halil Pacha, and his lieutenant, Kiossa Mohammed Pacha, were both disgraced, and Hadgi-Saleh Pacha of Maidan, and Hagkhi Pacha of Sivaz, both men of tried vigor and courage, appointed in their stead. Saleh Pacha, inspired with the Sultan's vigor, commenced his government by a proclamation, in which he called on all true believers to take up arms in defense of the

¹ Fonton, 364, 373; Ann. Hist. xi. 108, 109; Doc. Hist.

² 83.

Paskewitch's plans, and formation of Mohammedan corps.

² 84.

Vigorous defensive measures of the Porte in Asia during the winter.

Crescent, and large sums of money sent from Constantinople enabled him to organize the tumultuary bands in a regular manner. Large depots of ammunition and provisions were formed at Erzeroum and Hassan-Kale, at the foot of the Saganlugh, and the fortifications of the former were greatly strengthened, while two hundred pieces of cannon lined its ramparts. The new levies were raised, drilled, and equipped with the utmost expedition, and out of the remains of the former army a corps of ten thousand regular troops was formed, to which an equal number of the new levies was joined. It was calculated that before the end of spring, including irregulars, eighty thousand men, with sixty-six pieces of cannon, would be assembled at the foot of the Saganlugh, to bar the road to Erzeroum, and even penetrate into the Russian province of Georgia, while the Pachas of Van and Mush, with fifty thousand men and fifty pieces of cannon, operated on their right flank against the pachalic of Bajazeth and Armenia. Great as these forces appear to be, the immense resources of the Turkish government in Asia,

¹ Fonton, 380, 381.

and the warlike spirit of its inhabitants, left little doubt that their hopes would be realized.¹

An atrocious event in Persia precipitated

^{85.} Assassination of the Russian minister at Teheran, and siege of Ak-halzikh by the Turks.

events before the preparations on the part of the Ottomans were complete. This was the assassination of the Russian minister at Teheran, which took place on February 12, 1829. As this melancholy catastrophe appeared to

prognosticate an immediate resumption of hostilities by Persia, it excited an immense sensation on both sides, and complicated in a most serious manner the position of the Russians to the south of the Caucasus. What might be expected if the whole military resources of Persia and Asia Minor, capable of mustering two hundred thousand combatants, were arrayed against the diminutive army of the Muscovites, which could not bring above twenty thousand effective men into the field? Reports were soon prevalent that an alliance, offensive and defensive, against their common enemy, was about to be concluded between the courts of Teheran and Constantinople. Influenced by these dangers, Paskewitch concentrated the bulk of his forces in the province of Erivan, and in those districts of Georgia which could be first menaced by Persia, on the left bank of the Araxes, having only slender garrisons in the fortresses conquered from the Turks. Symptoms of disaffection and rebellion appeared in the pachalics which had recently joined the Russian alliance. The Seraskier deemed this a favorable opportunity to strike a blow at Ak-halzikh, the recovery of which would completely derange the Russian plans for the succeeding campaign; and accordingly, having suddenly collected twenty thousand men, in the end of February he moved toward that town, and entered its suburbs on the 4th of March. The inhabitants, who were chiefly Mussulmans, with loud cries and indescribable

² Fonton, 384, 390; Ann. Hist. xi. 375, 376. enthusiasm united themselves to their co-religionists,² and both together advanced to the attack of the town, defended only by the regiment of Chir-

van and some companies of that of Kherson, not in all above two thousand combatants.

But this little garrison was a band of heroes, and they were under the command ^{86.} of Prince Bebutoff, who was worthy to lead them. Such was the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans, that they

ventured on a storm by escalade the moment the army entered the suburbs; and it was only after a severe conflict of an hour's duration that they were repulsed. The rage of the Mussulmans upon this exhaled in every species of ferocity against the unhappy Christians and Jews in the suburbs, who were brought out on the roofs of the houses, and barbarously murdered in sight of the Russian garrison, who were unable to render them any assistance. But the Turks had gained one important advantage, which well-nigh proved fatal to the besieged during the tumult of this assault. They had got possession of several houses adjoining the rampart, and overhanging it, which the humanity of the governor had prevented him from previously destroying, and which were almost the only ones which had escaped the conflagration in the first siege. Here the Ottomans took post in great numbers, and not only defied all attempts to dislodge them, but kept up an incessant fire of musketry on the rampart, against which the besieged had no protection. Meanwhile repeated attempts to penetrate into the place in this way were made; and the Turkish general, following in the traces of the Russians ¹ Fonton, 389, 391; in the first siege, began to push ap- Valentini, 369; Ann. Hist. xii. 377. proaches as much in the European style as their rude state of information would admit.¹

In this extremity Prince Bebutoff proposed a sortie to carry and destroy the ^{87.} houses; but this was deemed too Extreme dan- hazardous with their slender means, ger of the be- and it was resolved to elevate the sieged.

parapet by sacks of earth, raised so high as to ward off the fire from the houses, and guard against an irruption of assailants from them by double guards and increased vigilance. In spite of all their efforts, however, the situation of the garrison became every day more perilous. Hardly in sufficient force to guard the wide circuit of the walls from the assaults of the enemy, they were kept night and day on the watch, and worn out with incessant toil, combating at all points, amidst a season of extraordinary severity even in that rigorous climate. Ahmed Bey, who directed the besiegers, succeeded in commanding the approach to water, which afterward they could only reach during the night. So rigorous was the blockade, that of the numerous messengers sent from Arda- gan, Kars, and Akhalkalaki, not one reached the besieged, who saw themselves cut off apparently from all hope of succor, and hourly threatened with an assault from an enemy whom they had no adequate means of resisting. To add to their dangers, the melting of the snows swelled the torrent of the Kura to such a degree as to render it extremely difficult for the Russians to approach to raise the ² Fonton, 392, siege;² and orders had been sent 393; Valentini, 369; Ann. Hist. xii. 377. to the Turks who were besieging Alskhur to seize the defiles of

Bordjom, by which alone the fortress could be reached.

The besieged, worn out by incessant toil and fighting during fourteen days, and after having bravely repulsed an assault through a practicable breach which had been made, still repudiated all thoughts of a surrender. Such was the spirit with which they were animated, that there were no sick; the wounded insisted on being brought out to the ramparts, and, lying on their mattresses with their muskets by their side, took part in moments of danger in the fusilade. Such heroism at length met its reward. General Burtsdorff, who was intrusted with intercepting a large body of the enemy which was advancing to seize the defiles of Bordjom, disposed his troops so skillfully that he repulsed them, kept possession of that important defile, and drove them back to the neighborhood of Alskhur. The importance of this success was soon apparent. On the morning of the 16th, immediately after Prince Bebutoff had rejected a summons to surrender, on the assurance that the Russian force advancing to raise the siege had been destroyed, an unusual stir was observed in the Turkish lines; soon after the outposts were withdrawn, and it was evident that a general retreat had commenced. Bebutoff immediately sallied out with five companies and two guns to attack the retreating foe, and this was done with complete success. Before the Russians reached them, the Turks took to flight, and soon after dispersed. With difficulty Ahmed Bey rallied five hundred men and five guns as a rear-guard, which were immediately charged and taken by Bebutoff, and soon after not a vestige of the enemy was to be seen save in his devastations. The cause of this sudden flight was soon apparent. At two in the afternoon the heads of Burtsdorff's columns were seen on the heights on the road to Alskhur; soon after they passed with drums beating and colors flying through the yet smoking ruins of Akhalzikh, and, entering the gates of the fortress, threw themselves into the arms of their comrades.¹

During these glorious and interesting events, Paskewitch, with the bulk of his forces, kept a vigilant eye upon the Persians, from whom hostility was hourly to be apprehended. Persia had derived no advantage from the peace with Russia except the guarantee of Abbas Mirza's succession to the throne; and this had only rendered him an object of increased jealousy to his younger brother, by whom intrigues for his overthrow were fomented. The hostility of the Persians became ere long so decided, that the Russian consul at Tabriz without orders quitted his post, and interrupted the diplomatic relations of the courts of St. Petersburg and Teheran. But Paskewitch had struck the decisive blow by the relief of Akhalzikh. No sooner did the Persian government receive intelligence of that event than they changed their policy. Paskewitch addressed an energetic letter to Abbas Mirza, in which the innate jealousy of the Russians at the English in the East revealed itself,* and a successful repulse

of a fresh attempt upon Akhalzikh by General Burtsdorff at length terminated the indecision of the Persians. Their armaments were disbanded, and amicable relations restored with the court of St. Petersburg.¹

Relieved of all anxiety on the side of Persia, and having at length received considerable reinforcements dispatched by sea from Sevastopol, the Russian general made preparations for an active campaign against the Turks, with an army of 25,000 men and 76 guns, among whom were four admirable regiments of Mussulman horse recently raised in the service of Russia. The army of the Seraskier, 50,000 strong, was assembled at Hassan-Kale, at the foot of the southern slope of the Saganlugh, with an advanced guard in the intrenched camp on that mountain. The weather was still cold, the tops of the hills were covered with snow, and heavy rains impeded the movements of the troops in the valleys; but the circumstances were so urgent as to impose upon the Russian general the necessity of immediate operations. The enemy's plan was obviously to advance on Kars, or to attack the Russians when entangled in the defiles of the mountains. To counteract these designs, Paskewitch established his left wing under Pankratieff, three miles in front of Kars; the centre, under his immediate command, advanced to Ardagan, and encamped in the neighborhood of that place, which was strongly fortified, while the right, under Burtsdorff, rested on Akhalzikh. Every thing indicated that the Seraskier, with his vast army, meditated an attack on Kars; while Hadgi Pacha, with 15,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon, menaced Akhalzikh. Deeming the position of Pankratieff under the cannon of Kars unassailable, the Russian general wisely resolved to concentrate his forces on Hadgi Pacha's corps. With this view, orders were sent to Burtsdorff to march from Akhalzikh direct against him, while Mouravieff, detached from the centre with four battalions, 850 horse, and 14 guns, moved from Ardagan to threaten his flanks. The opposing parties came in sight on the 12th June. The two Russian divisions had only 5250 infantry, 1200 horse, and 22 guns; but notwithstanding the inferiority of force, they resolved to attack the enemy.²

Burtsdorff's division was first engaged, and he had a rude conflict to maintain with the enemy's horse, in the course of which the Russian squares were charged to the teeth by six thousand Turkish horse, and one was penetrated. At length, while they were with difficulty maintaining their ground against the increasing masses of the enemy, the guns of Mouravieff were heard on their flank, and the Turks, immediately desisting from the attack, shut themselves up in their intrenched camp. There they were attacked at daybreak

pas; leur politique n'a en vue que les intérêts de leurs possessions dans les Indes. Nous pouvons en Asie conquérir un royaume et personne ne s'en inquiète. En Europe chaque pouce de terrain peut donner lieu à des guerres sanglantes: la Turquie est nécessaire à l'équilibre Européen; mais les puissances de l'Europe ne regardent pas qui gouverne la Perse."—General PASKEWITCH à ABBAS MIRZA, 16 April, 1829. FONTON, 406, 407.

* "Ne comptez ni sur les promesses des Anglais ni sur les assertions des Turcs. Les Anglais ne vous défendront

May 13.
1 Fonton, 404,
410; An. Hist.
xii 377, 378.

90.
Opening of the
campaign with
the Turks

2 Fonton,
414, 418;
Valentini,
373, 374.

91.
Defeat of Had-
gi Hassan.
June 13.

June 14.

on the following day, and after a vigorous resistance the intrenchments were forced, and the enemy totally routed. The whole artillery of the Turks, with five standards, fell into the hands of the Russians, who only lost ninety men, while their opponents were weakened by twelve hundred in killed and prisoners, and their corps of fifteen thousand men was entirely dispersed. This success relieved Paskewitch from all anxiety concerning his right, and left him at liberty to concentrate his principal forces for the attack of the main army of the Ottomans, fifty thousand strong, under the Se-

¹ Valentini, raskier, which was strongly posted 373, 374; Fon- on the Saganlugh, barring all ap- ton, 414, 431. proach to Erzeroum.¹

Paskewitch's men were divided into three columns—the right, under Moura-
^{92.} vielf, consisted of 7160 infantry, Paskewitch's 1140 cavalry, and 28 guns; the left, dispositions, under Pankratieff, of 5175 infantry and position of the Turks. and 1145 cavalry, with 30 guns; the reserve of 3495 infantry, and 12 guns; in all about 18,000 men, including the artillerymen. With a force so inferior to the vast Mussulman host, it was no easy matter to force the passage of the Saganlugh. Two roads only traversed that lofty chain, which unite on their southern side at a bridge over the Araxes. The first, which is fifty miles in length, passes by the pass of Milli-Duz, on the summit of the range; the second, which is called the road of Zevinn, is of greater length, being sixty-five miles long. The mountain range which these roads traverse is above six thousand feet high, so that the snow lies on its summits till far in summer; and the approaches to it present innumerable positions of the utmost strength, where a stand may be made against an invading enemy. The whole lower sides of the mountains are covered with thick woods of pine and larch, intersected by deep and rocky ravines, which rendered all attempts at passage, except by one or other of these routes, utterly impracticable. The Seraskier, who had the command-in-chief, had stationed Hadgi Pacha, with twenty thousand men, in the first of these passes, which goes by Milli-Duz, while he himself, with thirty thousand, was moving up from Erzeroum to occupy the longer route by Zevinn. From the magnitude of the Mus-

sulman force in both passes, the fame of the
² Fonton, 419, generals who commanded it, and 423; Valentini, the great strength of the positions they occupied, not a doubt 375, 376; Pas- was entertained that any attempt kewitch's Dis- was force them would terminate in patch, June 23 (o s.), 1829; the destruction of the Russian Ann. Hist. xii. army.² 31, Doc. Hist.

Every thing depended upon Paskewitch suc-
^{93.} ceeding in attacking the enemy's Paskewitch's corps separately, because if they plan of attack. were united, or acting in co-operation, the magnitude of their forces and the strength of their positions precluded all hopes of success. To accomplish this object he determined upon an immediate attack on Hadgi Pacha, not by the road of Milli-Duz, which, from its comparative shortness, promised the greatest chance of effecting the object, but by a circuitous march on Zevinn. It was attended with no small danger, as, by making the march in

that direction, he abandoned his communica-
 tions with Kars, and his whole base of opera-
 tions; but it promised such advantages that
 the Russian general did not hesitate to adopt
 it. As he had abandoned his communications,
 he made every soldier carry with him bread for
 five days, and each piece of cannon was only
 allowed one caisson. The better to conceal his
 real design, he made great demonstrations
 against the enemy's camp at Milli-Duz, and
 even ordered a simulate attack on it by four
 thousand men, under General Burtzdorff. While
 the attention of the Turks was entirely occupied
 with the assault which they hourly expected
 in that direction, the general-in-chief, with the
 main body and the reserve, fourteen thousand
 strong, with fifty guns, defiled at nightfall in
 silence by the right, in the direction of Zevinn.
 Ten half battalions, with the whole baggage-
 wagons, three thousand in number, covered
 this movement, and concealed it from the en-
 emy, whose attention was entirely occupied
 with a nocturnal attack made on them with
 the utmost skill by Burtzdorff. With such ex-
 pedition did the troops march, that they went
 over a distance of thirty-two miles, and crossed
 two snowy ridges, before they called a halt!
 But the object was gained—the pass was gained
 before the Seraskier came up to occupy it;
 and at nine o'clock on the follow-
 ing morning the Russians were
 established in force on the south-
 ern slope of the mountain, be-
 tween the camp of Hadgi Pacha
 and Erzeroum.¹

¹ Fonton, 427,
 429; Valentini,
 376, 377; Pas-
 kewitch's Dis-
 patch, Ann.
 Hist. xii. 84,
 85; Doc. Hist.

The ridge of the Saganlugh was now sur-
 mounted; but the intrenched camp
 of Hadgi Pacha was not yet forced,
 nor the army of the Seraskier de-
 feated; and till one or other or
 both of these things were done, it was impos-
 sible to advance against Erzeroum. The camp
 of Milli-Duz was as strong in flank as in front;
 it was impossible to assault it before the heavy
 artillery and reserve parks came up, and mean-
 while an attack might daily be expected from
 the Seraskier, with thirty thousand men, com-
 ing up from the south, aided by a sally of
 Hadgi Pacha with twenty thousand from the
 intrenched camp. In these critical circum-
 stances, Paskewitch adopted the same resolu-
 tion which Frederick the Great or Napoleon
 would have done in a similar situation; he re-
 solved to direct his forces in the first instance
 against the most formidable of his opponents,
 and take advantage of his central position be-
 tween them, to destroy first one and then the
 other of the corps opposed to him. To do this,
 however, it was necessary to secure the passage
 of the mountains by his baggage and parks,
 which had necessarily fallen behind during the
 excessive rapidity of the preceding march; and
 for some days his whole attention was directed
 to this object. Hadgi Pacha detached twelve
 hundred men under Osman Pacha to occupy
 the defile through which they had to pass; and
 a bloody conflict ensued between them and a
 Russian detachment, under Colonel Fridrichs,
 which was intrusted with covering the march.
 The Turks, however, were at length defeated, and
 driven headlong down the precipices into the
 torrents raging by which the road was border-

^{94.} Subsequent
 movements of
 Paskewitch.

ed; and the train having been all got through and joined the main body, Burtsdorff was also called in; and the whole Russian army, entirely abandoning its communications, was concentrated on the southern slope of the Sagan-lugh, under the general-in-chief in person.¹

Having now surmounted the chain, and concentrated his troops, Paskewitch lost no time in leading them against the Seraskier, who was approaching from the south. It was high time he should do so, for the two Turkish armies, now not more than thirty-five miles from each other, were rapidly approaching a junction, which they could easily effect by a concentric movement upon Zevinn. If the attack was delayed even a day, he was liable, while contending with the Seraskier in front, to be assailed in flank by Hadgi Pacha with the forces in the intrenched camp, now become entirely disposable by Burtsdorff having been called in. Accordingly, every thing was prepared for an attack on the Seraskier on the morning of the 1st of July. The advance took place by the right, headed by Mouravieff, with four battalions, a brigade of cavalry, and twenty guns; behind him came the immense baggage-train, flanked by two battalions on one side, on the other covered by an impassable ravine; in the rear of them was the main body, consisting of seven battalions, two Cossack regiments, and twenty-four guns; three battalions closed the march and brought up the rear. This was just the order of march observed by Cæsar, when near the enemy, in the wars in Gaul.*

The times were changed since Korsakoff, in the retreat of the Russians from Zurich in 1799, placed the infantry in solid squares in front, the cavalry in the centre, and the artillery and baggage in the rear.²

At ten in the morning the Russian advanced guard first descried some bodies of Turkish horsemen on the road to Erzeroum. Paskewitch immediately reinforced his advanced guard by three battalions and ten guns; and as this gave him a momentary superiority on the great road over the enemy, he resolved to hazard an instant attack before Hadgi Pacha, from the intrenched camp, had time to assail his flank. The baggage-trains and parks, accordingly, were left on the summit of the Tehakhir-Baba, strongly barricaded, and guarded by three thousand men, with eight guns. The remainder of the troops descended into the plain, where they were drawn up in two columns in order of battle, at the distance of two miles from the foot of the mountains. The troops were arranged, in the usual order adopted by the Russian general, in squares of half battalions, with the artillery in the intervals of the infantry, and the cavalry on the flanks or rear. The Turks soon approached

in immense masses, and with loud cries threw themselves on the Russian squares opposed to them; and no sooner was the conflict in front seriously engaged than the horsemen of Hadgi Pacha, six thousand strong, were seen descending from a hollow in the heights of Milli-Duz, and they immediately commenced a furious attack on the Russian left, under the orders of Burtsdorff. So vigorous was the onset that it required all the firmness of his veterans in their squares to repel, by a rolling fire and with fixed bayonets, the dreadful charge. "In an instant," says Paskewitch, "the Turks charged us with inconceivable audacity; their tirailleurs at every instant penetrated into the line of ours, who were obliged to resist them with the bayonet: they threw themselves on the battalions in squares, and were only repulsed by a ceaseless rolling fire which issued from their ranks."¹

To support this vigorous onset, and entirely destroy the Russian left, the Turks successively withdrew several battalions from their centre. The eagle eye of Paskewitch, like that of Wellington at Salamanca, immediately discovered this false movement, and he prepared to take advantage of it. He ordered a general attack of infantry, supported by eight guns and the Cossack horse, on the now weakened enemy's centre, and entirely broke it. But while this great success was gained in the centre, Burtsdorff had the utmost difficulty in maintaining himself against the masses of the Turkish cavalry on the left, which, despite the rolling fire of the squares, broke into the intervals between them, and cut down the Russian gunners at the side of their pieces, which were immediately silenced. All seemed lost in that quarter; but fortunately Pankratieff, seeing, from the heights of Tehakhir-Baba, where he was barricaded behind the baggage-wagons, the imminent danger of Burtsdorff, detached a brigade of irregular cavalry along the crest of the ridge to descend on the Turkish rear. In spite of the rugged nature of the ground, this movement was executed by these hardy horsemen with entire success. Concealed for the greater part of the way by intervening rocks, the Russian horse got unperceived close into the Turkish rear, and then with a loud hurrah suddenly broke in upon them. At the same time, General Sacken, with the regular cavalry, turned the left flank of the same division, and threatened to cut them off from Milli-Duz. A sudden panic immediately seized the whole Turkish right and centre, which fled and dispersed, leaving the field in possession of the Russians, who took advantage of this success to bring down the baggage and train under Pankratieff to the valley beside the main body of the troops.²

The work of the Russian general, however, was only half done. The corps with which he had contended were only the cavalry of the Seraskier and the corps of Hadgi Pacha; the infantry and main body of the former's forces were yet to fight. Eighteen thousand foot were to arrive during

* "Quum ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine suâ, Cæsar sex legiones expeditas ducebat; post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat; inde duæ legiones quæ promixte conscripta erant totum agmen claudabant, præsidioque impedimentis erant."—CÆSAR, *de Bello Gallico*, ii. 19.

¹ Paskewitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 85; Fonton, 444, 445; Valentini, 377, 378.

^{97.} Success of the Russians in the centre and on the left.

² Paskewitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 85; Valentini, 378, 379; Fonton, 447, 449.

^{98.} Defeat of the Seraskier.

the night; and the Seraskier, little anticipating any further attack, took up a strong position with the troops that were yet unbroken a little in the rear, to await their arrival, and give battle on the following day. But Paskewitch, having learned the approach of reinforcements to the enemy so considerable, which would render their forces quadruple of his own, had no intention of waiting till he was overwhelmed, but resolved to attack them, before they came up, *that very night*. Having given his troops a few hours' rest, accordingly, he again led them out to the attack at four in the afternoon; and, as the Russian left was now entirely secured against any attack from the side of the intrenched camp, he was able to bring a preponderating force against the Seraskier's position. At a signal given, the troops, now arranged in dense masses, with the bands of all the regiments playing, advanced to the attack. On this occasion, though their guns kept up a vigorous fire on the columns as they approached, the Turkish infantry made very little resistance. Paskewitch himself, at the head of all the cavalry, appeared on their flank, and, riding over the intrenchments, which were only begun to be thrown up, broke into the camp. Upon this a general rout took place. The Turks broke, dispersed, and fled on all sides. Paskewitch, having stationed a body of men at the entrance of the defiles leading down from Milli-Duz, to prevent any attack from that quarter, continued the pursuit with the utmost vigor till it was dark. Twelve guns, the whole baggage and ammunition of the army, and five hundred prisoners, were taken during the pursuit; and such was the consternation of the Seraskier, that he was the third man who brought to Hasan-Kale, the head-quarters in the rear, the intelligence of his own defeat.¹

Still there remained the intrenched camp at Milli-Duz to storm, where Hadgi Pacha had collected eighteen thousand men after his repulse, in a position as strong as art and nature could make it. But Paskewitch, who, like Cesar, deemed nothing done while anything remained to do, determined to attack it before the Seraskier's corps had recovered from the consternation of their defeat, and could give him any annoyance. Accordingly, at seven next morning the troops were led back to the assault of the intrenched camp. After toiling up the steep ravines which led to it, the Russians, when they reached the plateau on the summit, beheld the intrenchments bristling with guns, and defended by a numerous mass of infantry and cavalry, whose bayonets and turbans appeared above the embrasures of the guns. The Russians had 6743 foot, 4750 horse, and thirty-six guns. When they first appeared on the plateau, the Turks were ignorant of the defeat of the Seraskier; but Paskewitch took care that they should be informed of it by means of a deserter, while he was waiting the arrival of his heavy artillery, which was toiling up the steep. As soon as they learned it, the utmost discouragement seized the Turks, who began to disband and leave the camp; while Hadgi Pacha, seeing himself cut off from all succor, pro-

posed to capitulate. The Russian general, however, insisted on a surrender at discretion, which being refused, the assault was ordered. The assailants were divided into four columns, headed by the general-in-chief in person, Pankratieff, Mouravieff, and Sacken. They all proved successful. The assault was made with such vigor by Paskewitch and Mouravieff, that the Turks, after discharging their pieces, turned about and fled, leaving the other columns nothing but the pursuit. The camp, with nineteen pieces of cannon, eighteen standards, and twelve hundred prisoners, were taken on the spot, two thousand slain, and the army entirely dispersed. Hadgi Pacha himself, with his whole suite, was among the captives. Being brought before the Russian general, he said, in a noble spirit, "The fate of arms is inconstant; a few hours ago I commanded an army of twenty thousand men—now, to my shame, I am your prisoner; but your name is revered among us because of your great qualities; and it is said if you know how to conquer, you know also how to forgive. I trust myself to your magnanimity." Paskewitch showed himself not unworthy of the appeal. He treated him with distinction, and assured him of the protection of the emperor.¹

Thus in less than twenty-five hours the Russian army had marched thirty-five miles, beaten and entirely dispersed two Turkish armies, each of which was more than double its own strength; taken one of the generals, two pachas, both camps, twenty-eight guns, nineteen standards, three thousand prisoners, and their whole ammunition and provisions, with the loss of less than two hundred men. History furnishes few examples of success so brilliant and decisive, and so obviously the result of superiority in generalship and tactics. It reminds us of the days of Alexander the Great and Pompey, when small European forces, admirably led and disciplined, and inured to war, overthrew forces five times more numerous of the Asiatic monarchies. The campaigns of Napoleon in Italy in 1796, and France in 1814, which they very much resemble from the skillful use made of a central position, and the wonderful effects of rapidity of movement, present no results more striking or more demonstrative of the talents of the general-in-chief.²

Paskewitch had profoundly studied ancient history, and his own experience in the wars of Persia had taught him that the character of the Asiatic people was unchanged; that still, as in the days of Cyrus or Mithridates, they passed rapidly from one extreme to another; and that entire nations were ready, on decisive events, to range themselves in willing multitudes around the banner of the victor. He set himself, accordingly, in the most vigorous manner, to improve his success, and strike a decisive blow, before the excitable minds of the Asiatics had recovered from their consternation. The position of the Seraskier had become desperate. Of his late immense host only ten thousand horse could be assembled at Hassan-Kale, all in the deepest

¹ Fonton, 450, 453; Valentini, 379, 381; Paskewitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 84, 85.

^{99.} Storming of the intrenched camp at Milli-Duz. July 1.

100. Results of these conflicts.

² Fonton, 460, 461.

101. Advance of Paskewitch against Hassan-Kale, and its fall.

state of dejection; and with these he despaired of defending its walls against his enterprising enemy. Accordingly, when the Russian outposts, under General Burtsdorff, approached the fortress, he made his dispositions to evacuate it, and withdraw to Erzeroum. When they descended the valleys on the southern side of the Saganlugh, toward the Araxes, they speedily felt the change of climate, and the troops, which had recently shivered on the edge of perennial snows, now were melting under the rays of a burning sun. On their approach the troops of the Seraskier mutinied, and, disbanding, fled in all directions. The Russians crossed the Araxes by a noble bridge of seven arches, still entire, constructed by Darius Hystaspes, and speedily took possession of the abandoned fortress, where they found twenty-nine guns, and immense stores inclosed within the walls, which dated from the days of the Romans. Situated on a lofty rock, which commands the whole valley of the Araxes, it is the key of that valley, and may be considered as the principal outwork of Erzeroum.¹

The advance of the Russians and capture of Hassan-Kale spread the utmost consternation in that capital. The populace loudly clamored for immediate submission; but the troops still stood firm, and the walls were lined with numerous defenders, apparently bent on a resolute defense. Paskewitch, however, rapidly approached; on the 19th his advanced guard appeared before the capital, and on the day following he himself arrived, with the guns and bulk of his forces. Conferences soon began for the surrender of the place; but as the enemy seemed to be only striving to gain time, he ordered an immediate attack on Top-Dagh, a fortified rocky eminence, commanding both the citadel and the entire town. The Russians advanced to the attack with drums beating and colors flying, and the Turks were so intimidated by their aspect that, without attempting any resistance, they abandoned the post, and fled into the city. This success was decisive of the fate of Erzeroum; further resistance was impossible, for the guns from Top-Dagh commanded every part of the town. A capitulation, accordingly, was agreed on, and the Russian troops entered the capital of Asia Minor on the anniversary of the battle of Pultowa. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, six standards, the Seraskier's baton, and immense stores of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors, and the Russian standards waved on the ramparts of the capital of the Turkish empire in Asia.²

The Russians, however, were not allowed to remain long in the quiet possession of their conquest. The pachalic of Barmouvements, as a glance at the map will demonstrate, was extrinsic to the line of operations, and being pushed far into the enemy's territories, lay exposed to his attacks, the more especially as the garrison, of fifteen hundred Russian and a thousand Armenian levies, was hardly adequate to its defense. Encouraged by these circumstances, and anticipating an easy conquest, the Pacha of Van, in the begin-

ning of June, collected ten thousand men, with which he laid siege to the town. The Turks at first gained such success that the fall of the place appeared certain. They penetrated, after several assaults, into the works, and made themselves masters of two bastions and several guns. General Popoff, the governor, June 21. deeming further resistance useless, proposed to evacuate the place; but General Panatine, the second in command, though wounded, combated this proposal so strongly that it was resolved to continue the defense. They concentrated the garrison, accordingly, in the strongest points of the town which still July 1. remained to them, and there made so vigorous a defense that the Turks, after having been repulsed with great slaughter in several assaults, were compelled to raise the siege, after having lost two thousand men before the place; but one-third of the heroic garrison had fallen during the defense.¹

So rapid had been the advance upon Erzeroum, and so immediate the success, that the Russian reserves were still far in the rear when the place fell, and Paskewitch was obliged to suspend his operations till their arrival. He turned this necessary delay to good account, by strengthening his position in that capital, and establishing there a central government, under the protection of Russia, which might turn the resources of the conquered provinces to good account. His administrative measures were so judicious that they gave universal satisfaction, and won for him the confidence of all classes of citizens. So wide-spread was the reputation of his probity and just administration, that it soon procured for him the submission of distant provinces, which had never yet been visited by the Russian arms. Among the rest, the Pacha of Mush gave in his adhesion, and withdrew his troops from the Turkish service; and the inhabitants of Baibout, a town situated seventy miles from the Russian headquarters, made offers of submission. Paskewitch at first hesitated to accept them, owing to the distance; but having received intelligence that the Seraskier was levying troops there, he changed his resolution, and sent General Burtsdorff, with two thousand men, to occupy the place. At his approach the Turks, five thousand strong, dispersed, and evacuated the fortress, which was occupied without resistance. This acquisition was of importance, both from its intrinsic strength, and as opening the road to Trebizond and the shores of the Black Sea.²

The reserves having at length arrived, Paskewitch, after three weeks' inaction, resolved to recommence operations. His advance was accelerated by a severe check which Burtsdorff's division received in an attack upon the fortress of Khart, which was repulsed with the loss of sixty killed and two hundred and seventy wounded — among the latter of which was Burtsdorff himself, who was struck in the breast by a pistol-shot as he was seizing a standard. This disaster opened the eyes of Paskewitch to the danger of any further extension of his operations with the limited force at his disposal; but

¹ Fonton, 476, 484; Valentin, 389, 390.

^{104.} Submission of the Pacha of Mush, and of Baibout.

^{102.} Fall of Erzeroum. July 20.

² Fonton, 470, 476.

^{103.} Further movements.

^{105.} Disaster before Khart. July 19.

at the same time he saw the necessity of a vigorous stroke to re-establish the lustre of the Russian arms, which in all wars, but especially those of Asia, is so important an element in success. No sooner, accordingly, did he hear of the disaster of his lieutenant, than, collecting all the disposable forces at his command, he set out himself against Khart. The Lazes, twelve thousand strong, who formed the militia of the country, collected in great force at his approach, and, flushed with their former victory, prepared to defend the place to the last extremity. They were posted in an intrenched camp resting on the town; but notwithstanding the strength of the position, and the valor of the Mussulmans, they were utterly routed and dispersed, and the town taken. This important victory insured the immediate submission of all the neighboring tribes, and opened to the Russians the roads to the important harbors of Livaz and Trebizond.¹

Notwithstanding this success, and the brilliant prospect of getting the command of the whole sea-coast from Trebizond to Batoum thus opened to him, which would have established his communication with the sea of which the Russians were masters, Paskewitch felt the necessity of checking his advance, and securing the conquests he had made, before attempting fresh ones. The better to conceal his design, he detached two columns toward the sea-coast, which were entirely successful, and drove the Turks in confusion before them. The fortress of Ghumicol-Kane was occupied without firing a shot, and the light horse were pushed almost to the gates of Trebizond. But the attack on that place could not have been hazarded, without at least five thousand men, and such a force could not be spared in the present divided state of the army. The general-in-chief therefore withdrew the bulk of his forces to Erzeroum, and evacuated Baibout, after having blown up its fortifications.²

While Paskewitch was adopting this wise resolution, General Pankratieff had resumed operations with vigor in Gurriel, and on the shores of the Black Sea. Surmounting precipices and passing by roads deemed impracticable, he attacked and totally defeated eight thousand Turks in the defiles of Mukha-Estatt, taking sixty-eight guns and five hundred prisoners. At the news of this defeat, all resistance ceased in Gurriel, and the armed bands in that quarter dispersed. But an expedition, undertaken by General Sacken, the governor of Akhalzikh, against another mountain chief of Adjar, failed from the insurmountable difficulties of the rocky heights in which the enemy had taken post; and soon after another expedition against Tsikhedjeri, an important hill-fort near Batoum, was repulsed with the loss of seven hundred men.³

These checks, and the commencement of the autumnal rains, which set in early and with great severity that year, induced the Russian general to make preparations for withdraw-

ing to his winter-quarters in Georgia, leaving only garrisons in the towns which had been conquered. No sooner did this become known than the Seraskier announced the immediate retreat of the Russians from Erzeroum, and the abandonment of all their conquests. He succeeded in this way in again rousing the Lazes and Kurds to take up arms, who, like other Asiatics, pass easily from one extreme to another, and are as rapidly elevated by success as they are depressed by defeat; and Osman Pacha was soon at the head of ten thousand men at Baibout, and six thousand more were assembled at Tiflis, while on his other flank a large force was collecting under the orders of the Pacha of Van. Informed of these preparations, and desirous of striking a decisive blow before he withdrew into Georgia, and left the conquered fortresses to their own resources, Paskewitch continued his preparations as for a general retreat, while he was in reality concentrating his forces for a final blow. At length, having got a sufficient force in hand, and deeming the enemy so far assembled that the moment for action had arrived, he dispatched a small covering force to keep in check the Pacha of Van on his left flank, and marched himself with the bulk of his forces, consisting of six thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and thirty guns, in two columns against Baibout. Having skillfully interposed one of his columns between the forces posted at Baibout and those at Tiflis, he conducted the attacks in person on the former of these places. It was garrisoned by twelve thousand men, strongly posted in an intrenched camp, armed with redoubts, and amply provided with artillery.¹

Relying on their decided superiority of forces, which was above two to one, the Turks, on the approach of the Russians, sallied out of their intrenchments, and themselves commenced the attack. Paskewitch instantly saw his advantage, and turned it to the best account. Forming his troops into two columns, he led them in double-quick time against the enemy. The Ottomans no sooner saw the intrepid countenance of the Russians, than, without awaiting the shock, they took to flight, and rushed back in confusion to their intrenchments, so closely followed by the Muscovites that they could not fire the guns on them for fear of striking down their own men. Thus victors and vanquished entered the redoubts together, which, with all their artillery, remained in the hands of the Russians. The whole army upon this took to flight, closely followed by the cavalry and Cossacks of Paskewitch, who continued the pursuit till they were entirely dispersed. In this brilliant affair the Turks lost seven hundred killed, twelve hundred prisoners, six guns, and twelve standards, while the total casualties of the Russians did not exceed a hundred men. After the battle was over, the Seraskier came up with the reserve, ten thousand strong; but seeing the entire destruction of the corps first engaged, he hastily withdrew to Balakhor.² Baibout remained in the hands of the Russians;

¹ Fonton, 491, 499; Valentini, 391, 392; Paskewitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 93, 94; Doc. Hist.

² 106. Retreat of Paskewitch to Erzeroum. August 21.

³ Fonton, 501, 509; Ann. Hist. xii. 93, 94; Doc. Hist. xii. 385.

^{107.} Defeat of the Turks in Gurriel, and subsequent checks of the Russians. August 14.

Aug. 28.

Sept. 18.

³ Fonton, 509, 516.

108. Advance of Paskewitch against Baibout.

¹ Fonton, 516, 525; Paskewitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 84, 87.

^{109.} Total defeat of the Turks, and termination of the campaign. September 28.

² Fonton, 516, 529; Russian Bulletin, Nov. 17; Ann. Hist. xii. 102.

but it was little more than a heap of ruins, for the inhabitants fled with the Turks, and their houses, which took fire during the conflict, were almost entirely consumed before the entrance of Paskewitch's men could be effected.

This was the last action of the campaign.

110. Conclusion of an armistice, and summary of the campaign. October 17. Immediately afterward, dispatches were received by both parties announcing the conclusion of a convention between General Diebitch and the Grand Vizier, with a view to the conclusion of a peace, at Adrianople. Hostilities immediately ceased on both sides; and Paskewitch, after leaving garrisons in the conquered towns, led back the remainder of his forces to their winter-quarters in Georgia. In recrossing the Saganlugh, on the 17th October, he met the courier of the Emperor, who brought him the baton of a field-marshal. Never was the honor more worthily bestowed. In the space of four months he had, with a force which never could muster twenty thousand combatants in the field, marched two hundred and fifty German miles, beaten and dispersed three Turkish armies, each double the strength of his own, carried by storm several intrenched camps and four strong fortresses, conquered the capital of Asia Minor and two entire pachalics, taken two hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon and sixty-five standards, and made prisoner the Turkish general-in-chief, and three thousand soldiers! These brilliant successes had been achieved with the loss only of four thousand men in killed, wounded, prisoners, and by sickness—a number singularly small, when it is recollected that, during the whole course of the campaign, the plague raged in several of the towns which were taken. These great results were gained entirely by the admirable strategical skill of the general, and the courage and perseverance of his followers. The annals of Rome in ancient, of the British conquests in India in modern times, contain no more memorable story illustrative of the ascend-

1 Fouton, 527, 532; Ann. Hist. xii. 105. eney of mind over matter, of intelligence, combination, and genius, over a vast superiority of physical strength.¹

While Asia Minor was the theatre of these glorious exploits, events, perhaps less distinguished by military talent, but still more momentous in their consequences, took place in European Turkey. The forces of either party had there been much weakened by the losses of the preceding campaign; but great efforts were made on both sides to recruit during the winter. The Turks were so much reduced by the departure of their troops to visit their homes, according to their usual custom in winter, that scarce ten thousand men remained in Schumla; and an expedition which the Grand Vizier undertook, with six thousand, against Pravadi, in the end

111. Preparations of the Turks for the campaign in Turkey in Europe. Nov. 28. of November, led to no result. The Mussulmans returned in crowds to their standards, however, when spring came back, and the Grand Vizier, in the beginning of March, had forty thousand men in the intrenched camp around Schumla; and the most pressing orders were sent to the Pachas of Widdin, Janina, Adrianople, and Scutari, to hasten to the scene

of action with all their forces. Had they duly obeyed the summons, and brought their contingents into the field, there would have been two hundred thousand Ottomans to defend the line of the Balkan, and the Russians would have attempted in vain to cross it. But some held back from disaffection, part from the indelible tardiness of the Ottoman character. The Pacha of Widdin delayed obviously from treachery; and the Pacha of Scodra, who should have appeared with thirty thousand men, did not come up till the campaign was over. It was too evident that, in Europe as in Asia, the deadly feud with the janizaries had paralyzed great part of the strength of the empire. The result was, that the Turks had not above a hundred thousand men altogether in arms in Europe to meet the first shock of war, and above half of this force was absorbed in the fortresses on the Danube. Of the forty thousand in Schumla a great part were new levies, who had never seen service, and had been broke into it by a discipline which they detested. Many of them, instead of the honorable wounds received in war, bore on their faces and shoulders the marks of the blows recently inflicted by the drill-sergeants in the course of instructing them in the rudiments of the military art—an indignity which an old janizary or spahi would have instantly resented with the death of his tormentor.¹

The Russians turned the breathing-time afforded them by the cessation of hostilities in winter to much better account; and the length of time which the war had now lasted had enabled them to bring up their distant forces and reserves to the theatre of war. The vast array of a hundred and fifty-eight thousand men, which had crossed the Danube in the course of the preceding campaign, had melted away to half that number before its close, by fatigue, sickness, and the sword. Of these forty thousand, under General Roth, lay between Hirchova, Pravadi, and Varna; fifteen thousand, under General Geismar, were in Little Wallachia, and the remainder in observation before the fortresses still held by the Turks on the Danube, or in keeping up the communications. This force was obviously inadequate to attempt any offensive movement against an enemy so strongly posted as the Turks were on the Danube and the Balkan; but before the winter was over they received very great reinforcements. No less than a hundred and twenty thousand men, on paper at least, were drawn from the army of the south, under General Sacken, and twenty thousand hardy Cossacks came up from Bessarabia. At least a third, however, must be deducted from these numbers for non-effective, and if to this the losses from sickness and fatigue are added, it may fairly be concluded that seventy thousand effective men were added to the Russian army. Thus they began the campaign with at least a hundred and fifty thousand men in Bulgaria and on the line of the Danube—an immense force, considering its discipline and experience, the command of the sea which it possessed, and the prestige derived from a long series of victories it enjoyed. It had with it five hundred and forty guns, and provisions for

¹ Valentini, 397, 403.

112. Preparations of the Russians.

the immense host for two months were stored on the Danube. Add to this, that its generals had become acquainted, by the experience of the preceding campaign, with the tactics and mode of combating the Turks, and that the army was incomparably better provided with camels, horses, magazines, stores, and implements requisite for the war, than it had ever been on any former occasion.¹

Encouraged by the growing superiority of their force, the Russian generals were tempted during the winter to undertake some minor operations on the coast, which were not without their influence on the general issue of the campaign, and might have revealed to the Turkish generals the quarter in which the most serious effort against them was to be expected. Count Langeron, so well known in the last war between Russia and France, having collected eight thousand men in the end of January,

made an attack on the Turkish entrenched posts at Kale and Turnoid, on the left bank of the Danube, between Roudschuck and Widdin. The first was taken with thirty guns in the first assault; the second held out, but was at length reduced by regular approaches on the 11th February. Ninety-eight

pieces of cannon fell into their hands on the walls; the garrison, two thousand five hundred strong, was permitted to retire to Roudschuck. This success led to the capture of a flotilla of thirty gun-boats on the Danube, near Nicopolis, a few days after, which

gave them the entire command of that portion of the river. A still more important acquisition was the castle of Sizopolis, a stronghold situated on a rock projecting into the Black Sea, a little to the south of the Bay of Bourgas, at the eastern end of the Balkan. It yielded in a few hours to the simple cannonade of some Russian vessels of war, the garrison, consisting of one thousand Albanians, having evacuated

the place. The Russians immediately landed, took possession of the fort, and strengthened its works, too happy to become so easily masters of a little Gibraltar, on the sea-coast, within the vaunted line of the Balkan.²

The success of Wittgenstein in the preceding campaign against the Turks in Eu-

rope had not been such as to justify his being retained in the command. He was allowed to retire accordingly; a step rested on his age and infirmities; and he received for his successor Count Diebitch, the chief of his staff, whose great abilities and success in the succeeding campaign fully justified the Emperor's choice.* Witt-

genstein retired in February, with the thanks of the Emperor for "his distinguished services in the career of glory, and for those which he had rendered in the preceding winter, by organizing the army in such a manner as to insure victory in the succeeding campaign." Diebitch, in an order of the day, at the same time, in announcing his taking the command, expressed himself in flattering terms to his respectable predecessor, "whose advanced years deprived him of the pleasure of again combating the enemy; but nothing is impossible to the Russian warriors, when they combat for their faith, their honor, and their country."¹

The decisive superiority of the Russians at sea, both in the Mediterranean and the Euxine, gave them a very great advantage, which threatened to starve Constantinople itself into an early submission, and deprived the Turks of all possibility of transporting their troops or magazines by water; a difficulty of the very greatest magnitude in a country so destitute of practicable roads as Turkey, both in Europe and Asia. Admiral Greig, with nine sail of the line, five frigates, and twenty-eight corvettes, carrying 1556 guns, blockaded the Bosphorus; while Admiral Hamelin, with eight sail of the line, seven frigates, and seventeen

was decorated by the orders of St. George of Russia and of Merit in Prussia. After the peace of Tilsit, he profited by his leisure to study the military art, especially strategy, in which he soon made such progress as procured for him a situation on the staff. In the war of 1812 he was attached to Wittgenstein's corps, and distinguished himself on the 18th October in the defense of a bridge, which preserved from destruction an entire corps, and won for him the rank of major-general. In the retreat he followed the Prussian general D'York with eighteen hundred horse, and by his prudent conduct contributed much to the important defection of that general with his corps, which ensued. In 1813 he was made chief of the staff to Wittgenstein, then in command of the grand allied army, a situation of the very highest importance; and he was one of those who conducted the secret treaty of Reichenbach, concluded on 14th June, 1813, between the allied powers. He evinced great talents at the battle of Dresden, where he had a horse shot under him; and distinguished himself so much at the battle of Leipsic, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general by the Emperor Alexander in person on the field of battle. In the campaign of 1813, when the memorable conference took place to consider whether the Allies should advance to Paris, when Napoleon moved on Arcis-sur-Aube, he was one of those who most strenuously supported the advance to the French capital which led to such important results. Arrived on the heights of Montmartre, Alexander publicly embraced him, and decorated him with the order of St. Alexander Newski. After the peace of 1814 he returned to St. Petersburg, where he married a niece of Barclay de Tolly, and was soon after summoned to the Congress of Vienna, and appointed chief of the staff of the first army. After this he became so great a favorite with Alexander that he accompanied him on all his travels, and attended his death-bed at Taganrog in 1825. He was, from his devotion to the imperial family, singled out for the peculiar vengeance of the conspirators at that time, and was to have been carried off or dispatched with the Emperor and Grand Duke. On occasion of the revolt of the guards at St. Petersburg, he exhibited a rare combination of talent and prudence; and he was dispatched afterward to Moscow, to attend the remains of the Emperor Alexander to St. Petersburg. When the war broke out in 1828, he was appointed chief of the staff to Wittgenstein's army; and in February 1829, to succeed him in the chief command. His strategical talents were very great, and have won for him a lasting place in European fame; and his coolness and courage were *à toute épreuve*. But his disposition was warm, and his temper irritable, which sometimes led him into excesses; and in the end, as will appear in the sequel, occasioned his death in the prime of life.—See *Biographie Universelle, Supplement*, lxii. 470, 471 (DIEBITCH.)

* Like so many of the generals in the Russian service, Diebitch is a foreigner. He was born on 13th May, 1785, at Grossleippe, in Prussian Silesia, of an ancient family, and received his military education at the school of cadets in Berlin. In 1805, at the age of thirty, he entered the Russian service as ensign in the grenadier guards, where his talents and courage attracted the notice of the Emperor Alexander. He was engaged in the battle of Austerlitz, and, being wounded in the right hand, he did not leave the field, but took his sword in his left, for which he was rewarded by a sabre of honor from the Czar. He signaled himself also at the battles of Eylau and Friedland, for his conduct on which occasions he received a company, and

corvettes, shut in the Dardenelles. The Turks and Egyptians, whose marine had been totally ruined by the battle of Navarino, had no force capable of meeting these fleets; the whole ships remaining in the harbor of Constantinople in the spring of 1829 were four sail of the line, two frigates, and six corvettes; and the Egyptian fleet, consisting of one ship of the line, six frigates, and nine corvettes, was cut off from them by the blockade of the Dardanelles, and rendered no service whatever during the campaign. Thus the entire command of the sea, with all its inestimable consequences, fell to the Russians during the whole remainder of the war.¹

The Russian plan of the campaign, based on the possession of Varna and the command of the Black Sea, was to besiege Silistria, Roudschuck, and Schumla, and, having made themselves masters of these places, to push across the Balkan by the eastern valleys between the last of these fortresses and the sea. The fort of Sizopolis was of great value in this view, as it was a stronghold *within* the Balkan range, and by means of its harbor enabled the Russians to communicate with their fleet in the Black Sea, and receive supplies from Galatz and Odessa. The Turkish generals, impressed with the importance of Schumla in all preceding campaigns, were persuaded that it would be of equal importance in the one which was approaching, and used all their efforts to concentrate as large a force as possible within its walls. They thus stripped the eastern defiles of the Balkan of nearly all its defenders; and only three thousand men were left in charge of the passes leading from Varna and Pravadi across the mountains. They were aware, however, of the value of Sizopolis, and fitted out an expedition to recover it. By a sudden assault at daybreak on the 9th April, they succeeded in breaking into the fort, and surprising part of the garrison. But a portion of it rallied with such vigor that the Turks in their turn were expelled from the works, with the loss of two hundred and fifty. Encouraged by this success, the garrison of Sizopolis made an attack on Antiochia, which was repulsed with equal loss; but the Russians, notwithstanding, maintained themselves in the former important post, which they held to the end of the campaign. Irritated beyond endurance by the establishment of a Muscovite post within twenty-five leagues of the capital, the Sultan ordered the Turkish fleet, consisting of four ships of the line, five frigates, and a few corvettes, to issue from the Bosphorus and endeavor to retake it. They fell in with a Russian frigate, the *Raphael*, of forty-five guns, which they took, and brought back in triumph to Constantinople. The unwonted spectacle of a naval triumph excited the utmost enthusiasm in the capital, which was increased a few days after by the arrival,

² Ann. Hist. xii. 362, 363; Chesney, 205, 207; Molkt, Feldzug von 1829, 117.

during the suspension of the blockade, of a valuable convoy of wheat from Natolia, for the use of its inhabitants.² But these transports were of short duration; for, having ventured upon a second sortie a few

days after, Admiral Greig met them with his squadron of eight line-of-battle ships, forced them to retire within the Bosphorus, and re-established the blockade on that side, which was continued till the conclusion of the war.

The violence of the equinoctial gales and storms, and the floods of the Danube, rendered it impossible to commence the campaign till the beginning of May, by which time the forces were fully brought up on both sides; it then began in good earnest, and soon became of great importance. The Russians on their side advanced in two huge columns to the Danube, which they began to pass at Hirchova and Kalavatsch, immediately below Silistria. The passage was completed in imposing style on the 10th, and the left column approached that fortress, the siege of which was the first object of the campaign. A warm action of cavalry ensued on the 17th, which ended in the Turks being driven under the cannon of the place, and the investment was commenced, General Kouprianoff being stationed at Pravadi with eight thousand men, to keep up the communication of the forces under General Roth, near Varna, with those which were directed against Silistria. Redschid Pacha, who had recently been called from Greece to the important station of Grand Vizier, had collected forty thousand men in Schumla; and he resolved to commence the campaign by an attack on Pravadi, preparatory to an attempt to regain Varna. He issued, accordingly, with ten thousand foot and five thousand horse to commence operations, but before reaching Pravadi it was deemed expedient to make an attack on a post the Russians had established and fortified with redoubts at Eski-Arnautlar, three miles from Pravadi, where six battalions were posted.¹

The attack was commenced by the Turkish troops with great resolution, and such success that victory appeared certain, when they were assailed in flank by General Wachter, who came up with three thousand foot and eight hundred Cossacks from the side of Dewno, thrown into confusion, and driven back toward Pravadi. But the Grand Vizier on his side also had summoned up reinforcements from Schumla; and they met the victorious Russians as they were pursuing the Turks from Eski-Arnautlar. Instantly three thousand Ottoman horse, in splendid condition, having as yet experienced none of the fatigues of the campaign, threw themselves, with loud cries, on two Russian battalions which headed the pursuit. The Muscovites were assailed before they had time to form square; the rush was irresistible, and they were almost all cut to pieces, with their brave commander, General Rynden. The four remaining Russian battalions seemed lost; and so they would have been, if it had been possible to keep the Turks better in hand. But, intoxicated by their success, they dispersed to plunder and behead the slain, and this gave a breathing-time to the battalions in rear, who retreated to a rising ground, where they succeeded in maintaining themselves till

117. Commencement of the campaign on both sides. May 8.

¹ Ann. Hist. xii. 364, 365; Val. 410, 412; Chesney, 207, 208; Molkt, 120, 121.

118. Bloody combat at Eski-Arnautlar.

General Roth, by a flank movement, which threatened to cut them off from Schumla, obliged them to retire to the intrenched camp before that fortress. In this desperate affair the loss on both sides was nearly equal, amounting to about two thousand men to each party, and each had some standards to exhibit, wrested from their antagonists in fair fight; but the Russians, upon the whole, justly claimed the advantage, as they had succeeded in maintaining the position of Eski-Arnautlar, and compelling their opponents to withdraw to the intrenched camp in front of Schumla.¹

On the same day on which these bloody conflicts took place between Schumla and Pravadi, the investment of Silistria was effected. This town, which is situated on the right bank of the Danube, near the commencement of its delta, contained, in 1829, twenty-nine thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly six thousand were enrolled among the armed defenders of the place. It is imperfectly fortified, and is commanded by some heights on the outside, especially to the southwest. There are ten fronts, each of which has an extremely long curtain and two small bastions, which give a flanking fire to the ditch. The scarp and counterscarp have scarcely a perpendicular of fifteen feet, but the former is surmounted by a hurdle parapet, with a strong row of palisades rising above its crest on the inner side. There is a low and very imperfect glacis, but no covered-way or outworks, excepting three exterior redoubts on the land side and two toward the river, which cover the vessels anchored under the walls. Such had been the supineness of the Turks during the winter, that they had made no attempt to demolish or injure the approaches made by the Russians during the preceding campaign, so that when they returned on this occasion they marched into the old works and trenches as if they had only evacuated them on the preceding day. It may readily be conceived how this marvelous negligence on the part of the Ottomans facilitated the operations of the next siege. The besieging force was thirty-five thousand strong, and Diebitch was at the head of a covering army of forty thousand, a little in advance toward Schumla. The garrison, exclusive of the armed inhabitants, was nearly ten thousand, commanded by Achmet Pacha, a man of determined resolution and tried ability.²

Diebitch prosecuted the siege of this fortress with the utmost vigor, while a powerful flotilla, issuing from the upper part of the river, cut the besieged off from all communication by water on the west. His approaches were directed chiefly against a hornwork which the Turks had constructed on the margin of the river, and the front to which it was attached. But the besieged made a vigorous resistance, and recourse was of necessity had to the tedious processes of sap and mine; and the inundations of the Danube rendered the progress of both during the first week of the siege extremely slow. This

circumstance, joined to the checkered success which had attended the Ottoman arms in the combats of the 17th at Eski-Arnautlar, induced the Grand Vizier to conceive a grand plan, which might, if successful, be attended with decisive effects upon the issue of the campaign. This was nothing less than to move out of Schumla, with nearly the whole troops assembled there, against Pravadi, where only eight thousand men were left in garrison, who, it was thought, might with ease be overcome by the superior force brought against them. Impressed with this project, which he hoped would effectually divert the enemy's attention from the siege of Silistria, and probably lead to its abandonment, Redschid Pacha issued from Schumla on the 28th May, at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and, directing his steps across the hills, he reached the rugged and narrow valley in which Pravadi stands, and established himself in front of the western works of that place on the 1st June. General Roth reinforced the garrison by two battalions, and retired with the bulk of his forces, about ten thousand strong, to Koslodschi, twenty miles to the northward, dispatching at the same time an officer with the intelligence to Diebitch. This officer had orders to ride as for life and death; and with such fidelity did he execute his mission that he reached the head-quarters of the general-in-chief, a distance of eighty miles, in twelve hours, without changing his horse.¹

Diebitch no sooner heard of this movement of the Grand Vizier against Pravadi, than he conceived, and instantly carried into execution, the brilliant stroke which decided the campaign, and has deservedly given him a very high place in the archives of military fame. This was, to break up with the bulk of the covering army from the neighborhood of Silistria, and to move direct by forced marches, not on the Grand Vizier's force in front of Eski-Arnautlar, but on his line of communication with Schumla. By this means he would compel the Turks either to abandon the latter fortress entirely to its feeble garrison, in which case it could make no defense, or to fight their way back to it through the Russian army—a contingency more likely than any other to lead to decisive success, as the Turkish troops, however zealous and brave, had not yet acquired the consistency requisite to enable them to perform complicated movements under fire in the open field. This decision was no sooner formed by the Russian general than it was acted upon; and on the 5th June, accordingly, he set out from the shores of the Danube at the head of twenty thousand men, leaving General Krasowsky to continue the siege of Silistria.²

Pravadi stands in a deep and narrow valley, shut in on either side by mountain ridges about two thousand feet in height, the offshoots of the Balkan, and which runs nearly south and north, the stream in its bottom flowing to the Danube from that ridge. It forms the base of a triangle of val-

119.
Commencement of the siege of Silistria and its description.

² Chesney, 39, 40; An. Hist. xii. 365; Val. 413, 414; Molkt, 127, 131.

First operations of the siege, and Redschid Pacha's movement against Pravadi. May 28.

¹ Valentini, 421; Chesney, 209, 211; Ann. Hist. xii. 371; Molkt, 130, 134.

121.
Diebitch throws himself on the Turkish communications.

² Valentini, 421, 422; Ann. Hist. xii. 371; Chesney, 210, 211; Molkt, 132, 135.

122.
Description of the country, and movements of the armies.

leys, of which the one side is the valley of Kalugre or Newtscha, and the third that of Markowtscha, the apex being at Madara, a little beyond Kuletscha. Thus Madara was the point through which an army, taking either of the valleys between that of Pravadi and Schumla, must pass in moving from the one to the other. Thither, accordingly, Diebitch directed his footsteps; and with such expedition did he march that Count Pahlen, with the advanced guard, established himself there on the 9th June. Next day General Roth, who had, by skillfully drawing a curtain of light troops between the Ottomans and the line of the Russian advance, entirely concealed their movements from the enemy, by a rapid forced march effected his junction with Diebitch, thereby raising the force under the command of the latter to thirty-one thousand men, and one hundred and forty-six guns. The Russian force now occupied the entrance of all the valleys leading from Pravadi to Schumla, so as entirely to cut off the Turks from their retreat to that fortress, which was observed by four battalions. But the Russian army, which was raised by the junction of Roth's corps to forty-four battalions and fifty squadrons, was very much scattered, extending from Boulanik by Madara to near Pravadi, a distance of twenty-five miles.¹

A line of such extent, in a country where the roads were so bad and the communications so difficult, presented a favorable opportunity for striking a decisive blow to a concentrated enemy; and had Diebitch been in presence of Napoleon or Wellington, it is probable he would have paid dear for his temerity. But no danger was to be apprehended from the Turkish commanders, who, entirely ignorant of what was going forward on their line of communication, remained quiet before Pravadi, intent only on insignificant skirmishes with the garrison. A combat between the advanced guard of Diebitch, under General Kreutz, and a body of Turkish cavalry, on the evening of the 10th, near Jenibazar, first made the Grand Vizier aware of his danger; and from some prisoners taken he learned the astounding news that his communications with Schumla were entirely cut off. Three lines of retreat to that fortress alone existed—that by the great road through Madara, which was in the hands of the enemy, and could not be forced without a general battle; one on the right, by the valley of Neftja, on Jenibazar; or on the left, by Kawarna and Marasj. The two last offered the greatest chances of passing without serious molestation from the enemy. But the roads by these routes were mere mountain paths, very difficult for the Turkish artillery, which was all drawn by bullocks. The central road, therefore, by Madara, was preferred; and as the Grand Vizier persisted in the belief that he had only the corps of Roth and Rudiger to deal with in his line of retreat, he anticipated very little difficulty in destroying them, and re-entering Schumla by the great road, with the trophies of victory in his train.²

¹ Chesney, 213, 214; Valentini, 422, 423; Ann. Hist. xii. 371, 372; Molkt, 140.

² Chesney, 213, 214; Valentini, 422, 423; Ann. Hist. xii. 372, 373; Molkt, 138, 140.

The retreating masses of the Turks first came in contact with the Russian advanced-guard at the debouch of the defile of Tchirkvona. It consisted of five battalions, four squadrons, and twelve guns, under General Otrotschenko, which had been ordered to make a reconnoissance on the Russian right to discover the enemy. Instantly a battery of five guns was brought up by the Ottomans, and masked, while a body of three thousand horse prepared to charge the moment the masked battery was opened. When the enemy came within canister range, accordingly, the guns opened, the cavalry charged, and the Russian horse were completely routed, with the loss of four hundred killed and five pieces of cannon. Following up their charge, the Turkish horse next threw themselves on the squares of infantry, each composed of a battalion. Two were broken and cut to pieces, one of them sixteen hundred strong, as the men stood in their ranks, where they perished under the Turkish cimeters.* Five more guns were also taken. The three remaining squares with difficulty made their way back to the valley of Koulettscha, where the pursuit of the Ottomans, who were rushing through the valley with loud shouts, was at length checked by the cross fire of several Russian batteries posted on the heights on the opposite side, and the firm countenance of a brigade of infantry, which was suddenly brought up to the scene of danger under General Pahlen. By their united efforts the pursuit of the Turks, who by this time had become a disorderly swarm, was at length checked, and time given for the infantry which had escaped to re-form. Finding themselves overmatched, the Turkish horse retired as rapidly as they had advanced; but in their retreat they were attacked by a brigade of Pahlen's hussars, and thrown into utter confusion. They regained the position they had left in the morning with heavy loss, and after having won a success which, if properly supported by the Grand Vizier's reserve, would not only have entirely cleared the road to Schumla, but achieved a glorious victory.¹

The battle had now lasted four hours, and both parties, exhausted with fatigue, took a short repose during the burning noon of the dog-days. The Turkish troops, resting under the shade of their thickets, remained motionless, as did the Russian which had been en-

détroits. Il paraît que des préjugés nationaux enracinés s'opposent à toute espèce d'amélioration. Ils croiraient avilir le noble cheval en l'attelant. On sait qu'il est du naturel du Turc d'avoir plus d'égard pour les animaux de prédilection que pour les hommes. Il n'est point de leur usage de faire ce qui est nécessaire pour faciliter le transport, de graisser leurs roues ou leurs essieux; car, dit la loi du Prophète, 'Il n'y a que des voleurs et des malfaiteurs qui rôdent dans le silence et en secret, sur des chemins défendus, tandis, qu'un vrai Mussulman va toujours sans crainte, avec un bruit convenable, et partout avec des essieux criants, quand il est en voiture.'—VALENTINI, 425.

* "According to the account given to the author by a Russian officer who was in the battle (Lieutenant Schauf-up), two of the squares were broken, and one of them, sixteen hundred in number, of Murom's regiment, was entirely cut to pieces as the men stood in their ranks. Six guns were also taken."—CHESNEY, 219.

124.
Battle of
Koulettscha.
June 11.

¹ Chesney
216, 219;
Diebitch's
Dispatch,
Ann. Hist.
xii. 68;
Doc. Hist;
Valentini,
428, 429;
Molkt, 140,
141.

125.
Fresh disposi-
tions of Die-
bitch.

gaged. But Diebitch, perceiving that he had the whole Turkish army in his front, with their backs to Pravadi and their faces to Schumla, resolved to bring on a decisive battle. He accordingly, without losing an instant, drew together every disposable man and gun to strengthen the centre, which was *à cheval* on the high-road, a little in front of Madara, between Koulefftscha and Salpija. Twenty-four battalions and a body of hussars were kept in reserve, to be at hand in case of disaster, and observe the garrison of Schumla, which might possibly attempt a sally during the action. The remainder of the army, consisting of twenty battalions and forty squadrons, with the whole artillery, numbering a hundred and ten guns, in front, was thus disposed: Generals Roth and Zoll were ordered to advance against the enemy's front; while a division, under Kulitza, was detached, by a circuitous mountain-path, without cavalry or artillery, to threaten his rear, when the action was once thoroughly engaged. In the front of all was the horse-

¹ Valentini, 428, 429; Diebitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 68; Doc. Hist., Chesney, 220, 223; Molkt, 141, 144.

artillery of Arnaldi, consisting of twenty-four pieces, supported by Pahlen's guns, thirty-five in number, which opened a terrible fire of round shot, and then canister, on the enemy's position, and deservedly earned a historic name on this memorable occasion.¹

The Turkish artillery consisted in all of fifty-six pieces; and being entirely *drawn by oxen*, it was little better than batteries of position, and wholly unable to reply with effect to the concentrated fire which the Russian guns, all drawn by horses, brought to bear on this decisive point. Accordingly, the Ottomans suffered very severely from the fire of the Russian guns, which at length, to the number of a hundred, were brought to the front, and were sending round shot and canister among their lines. The young soldiers, of whom there were a great number on the Turkish side, at length began to grow nervous with the incessant crash of the branches above their heads, as well as the fearful chasms which the shot made in their own ranks. But, notwithstanding this, they made good the position till five o'clock, when three Turkish caissons having accidentally exploded in the centre of their line, a sudden panic arose, and the whole army fled in confusion. Entangled in the rocks and thickets among which it was placed, the artillery could not be brought off, and forty pieces, with three mortars, were taken in the first charge of the victorious Russians, who, with loud shouts, now broke in on all sides, and pursued the fugitives with the utmost vigor. Five thousand were slain in the battle and pursuit, fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and more than half the fugitives threw away their arms, and never were seen again. But the victory was by no means bloodless to the Russians; for they had to lament the loss of two thousand five hundred killed and a thousand wounded, chiefly in the early part of the action.²

Had Diebitch been aware of the extent of the disaster which had been sustained by the Turks, or, even without knowing it, had he pos-

sessed the energy of Napoleon or Paskewitch, he would have put himself at the head of his reserve, which had not been engaged, that very night, and moved direct upon Schumla, which would, in that event, have proved

an easy conquest. The garrison had made a sally during the battle, which had at first been attended with some success; but it was at length repulsed with heavy loss. It was probable, therefore, that that important fortress would have fallen in the first tumult of victory; the more especially as the garrison, in its hurried retreat, abandoned some of the exterior redoubts, which had proved such serious impediments in the preceding campaign. But the Russian general, though profoundly versed in strategy, as his recent march from the Danube evinced, was not equally master of tactics; and, above all, he was not sufficiently aware of the value of time in war, and the importance of the utmost vigor in carrying into execution the able desigus which he had formed. He contented himself, therefore, with simply driving the garrison back into the inner works, and dispatched Roth, on the 12th, to Marash, in order to intercept the retreating Ottomans. General Mataroff, who commanded the advanced guard, fell in, near that place, with fifteen hundred Turkish cavalry, who were supported by the fire of three redoubts constructed in 1828. They held the post till the arrival of the Russian artillery obliged them to evacuate it, which they did not do till the greater part of them had been put to the sword. Their defense, however, gave time for the Grand Vizier to pass with six thousand horse, and he reached Schumla, by a circuitous route, on the morning of the 13th. The infantry, who had been joined by the troops left in the lines before Pravadi, came in on that and the succeeding day, by scrambling through the rocks and woods; but then appeared the magnitude of the loss they had sustained. The Grand Vizier could only muster twelve thousand foot-soldiers and six thousand horse, with twelve guns—the poor remains of forty thousand men and fifty-six guns, which had issued from the place, in fine order, a few days before.¹

This brilliant expedition of the commander-in-chief retarded, but did not suspend, the siege in Silistria. By the end of May all the outworks had been carried; and on the 11th June the third parallel was completed, and the fire of the breaching batteries was so effective that they completely silenced that of the enemy opposed to them. On the following night the sap was run up close to the covered-way, and mines were run under to blow it into the ditch. Still the Turks made a most gallant defense, notwithstanding the discouragement produced by the victory of Koulefftscha; and at day-break on the 19th they made a general sortie, which was in the outset attended with such success that the Russians were every where driven back to their batteries, and the ground lost was not regained till noon on the following day. On the next night the be-

^{127.} Measures of Diebitch after the battle. June 12.

June, 12.

¹ Valentini, 430, 432; Ann. Hist. xii. 373, 374; Chesney, 224, 225; Diebitch's Dispatch, Ann. Hist. xii. 69, 70; Molkt, 148, 150.

^{128.} Progress of the siege of Silistria, and its fall.

June 19.

siegers threw a number of rockets into the town, which, setting it on fire in several places, diffused general consternation. The arrival of Diebitch at the besiegers' lines, on the next day, augmented their vigor; and the inhabitants of the fortress, seeing no chance of being relieved, besieged the governor with petitions for a capitulation. Their entreaties, however, were sternly refused, until the 30th June, when

a great mine under the rampart having been exploded, made a yawning breach in it, which by the concentric fire of the Russian artillery was soon rendered practicable. Seeing further resistance hopeless, the two pachas who commanded in the town agreed to surrender. The troops were made prisoners of war, and to the number of eight thousand laid down their arms. There were found on the ramparts two hundred and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, besides thirty-one on board the flotilla in the harbor; and thirty-eight standards fell into the hands of the

victors. The armed inhabitants were allowed to retire, without their weapons, to any place they chose; but none of them availed themselves of the permission; and the Russians entered the fortress by the breach, with colors flying, on the 1st July.¹

So little use had the Turks in Schumla made of the breathing-time afforded them by the resistance of Silistria, which had stood thirty-seven days of open trenches, that in the beginning of August, when the place fell, there were still only 18,000 troops in that fortress, and the eastern passes of the Balkan, between it and the sea, were only occupied by 3000 men! There are twelve or fifteen mountain-paths over that celebrated range, but only five which deserve the name of roads, or are at all practicable for carriages or artillery. These are—the old Roman road from Sophia to Tatar-Bazadgik, which is the present way from Constantinople to Belgrade and Vienna—two from Ternova, by Kusanlik and Silemno—and two from Schumla, by Karnabat and Aidos. Of these the two from Ternova are the most difficult, as they pass over the highest and most inaccessible part of the Balkan range; and that by Aidos is the most frequented, as a chasm in the hill renders the ascent slight and comparatively easy. It goes first by the valley of the Kamtjik, from the northern side, and crosses the ridge between Kouprikios and Aidos. The mountains there are not above 3000 feet in height; and the summit-level of the road, which is a very good one, is not above half that height. The hills are chiefly conical, and generally clothed with oak and beech trees of a very large size; the valleys are bold, shut in with steep precipices, and largely covered with evergreens. The abutments on the southern side, which are higher than those on the northern, are chiefly of limestone, terminating in walls of rock from fifty to two hundred feet in height. Numerous streams and thick underwood abound in the northern slopes; and owing to these impediments, the elevated plateaus on the summit of the mountains can not be reached without very great difficulty.²

It may readily be conceived what facilities

for defense a mountain ridge of this description was calculated to afford, especially to an army possessing the numerous and admirable marksmen which the Turkish possessed. But the Grand Vizier, preoccupied with the idea that Schumla was the real object of attack, and that it would prove the vital point in this, as it had done in all preceding campaigns, was intent only on its preservation, and neglected the eastern pass, although the direction of the enemy's attack on Varna, Pravadi, and Sizopolis, clearly indicated that the serious attempt was to be made in that direction. The better to confirm him in his error, Diebitch no sooner found himself at the head of a large disposable force by the fall of Silistria, than he made the most ostentatious show of preparation for a grand attack on Schumla with his whole forces. Detachments during the day incessantly arrived in the camp before that fortress, with banners flying and music playing; but in the night, and carefully concealed by a chain of outposts, other detachments of an equal or larger amount defiled in silence to the left, to reinforce the corps of Roth and Rudiger, which had entered the valley of the Kamtjik with the view of passing the Balkan by the Aidos pass. These precautions so entirely succeeded in deceiving the enemy, that while Roth and Rudiger, with 20,000 men, were at the northern entrance of the pass, nothing had been done to defend it, except throwing up a few trifling intrenchments, and stationing 3000, with 12 guns, at Kouprikios, at the foot of the northern slope of the central ridge of the mountain.¹

Having ascertained that the pass was still in this defenseless state, Diebitch determined immediately to force the passage. With this view, having, like Cæsar in his Gallic campaigns, given each soldier four days' provisions, and put ten days more in the wagons which followed each regiment, the march began on the 17th July. General Roth, with 10,000 men, advanced by the sea-coast to Missivri, which he reached after defeating small bodies of the enemy in several encounters, and he there entered into communication with the Russian fleet in the Bay of Bourgas. At the same time Rudiger, with 12,000 men, entered the valley of the Kamtjik, carried the slight works erected there, threw a bridge over the stream, and moved against the 3000 men stationed at Kouprikios. While some regiments advanced with music playing and colors flying, against the front of the Turks, a still larger body turned their flank and threatened their retreat. Instantly, on seeing the latter on the heights, the Ottomans took to flight, leaving all their guns and 500 prisoners in the hands of the Russians, who did not lose a single man. No obstacle now remained to the passage of the mountain, which they ascended and crossed without further resistance. At the summit the Russian troops obtained a view of the whole southern slopes of the Balkan, declining in height till they melted into the plain, with the Bay of Bourgas lying embosomed in the wood-clad hills, which formed the eastern extremity

130.
Diebitch's
preparations
for passing
the Balkan.

¹ Diebitch's
Dispatch, July
21, 1829; Ann.
Hist. xii. 71,
72; Doc. Hist.;
Chesney, 237,
238; Valentini,
432.

² Chesney 45,
46; Val. 50, 51.

of the ridge. Turkey seemed lost; its mountain barrier was passed, and the cheers of the troops as they reached the summit announced their joy at having passed the barrier hitherto deemed impassable, and beholding the bay at their feet covered with their sails. Pursuing their march without any further serious opposition, the corps of Roth, on the left, occupied

July 24.

July 26.

¹ Diebitch's

Dispatch, July

26, 1829; Ann.

Hist. xii. 73, 75;

Valentini, 434;

Chesney, 239,

240; Molkt, 158,

160.

Bourgas, and entered into communication with the garrison of Sizopolis; while that of Rudiger, on the right, two days after entered Aidos at the southern foot of the mountains, after defeating a body of 7000 Turks, who endeavored to dispute the passage.¹

When the Grand Vizier, at Schumla, at length obtained intelligence of what was going forward on his right, toward the sea, he in haste detached ten thousand men to guard the passes above Kouprikius and on the Kamtjik, never supposing that they could have been already won. But they arrived too late, and brought back the mournful intelligence that the mountains had been passed by an army which, with Oriental exaggeration, was described as more numerous than the leaves of the forest and the sand of the sea. In truth, however, it was neither the one nor the other; and Diebitch's position, however brilliant in appearance, was in reality fraught with danger. His posts occupied the immense line from Bourgas, on the Black Sea, to Selimno, in the heart of Mount Hæmus, a distance of above eighty miles, as well as from Silistria to Aidos, a distance of a hundred and fifty; and such was the dispersion of force occasioned by the necessity of keeping detachments on the principal points of these immense lines, that the disposable force to the south of the Balkan did not exceed twenty-one thousand men. In front of these were twenty thousand Turks, who had fallen back from the passes, and been swelled by the whole armed Mussulman population in the towns through which they retired. On their right flank was the Pacha of Scodra, who might ere long be expected on the scene of action with twenty-five thousand Arnauts and Albanians; and in their rear was the Grand Vizier with eighteen thousand, in the intrenched camp at Schumla. Impressed with these dangers, Diebitch wisely halted at Aidos, and sent forward detachments, by the route of Karnabat and Kazan, to open a communication with General Krasowsky, who commanded the blockading force before Schumla. This was effected without difficulty, but still the situation of the Russian general was full of danger, and it was evident there was no middle course between dictating a glorious peace or total ruin. Like Napoleon at Moscow, or at Vienna after Aspern, he had got into a situation in which the first step in retreat was the commencement of ruin; and such was the anxiety felt at St. Petersburg on the subject, that the

Emperor ordered a fresh levy of 90,000 men in his dominions, and contracted a loan of 42,000,000 florins (£2,000,000) in Holland, for the prosecution of the war.²

In these critical circumstances, the resolution and firmness of General Diebitch triumphed over all obstacles, and, by concealing the weakness of his position, extricated him from its real dangers, and brought about a glorious peace. A considerably body of Turks had collected at Sliwno, a town on the southern slope of the Balkan, and from whence a flank attack might be made on the Russian line of communication, in the advance from Aidos to Adrianople. He resolved accordingly, after giving his troops ten days' rest at the former place, during which he had opened his communications with Krasowsky, to recommence his forward movement by an attack on this body of the enemy, which was seven thousand strong. The attack took place on the 11th August, and was conducted with such secrecy and skill that it proved a complete surprise. Though intrenched, according to their usual custom, the Turks, who were taken unawares, made scarcely any resistance. The whole took to flight and dispersed, leaving their guns, nine in number, in the hands of the enemy, who entered Sliwno next day, amidst the cheers of an immense concourse of spectators, and preceded by the Greek clergy, with the Cross in their hands, who offered the victors bread and salt, and testified the utmost joy at being delivered from their oppressors.¹

133.
Successful
attack on
the Turks
at Sliwno.
Aug. 11.

Aug. 11.

¹ Valentini, 439,
440; Ann. Hist.
xii. 394, 395;
Diebitch's Dis-
patch, Aug. 15,
1829; An. Hist.
xii. 78, 80.

This success was of great importance to Diebitch, for it entirely cleared his right flank on the march to Adrianople, made him master of the chief central passes over the Balkan, and opened the direct communication with Krasowsky before Schumla. The extreme left of the Russian army, under Roth, soon after made several important acquisitions on the shores of the Black Sea. By these means the communication with the fleet, and all the supplies which it bore, was rendered secure. The Turkish army, twenty thousand strong, deceived by the exaggerated reports which had been spread of Diebitch's force, retired to the ridge of low hills, twenty-five miles in front of Constantinople, which had so often in ancient times served as a barrier against the northern barbarians. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Russian general determined on advancing to Adrianople. After giving his troops a day's rest accordingly at Jamboli, he advanced by forced marches down the course of the river Tomalia toward that city. Neither the ardent rays of the sun, which shone forth with uncommon brilliancy, nor the length of the marches, generally twenty miles a day, nor the rugged nature of the roads, which were far worse than those over the Balkan, could retard the progress of the troops. On they pressed with ceaseless vigor, animated to the highest degree by the prospect of their approaching conquest. When the guns stuck fast, or the horses were unable to drag them up the ascents, the soldiers harnessed themselves in, and got them through, in which they were joyfully assisted by the peasants of the country, who beheld with transport, after an absence of four hundred years, the standards of the Cross

134.
Advance upon
Adrianople,
and its cap-
ture.

² Chesney, 241,
243; Valentini,
438, 439; Ann.
Hist. xii. 393,
394.

waving in their valleys. A word from Diebitch would have excited a general insurrection against the Ottomans; but, guided by the humane orders of the Emperor, he restrained it, and approached the ancient capital of the empire, attended only by a joyful and friendly crowd. Ten thousand Turks

made a show of resistance, but it was but a show; a capitulation was entered into, by which the soldiers gave up their arms and artillery, consisting of fifty-six guns, and the armed inhabitants returned to their homes. Next day the magistrates brought the keys of the city, which they laid at Diebitch's feet; the people rushed in crowds to meet their deliverers; the Russian general passed the gates of the town in triumph, and took up his residence in the palace, recently prepared for Sultan Mahmoud; and the entry of the Muscovites into the ancient capital of their hereditary enemies "resembled," says Diebitch, "rather a popular fête, than the military conquest of a hostile capital."¹

¹ Diebitch's Dispatch, Aug. 20, 1829; Ann. Hist. xii. 81; Doc. Hist.; Val. 441.

The better to augment the report of the magnitude of his forces, and keep up the prestige of their invincibility, as well as to provide them with the means of subsistence, the Russian general, after this splendid success, made a great dispersion of his forces. Like Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, and with similar success, he spread them out from the centre at Adrianople like a fan, in every direction. While the advanced guards of the centre were pushed on the high road to Constantinople as far as Loule-Bourgas, only eighty miles from the capital, the left wing, under Rudiger, advanced and took Midiah, within sixty-five miles from the entrance of the Bosphorus, where it entered into communication with Admiral Greig's squadron; and the right, under General Sicrore, moved forward by Trajanopolis on Enos, in the Mediterranean, which it reached on the same day, and met the fleet of Admiral Heiden, which was at anchor, expecting them in the bay. At the same time Krasowsky, by repeated attacks, so imposed upon the garrison of Schumla, that, so far from thinking of disquieting these movements, they deemed themselves fortunate to be able to preserve their own redoubts. Thus the Russian army extended its mighty arms from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, across the entire breadth of Turkey, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, and was supported by a powerful fleet at the extremity of either flank; while at the same time its reserve blockaded eighteen thousand men in Schumla, and its advanced guard menaced Constantinople. But the strength of their army was not equal to so great an expansion of its force, and in reality it was on the

verge of the most terrible catastrophe. In the middle of September, the force under Diebitch at Adrianople did not exceed fifteen thousand men; and a British officer, who saw them all mustered for a grand review on 8th November, has recorded, in his interesting work on the campaign, "that there were scarcely thirteen thousand men of all arms in the field."²

² Chesney, 243, 246; Journal du 2^e Armée, Sept. 15, 1829; Ann. Hist. xii. 82; Doc. Hist., 397, 399; Valentini, 441, 442.

Immense was the impression produced by these decisive events, both at Constantinople and over Europe. The terror in the Turkish capital was extreme; for the Christians apprehended an immediate massacre from the infuriated Mussulmans, and the

latter were not less apprehensive of extermination from the avenging swords of the victorious Muscovites. The Sultan was besieged at one time by deputations from the violent Ottomans, urging the immediate arming of all the followers of the Prophet, and the most severe measures against the Christians; at another, with the most urgent entreaties from the latter, supported by the earnest representations of the ambassadors of the Western powers, to yield to necessity, and avert the threatening dangers by an immediate concession of the demands of Russia. The English ambassador, Sir Robert Gordon, and the Austrian, were in an especial manner active in their efforts to bring about an accommodation, by moderating the demands of Russia on the one hand, and overcoming the obstinacy of the Sultan on the other. It is no wonder they were so; for the statesmen at the head of both countries, the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich, were equally impressed with the necessity of preventing the destruction of the balance of power which would result from the conquest of Turkey. A secret convention had been entered into between them to avert such a catastrophe by force of arms; and the English admiral in the Mediterranean had orders, if the Russian proved obdurate, to attack the fleet of Admiral Heiden in the Greek waters, and conduct it as a pledge to Malta. The efforts of these able diplomatists, joined to the exaggerated reports of Diebitch's force, who was represented as being at the gates of the capital at the head of sixty thousand men, at length overcame the firmness of Sultan Mahmoud, and, with tears in his eyes, he agreed to the TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE, one of the most glorious in the Russian, one of the most disastrous in the Turkish, annals.¹

By this celebrated treaty the Emperor of Russia restored to the Sublime Porte the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the places in Bulgaria and Roumelia conquered by his arms, with the exception of the islands at the mouth of the Danube, which were reserved to Russia. All conquests in Asia Minor were in like manner restored to Turkey, with the exception of the fortresses of Anapa, Poli, Akhalzikh, Alzkow, and Akhalkalaki, which, with a considerable territory round them, were ceded to Russia, and, in a military point of view, constituted most important acquisitions. All the privileges and immunities secured by the former treaties (those of Ackerman, Bucharest, and Kainardji), as well as the conventions relative to Servia, were ratified in their fullest extent by articles 5 and 6. An entire and unqualified amnesty was provided for all political offenders in every part of the Turkish dominions. The passage of the Dardanelles was declared open to all Russian merchant vessels, as well as those of all vessels at peace with the Sublime Porte, with all guarantees requisite

136.
Unbounded alarm at Constantinople, London, and Vienna.

¹ Ann. Hist. xii. 400, 401; Chesney, 245, 246; Ann. Reg. 1829, 216, 219.

137.
Treaty of Adrianople, Sept. 14.

to secure to Russia the undisturbed navigation of the Black Sea. The indemnity to be awarded to Russian subjects complaining of arbitrary acts on the part of the Turkish government was fixed at 1,500,000 Dutch ducats, or £750,000, payable in eighteen months; and that to the

¹ Treaty, Russian government, for the expenses of the war, at 10,000,000 ducats, or about £5,000,000 sterling. The evacuation of the Turkish territories was to take place progressively as the indemnity was discharged, and not to be completed till it was entirely paid up.¹

Another convention, signed the same day, of still greater eventual importance, determined the respective rights of the parties to Wallachia and Moldavia. It provided that the hospodars of these provinces should be elected for life, and not, as heretofore, for seven years; that the pachas and officers of the Porte in the adjoining provinces were not to be at liberty to intermingle in any respect in their concerns; that the middle of the Danube was to be the boundary between them to the junction of that river with the Pruth; and, "the better to secure the future inviolability of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sublime Porte engaged not to maintain *any fortified post or any Mussulman establishment on the north of the Danube*; that the towns situated on the left bank, including Giurgevo, should be restored to Wallachia, *and their fortifications never restored*; and all Mussulmans holding possessions on the left bank were to be bound to *sell them to the natives* in the space of eighteen months. The government of the hospodars was to be entirely independent of Turkey; and they were to be liberated from the quota of provisions they had hitherto been bound to furnish to Constantinople and the fortresses on the Danube. They were to be occupied by the Russian troops *till the indemnity was fully paid up, for which ten years were allowed*; and

² Convention, Sept. 14, 1829; to be relieved of all tribute to the Porte during their occupation, Reg. 100; Ann. 99, 100; Ann. 1829, 481. ceased."²

Before this treaty was signed by the Emperor of Russia, the negotiations were on the point of being broken off by the Pacha of Scodra. ^{139.} to intervene between the contracting parties. This was no other than the Pacha of Scodra, who, in the end of September, appeared at Philippoli with twenty-five thousand men, and declared his intention of breaking off the proposed peace. It may readily be conceived what alarm this extraordinary and unexpected apparition occasioned to the Russian commander-in-chief. He instantly ordered General Geismar to hasten with all the troops he could collect from Wallachia, and General Kisselef to come from the blockade of Schumla to join the army at Adrianople. Geismar, with twelve thousand men, made his way across the Danube, and getting through the pass of Anatza, in the Balkan, he succeeded in getting into the rear of the pacha near Sophia. The latter, however, continued to advance, declaring that he would be in Adrianople in eight days; and

he had already got to Hermanli, half-way from Philippoli to that city, when he was met by the messengers of the Sultan with the ratification of the treaty. This stopped his singular hostile movement, and he withdrew to the position he occupied before it commenced. But it revealed the dangerous position of the Russians, and the depth of the abyss from which they had been rescued by the fortunate audacity of Diebitch, and the want of co-operation in the Turkish commanders; for if the pacha had advanced a month sooner, nothing could have saved the Russians from a disaster similar to the Moscow retreat. The truth was, he belonged to the old party of the Janizaries; and his object was to hang back till the necessities of the Sultan enabled him to make terms for the restoration of that body with his sovereign, and he lost his opportunity by delaying too long.¹

The contest of Greece became a matter of such secondary importance, after its independence was secured by the convention of 6th July, 1827, and the battle of Navarino, and when the Russians and Turks were dealing such weighty blows to each other on the banks of the Danube, that a few words will suffice to give a summary of its progress during the years 1828 and 1829. Threatened with a formidable invasion from the north, and with their navy ruined, and Egypt cut off from sending its formidable succors, the Ottomans were in no condition to resume offensive operations. But as Ibrahim Pacha had received positive orders from the Sultan to hold out to the last extremity, and he refused to quit his hold of Navarino, and the other fortresses in his possession in the Morea, an expedition was sent from France, with the concurrence of the British Government, to compel him to evacuate them. It consisted of fifteen thousand men, under the command of Marshal Maison, and landed in the Morea on the 25th August, 1828. They were received by transports by the Greeks, ^{Aug. 25.} who had been informed by the President, Capo d'Istria, that they came to complete their deliverance. Ibrahim was in no condition to resist so formidable a mediator; and accordingly, a convention was concluded on the 7th September, in virtue of which the whole Egyptian troops were embarked, and conveyed to Alexandria, in English and French vessels. The Turkish garrison in Navarino and Modon made some show of resistance, but it was soon overcome, and the places surrendered to the English sea forces and the French troops; while the castle of the Morea, which stood a siege, was speedily reduced by the scientific skill of the French engineers. Before the end of autumn, the whole of the Morea was cleared of the Ottomans; but it was not deemed expedient to push the conquest of the Allies further at that time, as it was not then determined whether more than the Morea should form part of the infant state.²

Relieved, however, of the enormous load which had so long oppressed them, and against which they had so heroically struggled, the Greeks soon showed the Greeks that they were in a condition to recover their independence without external aid. ¹⁴¹ Progress of the Greeks in 1829.

^{138.} Convention regarding Wallachia and Moldavia.

¹ Ann. Hist. xii. 406, 407; Chesney, 246, 247.

^{140.} Affairs of Greece in 1828.

² Ann. Hist. xi. 455, 473.

When the disciplined battalions of Egypt were withdrawn, they had no difficulty in making head against their Ottoman enemies. Candia was, after a severe struggle, almost entirely recovered by the Christians, and the Turks shut up in Canea and a few other strongholds. An expedition under Colonel Fabvier against Chios failed; but a nest of pirates in Carabuso, the refuge of that species of malefactors ever since the days of Pompey, was rooted out by the British fleet. The appointment of Count Capo d'Istria to the presidency of the state had a surprising effect in stilling the internal discord which had so long paralyzed its strength; for it was known that he was supported by the influence of Russia, and it seemed hopeless to struggle against such a power. Chief after chief sent in their adhesion to the new government; and so much was the military strength of the state increased by this unanimity, that the government was enabled to undertake and carry through with success several enterprises which materially enlarged its bounds. Ten thousand Turks were still in Attica, which forbade any attempt to regain that province, but in western Greece the progress of the Christians was uninterrupted. Deeming them supported by the French army, the Ottomans considered it hopeless to attempt any resistance. Salona, with its garrison of eight hundred men, capitulated; Lepanto and Anatolicon followed the example; and at length the standards of the Cross again waved on the blood-stained ramparts of Missolonghi. An invasion of five thousand Albanians was repulsed, and the invaders compelled to capitulate to the Greeks at Pietra, and all the Turkish garrisons in that quarter were withdrawn. The families which had withdrawn from the Morea to the shelter of the islands returned, after the withdrawal of the Egyptians, in such numbers that the sounds of industry and the voice of gladness were again heard in the land. Finally, the revenue of the state was so much increased with its altered fortunes, that Capo d'Istria was able to announce to the legislature, assembled at Argos on the 13th July, that the ways and means were equal to the expenditure, each amounting to 25,000,000 Turkish piastres, or £700,000. In the receipts, however, were included a loan of 8,000,000 piastres from France, and one of 4,000,000 from Russia, being just half of the entire revenue.¹

The limits of Greece were fixed by a protocol, signed by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, England, and France, at London, on March 22, 1829, to which Russia and Turkey gave their adhesion by article 10 of the treaty of Adrianople. By this treaty Greece was to include the whole mainland of Turkey to the south of a line from Arta in the Adriatic to Volo in the Archipelago. It was to embrace also the whole islands of the Ægean Sea known under the name of the Cyclades, with Eubœa or Negropont, but neither Candia nor Cyprus. The islands embraced in these limits contained three hundred and thirty-nine thousand souls, of which only two thousand were even then to be found in the unhappy Chios, instead of its former population of eighty-five thousand;

and the whole inhabitants of the state were about six hundred thousand. Greece was to remain tributary to Turkey, and to pay an annual sum of 1,500,000 piastres (£100,000), but it was to be governed entirely by its own inhabitants and laws; and the infant nation was placed under the guarantee of Russia, France, and England. The state was to be monarchical, but no sovereign was to be placed on the throne belonging to the reigning families of any of the powers which signed the treaty of July 6, 1827; a complete amnesty was to be proclaimed by the Porte in favor of all persons, without exception, who had been concerned in the Greek revolution; and a year was to be accorded reciprocally to the Greeks to sell their property in Turkey, and the Turks to dispose of their property in Greece. The limits thus assigned were subsequently contracted, and the line drawn on the continent, not from Volo to Arta, but from Arta to Cape Armyro, in the gulf of Volo, in consideration of which the tribute was remitted, and the sovereignty of the Porte entirely excluded. These limits included Missolonghi and Thessaly, but they excluded Ipsara, Chios, and Samos, and left the beautiful islands of Crete and Cyprus to languish still under the tyrannical government of the Ottomans.¹

There were extraordinary difficulties in the way of an amicable settlement of the Greek question, in consequence of the jealousies of the powers which had signed the treaty of 6th July; and this must always be taken into account, in considering the merits or demerits of the statesmen who were parties to its arrangement. But considered with reference to the interests of religion, humanity, or European independence, there never was a greater mistake committed than in making the limits of Greece so contracted. Nature had pointed out what they should have been; they should have embraced the whole countries where the Greek race was still predominant. A line drawn from Cattaro on the Adriatic to Salonica on the Ægean, would have included this region; leaving out Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Trans-Danubian provinces, where, though hostility to the Mussulmans is as strong, different races of northern conquerors have settled, and greatly preponderate over the original inhabitants. Above all, the whole islands of the Archipelago, including Candia, Cyprus, Samos, Mitylene, Lemnos, Tenedos, and Ipsara, should have been included in the limits of the new state. In a kingdom so constituted, the maritime and commercial interest would have been predominant; and in such a community it need not be said with whom the real alliance of people as well as government would have been formed. Private interest, identity of feelings and pursuits, would have made both lean on England. Constituted as the Greek state actually was by the convention of 22d March, it of necessity looked to Russia. Too weak for independence, too large for neglect, it presented a tempting prize to Muscovite ambition, to the government of which, from identity of religion, the people on the mainland at least were naturally inclined. It was a great thing, doubtless, for the interest of human-

142.
Convention
of March 22,
1829, regard-
ing the limits
of Greece.

1 An. Hist. France, and one of 4,000,000 from xi. 469, 485, Russia, being just half of the entire xii. 427, 429. revenue.¹

1 Treaty,
March 22,
1829; Ann.
Hist. xii.
107, 109;
Ann. Reg.
1829, 231.

143.
Reflections on
this conven-
tion.

ity, to have rescued even a portion of the Christians in Turkey from the Ottoman gripe, and heroic efforts of the Greeks to secure their independence well deserved such a reward; but in a political point of view, and with reference to the interests of Europe, it has been detrimental rather than the reverse. It has *weakened the Mussulman barrier against Russia, and not created a Christian one*. Such has been the consequence of doing things by halves—of not regarding, in prospective arrangements, the obvious tendency of human affairs, and seeking to prop up existing influences, without seeing that the time has come when they must be swept away. The alarm now so generally, and with so much reason, felt in Europe at Russian predominance in the East, would have been avoided, if the obvious step of establishing Greece on a respectable and efficient footing had been adopted, after the opportunity of entirely restoring a Christian monarchy at Constantinople had been lost.

What is the circumstance which has now rendered the Eastern question so complicated, has caused the Western powers to make such vast efforts to resist the encroachments of Russia, and brought France and England for the first time in history into a sincere and generous alliance? It is not merely the strength of Russia, great as it undoubtedly is, and formidable in every respect to the liberties of Europe. It is the weakness of Turkey which is the real difficulty; and that arises from the circumstance that, in its European dominions, two millions and a half of indolent Mussulmans, with the sword in their hands, have obtained by wielding it the dominion over seven millions and a half of Christians, who hold the plow, the loom, and the sail in their grasp. All the military strength of the state is vested in the brave, barbarous and tyrannical minority; all the civil resources, nearly all the knowledge and industry of the community, in the unarmed and pacific, but querulous majority. How is such a state of things to be long kept up in the finest portion of Europe, and in which, from extending intercourse with the Western powers, the seeds of knowledge and civilization are every day more widely spread, and their blessings more generally appreciated? The thing is evidently impossible; and if any doubt could exist upon it, it would be removed by the fact that the Mussulman race is every where declining, the Christian is every where increasing; and that while the former is chiefly to be found in the proud and lazy inhabitants of towns, the latter constitutes the great bulk of the robust cultivators of the country. Yet how is this anomalous and perilous state of things to be terminated, when the Ottomans are in possession of the government, and form the war caste and military strength of the state, and it is *with them* that the Western powers are in alliance, and whose dominion their national faith is bound to uphold?

The Emperor Nicholas said to Sir G. H. Seymour, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, on February 22, 1853: "There are several things which I never will tolerate: I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; and

it shall never be held by the English, French, or any other great nation. Again, I will *never permit any attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state*: still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrangements, I would go to war, and as long as I have a man or a musket, I would carry it on."¹ These

memorable words at once accuse the past policy, and throw a steady light on the future course which should be pursued by the Western powers on the Turkish question. All admit that a barrier must be erected against Russia; the only question is, How is that barrier to be constructed? The Czar has taught us how that is to be done, for he has told us what he will spend his last man and musket to prevent. It is evident that what he would spend his last shilling and musket to prevent, the rest of Europe should spend their last shilling and musket to effect; and this can only be done by restoring the Byzantine Empire in Europe, under the rule of a *Christian* government, or a government in which the rights of the Christians are effectually secured, with the guarantee of England, France, and Austria. This, however, is the remote and *ultimate* result: the one thing needful in the mean time is to rescue the Turkish dominions from the withering grasp of Russia: not less inimical to real Christianity than the oppressive rule of the Mussulman.

Much has been said of the regeneration of the Turkish empire within the last

thirty years, since the period to which the preceding history refers; and great are the expectations formed by a certain class of politicians of the social and political improvement of its inhabitants and institutions by the intermixture of European ideas. Experience has not yet enabled us to determine whether these anticipations are well founded, and it would be premature to give any decided opinion on the subject. It is doubtless possible to give to Asiatic *troops* and police the discipline and efficiency of European, and that is what has taken place in Hindostan, Egypt, and Russia; and by working out the resources of Asiatic wealth by the machinery of European civilization, a great degree of temporary power and vigor may be given to a state. Whether it is feasible to unite with it, in like manner, the institutions and habits of a different race and quarter of the globe, and whether it is possible to erect the fabric of European freedom on the basis of Asiatic servitude, is a question not yet determined; but on which it can only be said, that, if it does take place, it will be contrary to the experience of six hundred millions of men during six thousand years.

The treaty of Adrianople affords a striking instance of that astute but ceaselessly encroaching policy which has so long characterized the court of St. Petersburg. They disclaimed all idea of territorial aggrandizement at the commencement of the war; but

¹ Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell, Feb. 22, 1853; Times, March 19, 1854.

^{145.} What of the alleged regeneration of Turkey?

^{144.} Remarkable words of the Emperor Nicholas on this subject.

^{146.} Astute policy of Russia in the treaty of Adrianople.

they closed it by requiring the cession of a valuable territory on the Black Sea and in Georgia, including the strongest frontier fortresses of Turkey in Asia Minor. They did not openly claim the command of the navigation of the Danube; but they compelled the cession of the islands at its mouth, which effectually gave it them. They made a great show of moderation in consenting to relinquish the Principalities which they had overrun; but they agreed to do so only on payment of £5,000,000 public, and £750,000 of private indemnities—a sum equal to five-sixths of the whole revenue of Turkey, and which it seemed impossible it could ever defray. In the mean time, they stipulated the destruction of all the fortresses the Turks held on the left bank of the river, including Giurgevo and Brahamlov, and the sale of all the Mussulman property in the two provinces within eighteen months—steps obviously pointing to their transference to a Christian government. They professed to respect the independence of Turkey; but they compelled its government to recognize a right of interference in behalf of its Christian subjects, especially in Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, inconsistent with anything like independence in a sovereign state, and the internal government of which provinces was made quite independent of Turkish rule. These clauses might at any time give them the means of renewing the war on plausible pretexts. Finally, by stipulating for an absolute and universal amnesty for all the subjects of the Porte who had been engaged in rebellion, they openly proclaimed to all the world that they were the protectors of the disaffected in the Sultan's dominions, and that they were to look to St. Petersburg for a shield against the violence or injustice of their own government.

The campaigns of 1828 and 1829, though they terminated to the disadvantage of Turkey, are yet eminently calculated to modify the ideas generally entertained as to the great power of Russia in aggressive warfare, as well as to evince the means of defense, in a military point of view, which the Ottoman dominions possess. The Turks began the war under the greatest possible disadvantages. Their land forces had been exhausted by seven bloody campaigns with the Greeks; their marine ruined in the battle of Navarino; their enemies had the command of the Euxine and the Ægean, the interior lines of communication in their empire; the janizaries, the military strength of the state, had been in part destroyed, in part alienated; and only twenty thousand of the regular troops, intended to replace them, were as yet clustered round the standards of the Prophet. On the other hand, the Russians had been making their preparations for six years; they had enjoyed fourteen years of European peace; and a hundred and twenty thousand armed men awaited on the Pruth the signal to march to Constantinople. Yet with all these disadvantages, the scales hung all but even between the contending parties. Varna was only taken in the first campaign in consequence of the Russians having the command of the sea; the Balkan passed in the second, from the Grand Vizier having been outgeneraled by the superior skill of Diebitch. Even as it was,

it was owing to treachery and disaffection that the daring march to Adrianople did not terminate in a disaster second only to the Moscow retreat. Had the Pacha of Scodra come up three weeks earlier with his twenty-five thousand men, and united with the twenty thousand who retired toward Constantinople, where would Diebitch with his twenty thousand have been? Had ten thousand English auxiliaries been by their side, the Muscovite standards would never have crossed the Balkan; had twenty thousand French also been there, they would have been hurled with disgrace beyond the Danube.

It is not to be supposed, however, that these startling results are to be ascribed to any weakness in military strength on the part of Russia, or any extraordinary warlike resources which the Turks possess, independent of their geographical position. The strength which Russia put forth in the war was immense. A hundred and sixty thousand men crossed the Danube in the course of the first campaign; a hundred and forty thousand were brought up to reinforce them in the course of the second. Yet, with all this, they could only produce thirty-one thousand men at the decisive battle of Kouleffsch; and when their victorious march was stopped, only fifteen thousand were assembled at Adrianople! At least a hundred and fifty thousand men had perished in the two campaigns; and that, accordingly, is the estimate formed by the ablest military historian of the war.¹ A very

small part of this immense force perished by the sword; fatigue, sickness, desertion, produced the greatest part of the dreadful chasm. The long march of twelve hundred miles from Moscow to Poland, the pestilential plains of Wallachia, the hardships of two campaigns in the inhospitable hills or valleys of Bulgaria, did the rest. As Turkey is the portion of Europe most exposed to the incursions of the Asiatics, so it is the one to which Providence has given the most ample means of defense; for the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia present a perilous glacis, which must be passed before the body of the fortress is reached; the Danube is a vast wet ditch, which covers the interior defenses; the Balkan a rampart impassable when defended by gallant and faithful defenders. Sterility and desolation, the work of human tyranny, add to the defenses of nature. Of no country may it be so truly said, in Henry IV.'s words, "If you make war with a small army, you are beaten; if with a large one, starved."

The strength of Russia in a defensive is owing to the same cause as its weakness in offensive war. Its prodigious distances are the cause of both. A third of Napoleon's army disappeared before it reached Smolensko, or had been engaged in any serious battle; three-fourths had perished before a flake of snow fell. One-third of the troops which invaded Turkey in 1828 and 1829 sank under the fatigues of the march, another third under the diseases and hardships of the campaign which followed. It is the same with the English in India, and from the

147.
Difficulty of the conquest of Turkey evinced in this war.

148.
Great strength of Russia in force, and of Turkey in situation.

¹ Moltk, Feldzug, von 1829, 174.

149.
Cause of the strength of Russia in defensive, and its weakness in offensive war.

same cause. With the resources of a hundred millions of men at their command, they underwent a catastrophe, which rivaled the fate of Varus's legions, at the hands of the mountaineers of Afghanistan; they were soon after outnumbered, and brought to the verge of ruin by the Sikhs, who had only the resources of six millions to rely on. One-third of the invaders of Russia perish before they reach the country they are to assail; one-third of the Russians perish before they get out of it to begin the career of conquest, from the simple effect of the distances. It is no exaggeration, but the simple truth, to affirm that fifty thousand English and French troops disembarked at Varna, and beginning their fatigues there, are equal to a hundred and fifty thousand Russians, who have commenced their march from St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Warsaw.

The position of the Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia is singularly open to serious disaster. Spread out over an extent of three hundred miles in breadth, from the Euxine to the frontiers of Austria, it is accessible to attack, from a concentrated enemy, along the whole course of the Danube; and if defeated by a powerful army crossed over near Brahilov, a disaster as great as that at Marengo would await the Russian forces. A blow directed at Focksana, the vital point of their communications with Bessarabia, would compel them to fight their way back to the Pruth, with their faces to Moscow, and ruin, if worsted, in their rear. The Crimea, with the Russian naval establishment at Sevastopol, lies also open to attack by a power having the command of the sea—for thirty thousand men could hold the neck of the peninsula against any force which would in all probability be brought against it; while twenty thousand,

with the aid of a fleet, would with ease reduce the fortress itself, which, though impregnable on the sea, is by no means equally defended on the land side. The real danger of Turkey arises, not from the strength of its enemies, but its internal weakness; and the proofs of it are to be found, not in the triumphant march of Diebitch across the Balkan, but in the annals of the Greek revolution.

Human thought can scarcely discern what is the probable issue of the contest now commencing in the East, in reference to the belligerent powers; but Providence is wiser than man, and can educe good out of the most apparently inextricable elements of confusion and discord.

Whatever the result of the contest may be, the triumph of Christianity is secure, and the days of Ottoman dominion in Europe are numbered. If the Russians prevail, the ancient prophecy recorded in Gibbon will be realised, and the Cross will be replaced on the dome of St. Sophia; if the Western Powers are successful, and wrench the protectorate of the Christians in Turkey from the Czar, the triumph of the religion they profess is equally secure, and the government at Constantinople must pass into the hands of the great majority of the inhabitants of European Turkey. Unable to defend itself, the Ottoman empire must fall under the rule of one or other of the potentates which have entered the lists for its defense and subjugation. Power in the end must centre in the portion of mankind which is advancing, and pass from that which is receding; and the fact attested by all travelers, that the Christians are rapidly increasing in Turkey, and the Osmanlis as rapidly diminishing, points to the future destiny of those realms as clearly as the handwriting on the wall did to the fate of the king of Babylon.

151.

The final triumph of Christianity in Turkey is secure.

150.
Dangers of the Russian position in regard to Turkey.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCE FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE ACCESSION OF THE POLIGNAC ADMINISTRATION.

NEVER did a monarch ascend a throne with fairer prospects and greater advantages than Charles X.; never was one precipitated from it under circumstances of greater disaster. Every thing at first seemed to smile on the new sovereign, and to pro-

1. Great advantages of Charles X. on his accession to the throne. nosticate a reign of concord, peace, and happiness. The great contests which had distracted the government of his predecessors seemed to be over. The Spanish revolution had exhausted itself; it had shaken, without overturning, the monarchies of France and England, and led to a campaign glorious to the French, which on the Peninsula, so long the theatre of defeat and disaster, had restored the credit of their arms and the lustre of their influence. In Italy, the efforts of the revolutionists, for a brief season successful, had terminated in defeat and ignominy. After infinite difficulty, and no small danger, the composition of the Chamber of Deputies had been put on a practicable footing, and government was assured of a majority sufficient for all purposes, in harmony with the great body of the peers, and the principles of a constitutional monarchy. Internal prosperity prevailed to an unprecedented degree; every branch of industry was flourishing, and ten years of peace had both healed the wounds of war, and enabled the nation to discharge, with honorable fidelity, the heavy burdens imposed on it at its termination. After an arduous reign and a long struggle, Louis had reaped the reward of his wisdom and perseverance; he had steered the vessel of the state through many dark storms and shoals of perilous intricacy; but he had at length got into harbor: by the success with which his measures, externally and internally, had been attended, he had both restored the lustre of the throne, and in a great degree dissipated the prejudices which, at the commencement of his reign, prevailed against the Bourbon family. He had bequeathed to his successor a throne to appearance firmly established, a realm undoubtedly prosperous, and an external influence which seemed adequate to the wishes of the most ardent patriots in the country.

2. The character and personal qualities of Charles X. were in many respects Character of such as were well calculated to im- Charles X. prove and cultivate to the utmost these advantages. Burke had said, at the very outset of the French Revolution, that if the deposed race was ever to be restored, it must be by a sovereign who could sit eight hours a day on horseback. No sovereign could be so far removed from this requisite as Louis XVIII., whose figure was so unwieldy and his infirmities so great, that, for some years before his death, he had to be wheeled about his apartments in an arm-chair. But the case was very different with his successor. No captain in his guards

managed his charger with more skill and address, or exhibited in greater perfection the noble art of horsemanship; no courtier in his saloons was more perfect in all the graces which dignify manners, and cause the inequalities of rank to be forgotten, in the courtesy with which their distinctions are thrown aside. He had little reflection, and had never thought seriously on any subject save religion, with the truths of which he was deeply impressed, in his life. He was the creature of impulse, and yielded alternately, like a woman, to many different and seemingly contradictory external influences. But that very circumstance gave, as it does to a graceful enchantress, an indescribable charm to his manner. He was princely courtesy personified. None could withstand the fascination of his manner; his bitterest enemies yielded to its influence, or were drawn by its seductions into at least a temporary acquiescence in his designs. He was a warm and faithful friend; in early youth he had been an ardent and volatile lover, but the misfortunes of middle life had trained him to more serious and manly duties. His heart was warm, his benevolence great, his charity unbounded. He sincerely desired the good of his people, and had the greatest wish for their affection, which, by en- 1 Lamartine, Histoire de la Restoration, viii. 2, 3. couraging the love of popularity, his led him sometimes into many doubtful or dangerous acts.¹

A pretty fable was told of the Regent Orleans at his birth, that all the fairies were invited to his christening, and 3 His defects. each brought a gift of some mental quality to adorn his future life. One brought courage, one genius, a third the graces, and so on. To one old fairy, however, no invitation had been sent, and in anger she came, and in spite brought a gift which should annul all those the others had bestowed; and that was, that he should be unable to make any use of them. Following out this fable, a very powerful old fairy had been left out of the invitation at the christening of Charles X. His abilities were considerable; he had good natural parts, and great quickness in the apprehension of ideas in conversation, and an extraordinary turn for felicitous colloquy. Many of the sayings he made use of, in the most important crises of his life, became historical; repeated from one end of Europe to the other, they rivaled the most celebrated of Henry IV. in warmth of heart, and the most felicitous of Louis XIV. in terseness of expression. But, with all these valuable qualities, which, under other circumstances, might have rendered him one of the most popular monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of France, he was subject to several weaknesses still more prejudicial, which, in the end, precipitated himself and his family from the throne. He was extremely fond of the chase, and rivaled

any of his royal ancestors in the passion for hunting; but with him it was not a recreation to amuse his mind amidst more serious cares, but, as with the Spanish and Neapolitan princes of the house of Bourbon, a serious occupation, which absorbed both the time and the strength that should have been devoted to affairs of state. A still more dangerous weakness was the blind submission, which increased with his advancing years, that he yielded to the Roman Catholic priesthood. He had been in former times passionately attached to a very charming lady, Madame de Pollastron; and on her death-bed he had vowed that he would never yield to a fresh passion, but devote to the Most High the fidelity which he had sworn to her in this world. He did so; but the resolution, however respectable in its principle, induced a change in his character more fatal than any female influence could by possibility have been; for it brought him under the direction, not of the changeful caprices of beauty, the very volatility of which often prevents their being attended

¹ Lamartine, with any serious danger, but of a firm and consistent priesthood, whose undying influence was unceasingly directed, wholly regardless of consequences, to the augmentation of the power and authority of their own body.¹

The first care of the new monarch on coming to the throne was to secure the order of succession in favor of his son. He was too well aware of the scarcely concealed pretensions of the Orleans family to the crown, not to be aware of the danger of a contest for it, and of the importance of taking every possible step which might secure its descent in the direct line of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. The saying of Louis XVIII. in regard to the Duke of Orleans, "He is near enough the throne already; I shall take care he does not approach it more nearly," was constantly present to his mind. There was a certain awkwardness in declaring a prince long past the prime of life Dauphin for the first time, an appellation usually bestowed, like that of the Prince of Wales, on the heir-apparent to the throne at his birth, and it might be construed into an open declaration of war against the Orleans family. But in the insecure state of the Crown, it was important during the lifetime of the reigning monarch to declare his successor, and the advantages of such a step appeared to overbalance the dangers with which it was attended. The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, accordingly, were declared Dauphin and Dauphiness of France; but at the same time, to conciliate the rival family, the title of "Your Royal Highness" was bestowed on the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, and a regiment in the Guards bestowed on their eldest son, the Duke of Chartres. To these marks of favor he added the substantial benefit of a gift in fee under the feudal title of *appanage* of the immense domains of the house of Orleans, which, reft from it in 1791 by the Revolution which it had supported, had been bestowed on the family in life-rent by Louis XVIII., and was restored it by the crown against which it had conspired. In his anxiety to secure the grandeur of the house of Orleans, he caused this magnificent

grant, which rendered them the richest family in Europe, to be confirmed by the Chambers by the same act which settled the provision on the Crown. He judged of others by the generosity of his own heart; he ¹ Lam. viii. 9, 12, 15; thought he could stifle rivalry by Cap. ix. 4, kindness; he only kindled ambition 8; Lac. iv. 133, 135. by gratification.¹

No change was made by the new sovereign in the ministers of state, who indeed ^{5.} were as favorable to the royal cause as any that he could well have selected. But from the very outset of his reign there was a *Camarilla*, or secret court, composed entirely of ecclesiastics, who had more real influence than any of the ostensible ministers, and to whose ascendancy in the royal councils the misfortunes in which his reign terminated are mainly to be ascribed. The most important of these were, the Cardinal Latil, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been the King's confessor during the time he was in exile, and earnestly recommended to him by Madame de Pollastron, and who possessed the greatest influence over his mind; the Pope's Legate, Lambruschini, a subtle and dangerous ecclesiastical diplomatist; and M. Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, a man of probity and worth, but full of ambition, and ardently devoted to the interests of his order. To these, who formed, as it were, the secret cabinet that directed the King, and of which he took counsel in all cases, was added the whole chiefs of the ultra-Royalist and ultra-Catholic party, who, like a more numerous privy council, were summoned on important emergencies. The most important of these were the Duke de Rivière and Prince Polignac, who had both given proofs of their ardent devotion to the throne; M. de Vaublanc, long an intimate counselor of the new monarch, and whose advanced years had not diminished either his ambition or spirit of intrigue; and M. de Vitrolles, who had taken so important a part in the first Restoration. He possessed qualities which at once made it probable that he would gain the lead in such a secret council, and power eminently dangerous in its direction. Bold but yet courteous, ambitious but insinuating, knowing much of individual men, but little of the course of events, without the responsibility of ostensible office, but with the influence of secret direction, he was the very man to recommend dangerous measures, of which others, in the event of failure, would bear the responsibility, and he, in the event of success, would reap the fruits. Such was the secret council by which Charles from the first was almost entirely directed, and the history of his reign is ¹ Lam viii. little more than the annals of the con- 9. 11; Lac. sequences of their administration. iv. 132, 133.

The King made his public entry into Paris on the 27th September. The day ^{6.} was cloudy, and the rain fell in torrents as he moved through the king into Paris. Sept. 27. streets, surrounded by a brilliant cortège; but nothing could damp the ardor of the people. Mounted on an Arab steed of mottled silver color, which he managed with perfect skill, the monarch traversed the whole distance between St Cloud and the palace, bowing to the people in acknowledgment of their salutations with that inimitable grace which pro-

⁴ The Duke d'Angoulême is declared Dauphin.

^{5.} The secret Camarilla of ecclesiastics.

¹ Lam viii. 9. 11; Lac. iv. 132, 133.

claimed him at once, like the Prince-Regent in England, the first gentleman in his dominions. His answers on his way to and when he arrived at the palace were not less felicitous than his manner. When asked if he did not feel fatigued, he replied, "No; joy never feels weariness." "No halberts between my people and me, cried he to some of his attendants, who were repelling the crowd which pressed in too rudely upon his passage—an expression which recalled his famous saying on April 12, 1814, "There is but one Frenchman the more." Never had a monarch been received with such universal joy by his subjects. "He is charming as hope," said one of the numerous ladies who were enchanted by his manner. Some of his courtiers had suggested the propriety of taking some precautions against the ball of an assassin in the course of his entry. "Why so?" said he: "they can not hate me without knowing me; and when they know me, I am sure they will not hate me." Every thing in his manner and expressions toward those by whom his family had been opposed, seemed to breathe the words, "I have forgotten." Marshal Grouchy, who had made the Duke d'Angoulême prisoner in 1815, was restored to favor. To General Excelmans he said, "I have forgotten the past, but I feel assured I may rely upon you for the future."¹

The first act of Charles was one eminently calculated to realize the expectations excited by these felicitous expressions, and to tinge the opening of his reign with the brightest colors. On the very evening before his entry into Paris, he proposed, in a council of his ministers, to abolish the censorship of the press. The Ministers acquiesced in the proposal, though not without secret misgivings as to the result; and next morning a decree appeared in the *Moniteur*, formally abolishing the restrictions on the press.* It need not be said with what transports this resolution was received by the press, which had been severely galled by the restrictions, and was proportionally enchanted by their removal. Even the journals heretofore most strongly opposed to the Bourbons were profuse in their expressions of gratitude, and their professions of loyalty. "A new reign," said the *Courrier Français*, the most violent of the Liberal journals, "has commenced: the King wishes the general good, but he has need to be taught how it is to be attained. In restoring liberty to the journals, his wisdom has torn asunder that cloud of deception with which his Ministers would willingly envelop him; what more assuring pledge can the nation desire? what more efficacious guarantee can it obtain for the future?" A review of the National Guard, held the next day, and at which the King rode through the ranks on horseback,¹ afforded an opportunity for giving vent to their sentiments in a way of all others the most reassuring—from the voice of the armed force of the

capital. Never, not even in the palmy days of Napoleon and the Empire, had the monarch been received with louder and more unanimous demonstrations of affection.

In proportion as this great concession to public freedom was calculated to insure the present popularity of the monarch, did it augment his future dangers, if the measures of his government did not in all respects keep pace with the ambition of the journals and the expectations of the people. Like many other similar measures, it purchased present tranquillity at the expense of future disturbance. But this peril, sufficiently great at all times, and under all circumstances, was augmented in a most serious degree in the case of Charles from the ultra-Romish principles by which he was actuated, and the influence of the secret conclave of Jesuits and priests by which the determinations of the monarch were ruled. The principles of this party were in direct opposition to those of the Revolution, for they tended to extinguish the freedom of thought, and re-establish that sacerdotal despotism which, even more than the oppression of the Crown, it had been the object of that convulsion to remove. Yet so little were the chiefs of this religious party aware of this, that they were zealous in wishing the restoration of the freedom of the press, and were the chief instigators of the measure. They recollected how powerfully the pen of M. de Chateaubriand and the columns of the *Conservateur* had aided their cause in the days of M. Decazes and the Duke de Richelieu, and anticipated a corresponding support, now that it was freed from its fetters; forgetting, or never having learned, that Romanism, in the days of its misfortune, will sometimes ally itself with Liberalism, but never fails to become its bitterest enemy in those of its power.¹

Before the new reign had continued many weeks, appearances began to indicate what was deemed an undue preponderance of the *Parti-prêtre* in the palace, and to create uneasiness as to its coming ascendancy in the Cabinet. On all sides there was a talk of establishing new colleges for the Jesuits, and some were actually set on foot, with a munificence which showed that their funds came from no ordinary sources. Montrouge, their chief religious seminary, became the centre to which they drew the youth of the highest distinction about the court. Wise in their generation, they passed by the middle-aged and confirmed in opinion, and bent their whole efforts to influence the thoughts and win the affections of the young. A perpetual file of splendid equipages was to be seen at the doors of their seminary, indicating the elevated connections of their pupils. The court itself assumed an entirely new aspect: masses, vespers, fasts, processions, sermons, prayers, became the order of the day; an air of extraordinary sanctity the best avenue to promotion. So numerous, however, were the observances, so austere the practices, so rigid the fasts prescribed for the devotees, that many thought the favor of the court was dearly purchased at such a price. Great efforts were made to spread

* "Ne jugeant pas nécessaire de maintenir plus longtemps la mesure qui a été prise dans des circonstances différentes contre les abus de la Liberté des Journaux, l'ordonnance du 15 Août dernier cessera d'avoir son effet."
—*Moniteur*, 28 Sept., 1824.

7.
Abolition
of the cen-
sorship of
the press.
Sept. 28.

¹ Lam. viii. 15,
17; Cap. ix. 15,
17; Lac. iv.
128, 129.

9.
Increase of
the Jesuits'
influence at
the court,
and their
efforts in
the coun-
try.

¹ Cap. ix. 30,
33; Lac. iv.
130, 134.

religious fervor among the soldiers: the Minister at War, M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, nephew of the Archbishop of Toulouse, one of the most enthusiastic of the prelates, and who shared all his uncle's zeal, was indefatigable in his endeavors to electrify the troops, a task of difficulty and obloquy in a scoffing and irreligious generation, but which, from the religious feelings of several of the regiments raised in rural districts, sometimes met with surprising success. A regular system of catechising was established in many regiments; the Royalist journals were filled with accounts, ostentatiously paraded, of military communions among soldiers by hundreds at a time. Incessant processions, in which the priests were to be seen arrayed in unheard of luxury of ecclesiastical splendor, were to be seen in the streets of the capital and the chief provincial towns. The people looked on sometimes with reverence, sometimes with indifference, often with contempt. In all this the Jesuits and leaders of the congregation, as this party was called, mistook the signs of the times, and injured rather than advanced the progress of real devotion. They were right in supposing that it was by the influence of religious feeling that it was alone possible to combat the progress of revolutionary ideas; but they were wrong in imagining that it was on the throne that the fountain from which they were to spread was to be opened. It was not from the temple of Jerusalem, but the 1 Lac. iv. 132, 138; fishermen of Galilee, that the faith 2 Cap. ix. 21, 30. sprung which changed the face of the world.¹

The extreme religious party, however, were very powerful both in the Chamber of Deputies and the administration; and it is not surprising that, seeing their strength at once in the legislature and the court, they were sanguine in their hopes of being able to reconstruct society on an entirely new basis. They could boast of one hundred and thirty members of the Chamber of Deputies who were entirely in their interest—so great was the change which the alterations in the Electoral Law, in 1821, had made in the composition of the representative part of the legislature. In the Peers they were less powerful, the numbers on whom they could there rely being not more than thirty; but this was not of much importance, as the court was known to be with them, and it was not likely that, except on a very anxious crisis, the Peers would thwart the wishes of the Government. The highest offices in the palace were filled by their adherents: M. de Latil disposed of the whole patronage there; and M. M. de Montmorency, de Blacas, and de Rivière, who held the situations of importance around the prince, were in their interest. M. Frayssinons, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, was a zealous and powerful supporter, by whom all the instructions and ceremonies at Montrouge were directed; and they had succeeded in getting a creature of their own either into every important office under Government, or into the confidence of the persons who actually held it. M. de Renneville, a young man of remarkable abilities, was intrusted with the surveillance of M. de Villèle, the President of the Council; M. Tronchet, with

that of the Minister of the Interior; M. Delavan, of the Minister of Police; M. Doudeauville, of the King's Household; M. de Dumas, of Foreign Affairs; M. de Vaulchier, of the Post-office. By the unseen but ceaseless agency of these zealous and able partisans, who were all in the interest of the Jesuits, it was hoped that the object of their leaders would be attained without the public becoming aware of what was going forward, or the jealousy of the press or the tribune being awakened, as the ostensible holders of the great offices of state had undergone no alteration since the demise of the late king.¹

It was no easy matter, however, to conceal this secret agency altogether from the vigilant eyes of the press, for its leaders were both able and clear-sighted. At the head of the party who, from the very first, detected and denounced the movements of the Jesuits, was the Count de Montlouis, a veteran of the Right in the Constituent Assembly, but who anticipated nothing but evil from the zealous efforts of the ultra-religious party in the present time. The Viscount de Chateaubriand also, though an ardent and devoted Royalist, united his efforts to those who opposed the ultramontane party; he was too sagacious not to see that the age was not one in which the press could be fettered or thought confined in bonds. The Abbé de Pradt also gave the aid of his ready pen and envenomed wit to the same side; while in the daily press PAUL COURIER was already giving tokens of those great abilities on the Liberal side which afterward rendered his name so celebrated; and Hoffman, the most powerful writer in the *Journal des Debats*, proved that the weapon of Pascal could pass into the hands of those who were not so sincerely attached to the cause of religion.²

The good sense and delicate tact of the King prevented the opposite parties coming into collision before the Chambers met; and the answers he made to the various constituted authorities and bodies which presented him with addresses on his accession to the throne, breathed the most liberal and conciliatory spirit.* The uncommon prosperity which prevailed in the kingdom, added to the satisfaction which these declarations created, and diffused a universal feeling of contentment and security. The harvests

* To the Papal Nuncio, who congratulated him on his accession, the King replied, "Mon cœur est trop déchiré pour que je puisse vous exprimer mes sentiments. Je n'ai qu'une ambition, et j'espère que Dieu me l'accordera, c'est de continuer avec zèle ce que mon vertueux frère a si bien fait; mon règne ne sera que la continuation du sien, tant pour le bonheur de la France que pour la paix et l'union de l'Europe." To the French Academy he answered, "Les sciences et les lettres ont perdu un protecteur, qu'il est cultivées des sa plus tendre jeunesse; je l'imiterai, non pas avec le même talent, mais avec le même zèle, et je suis persuadé que l'Académie me secondera." To the Minister of Public and Ecclesiastical Instruction he said, "J'ai besoin de grands secours: que le clergé joigne ses prières aux miennes; l'instruction publique est la chose la plus importante, non-seulement pour nous, mais pour nos successeurs. Je compte sur vos efforts pour continuer le règne de mon vertueux frère." To the President of the General Assembly of the French Protestants he said, "Soyez sûr de ma protection, comme vous l'étiez de celle de mon frère: tous les Français sont égaux à mes yeux; ils ont tous les mêmes droits à mon amour, à ma protection, et à ma bienveillance."—CAPEFIGUE, ix. 16, 18.

since 1818 had all been good; with the armies of the stranger, and the odious tributes paid to them, the inclemencies of the season, the storms of autumn, seemed to have passed away. Manufacturers, mainly dependent in France on the home market, had prospered with the prosperity of the agricultural classes, to whom they sold their produce; and the general cheapness of provisions, the happy result of abundance in them, not scarcity in the money by which they were represented, had extended among all classes the means of purchasing the comforts and luxuries of life. Steamboats had multiplied immensely in the principal rivers, and more than doubled the coasting trade. The silk manufacturers of Lyons, Rouen, St. Etienne, were in a state of prosperity superior to any they had ever enjoyed; and the cotton manufacturers rivaled those of England in every thing but the extent of their capital and the length of the credit they were enabled to give. The affluence which had in consequence accrued to the proprietors of these establishments, enabled them to surround the manufacturing towns with a circle of elegant villas, vying with those of Great Britain in elegance and splendor. The capital more than shared in the general prosperity of the kingdom; the equipages, the liveries, the balls, recalled the most prosperous days of the monarchy; the hotels were crowded with strangers, and the ample gains derived from their expenditure ¹ Lac. iv. 141, consoled the French for what had ² Ann. Hist. viii. 2, 3; Lac. iv. 156, 157. been extorted from them by their conquests.¹

The first circumstance which broke in upon this pleasing dream of unbounded prosperity, was an injudicious measure of the Government regarding the army. A royal ordonnance put on half-pay all those who, having a right to the maximum of their retired allowances, had not been employed since 1st January, 1823; and those who were entitled to less than the maximum and had not been employed since 1st January, 1816. The effect of this ordonnance, which for its object was very skillfully devised, was to throw out of active service fifty lieutenant-generals, and above a hundred marshals of the camp. Among the number were Generals Grouchy, Vandamme, Gazan, Drouot, Ornano, Excelmans, Harispe, and nearly the whole celebrities of the Empire. It may be supposed what a sensation an ordonnance of such general application and sweeping severity made in a country still moved by the passions of the Empire, and so passionately desirous of military glory as France was. The King was not aware of the effect of the measure when he gave his consent to it. It had been arbitrarily decreed by the Minister at War, who was entirely in the interest of the Camarilla, to exclude from the army all those who might prove hostile to the measures they had in contemplation. Such as it was, however, the measure was so unpopular, and so far in advance of what the nation was prepared for, that the King was from the outset obliged to accord exemptions to certain persons from its operation; and they ere long became so numerous that the ordonnance remained without any other practical effect but

the calamitous one of exciting doubts and apprehensions as to the real intentions of the Government. General Foy expressed the general feeling when he said the ordonnance was "a cannon-shot charged at Waterloo, fired ten years after the battle, and pointed direct at its mark."¹

The Chambers were opened by the King in person with great pomp on the 22d December, and the speech from the throne, which was very cautiously and temperately expressed, and received with unbounded applause, still, when attentively considered, foreshadowed some changes pointing to a desire to recur to the old régime of the monarchy.* It was not obscurely intimated that a great measure of indemnity to the sufferers by the Revolution was in preparation; and how violent soever might be the opposition to such a measure, both in the Chambers and the country, the state of parties in the legislature presented the fairest prospects of carrying it into execution with success. When the votes for the President of the Chamber of Deputies were taken, M. Ravez had 215 voices, M. Chilaud de la Rigaudie 199, the Prince de Montmorency 177, and the Marquis de Bailly, who was supported by the whole strength of the Liberal party, only 142. M. Ravez was selected by the King, this being the seventh time he had enjoyed that honor.²

Much had been said in his last days of the debts of the late king, his prodigality to his favorites, the immense sums with which Madame du Cayla had been enriched at the expense of the nation. The event disproved all these assertions: it was found that Louis had left no debts; the accounts of his household were in the best possible order, and the rare feature in royal exchequers was exhibited, of a constant excess of some hundred thousand francs a year over the expenditure. All his kind acts to friends, which were very numerous, all his public and private charities, which were immense, had been provided for by the economy and good order of his private establishment. The public finances were in a not less prosperous condition, and promised to realize the hopes held forth in the speech from the throne, that the indemnity to the emigrants, how great soever, might be provided for without injuring public credit, or materially adding to the burdens of the nation. The cessation of the enormous war-payments to

* "Nous avons perdu un roi sage et bon. La gloire de son règne ne s'effacera jamais. Non-seulement il a relevé le trône de mes ancêtres mais il l'a consolidé par des institutions qui, en rapprochant et réunissant le passé et le présent, ont rendu à la France le repos et le bonheur. Le roi mon frère trouvait une grande consolation à préparer les moyens de fermer les plans de la Révolution; le moment est venu d'exécuter les sages desseins qu'il avait conçus. La situation de nos finances permettra d'accomplir ce grand acte de justice et de politique, sans accroître les impôts, sans nuire au crédit. Je veux que la cérémonie de mon sacre termine la première session de mon règne. Vous assisterez, Messieurs, à cette auguste cérémonie. La prosterner au pied du même autel où Clovis reçut l'onction sainte, et en présence de Celui qui juge les peuples et les rois, je renouvellerai le serment de maintenir et de faire observer les institutions octroyées par le roi mon frère."— *Annuaire Historique*, vol. viii., Appendix No. 1.

the Allies, and the preservation of peace now for a period of ten years, had so restored the finances of France that not only was the sinking fund maintained inviolate, and the public debt undergoing a sensible diminution, but the agreeable feature of an excess of income above expenditure had been exhibited in the public accounts. The Five per Cents had risen to one hundred and two in the beginning of

¹ Ann. Hist. viii. 35; Doc. Hist.; Cap. ix. 37, 38; Lac. iv. 157, 158.

1825, and the price of grain fallen to fifteen francs the hectolitre—rates still more indicative of the general prosperity which prevailed.^{1*}

Four laws, alike characteristic of the principles on which the government of Charles X. was to be conducted, were brought forward in the Chamber on January 3. The first was the law on the civil list, or settlement of the revenue of the crown, which was fixed at 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) for the King during his life, besides 7,000,000 francs (£280,000) for the service of his family, and 6,000,000 (£240,000) for the obsequies of the late king, and the coronation of his successor. This law was chiefly remarkable from the noble grant which it contained of the whole territorial possessions of the Orleans family to the present possessors of its honors. These immense estates had been annexed to the state in 1791; and Louis XVIII. had only accorded a temporary usufruct of its rents and profits to the family. But Charles, in a truly regal spirit, now proposed to sanction the restitution by law, so

as to put it beyond the reach of himself or his successors, on the condition only that, in the event of the failure of the male line of the family, the estates should revert to the crown. This magnanimous gift to a rival and long hostile family passed the Deputies by an immense majority, and the Peers almost unanimously. It is melancholy to reflect on the return which the Orleans family made to Charles for this graceful concession.²

The next measure proposed, and by far the most important of Charles's reign, was that for the creation of a stock to provide an indemnity to the sufferers by the Revolution. This was proposed to be effected by the creation of a stock to the extent of a milliard of francs (£400,000,000) in the Three per Cents, the whole money paid for which was to be devoted to the families which had lost their possessions during that convulsion. The elevated state of the public funds at once insured above £100 for each £3 a year inscribed, and secured the gift to the emigrants at the cost only of three per cent. to the nation. The annual charge would be about 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000) a year; and to reconcile the people to the imposition of such a burden, M. de Villèle consented to abandon his favorite project of reducing the interest of the national debt, which the high state of the public funds rendered easy of accomplish-

^{17.} Law of indemnity to the sufferers by the Revolution.

ment in a financial point of view, but the violent resistance of the holders of stock scarce practicable in a political. M. de Martignac was the principal author of this great measure; and as it interested so many feelings, revived so many reminiscences, and excited so much jealousy, it gave rise to the most violent debates both in and out of the legislature.¹

On the part of the government it was urged by M. de Martignac: "The families of the emigrants—dispossessed during an absence which all now acknowledge to have been legitimate, despoiled on their return of all hope of restitution by the sale of their estates—have claims on the benevolence of the King and the justice of the nation which can not be overlooked. Their fields, their houses, the inheritance of their families, have been confiscated and sold for the benefit of the nation. To every generous mind that constitutes a claim, the justice of which can not be disputed. But as the contracts and sales which have taken place during the progress of the Revolution must be maintained inviolate—and their sacredness constitutes the corner-stone of the Restoration—the only means that remains of making good the indemnity is by pecuniary payments to the sufferers in proportion to the amount which they have lost. All hearts have felt the force of this appeal; it was first made by a noble peer (Marshal Macdonald), one of the ornaments of the Empire, in the first months which succeeded the Restoration; and France will never forget the generous sentiments to which he then gave utterance. The misfortunes of 1815, the heavy pecuniary difficulties to which they gave rise, the necessity of providing succor in his misfortunes to the King of Spain, have rendered it necessary to postpone from time to time the great work of reparation, but it has never been lost sight of; and the measure now proposed is in substance the same as that which had been matured in the cabinet of the late king, before the army of the Duke d'Angoulême crossed the Pyrenees.

"The moment has now arrived when it is practicable, nay easy, to carry these just intentions into effect—to give vent to these generous sentiments. The final discharge of all the arrears due to the army of occupation, the prosperous state of our finances, the constantly increasing strength of our credit, the good intelligence which prevails between the King and the other European powers, have at length enabled us to set in good earnest about sounding that wound which the Revolution has opened, which the Restoration has not yet closed; and which, though it seems to affect only a part, in reality reaches the whole body politic. The time has at length arrived when we can say to those who have been spoiled of their inheritance, and who have borne their misfortunes with a noble resignation, 'The state has deprived you of your possessions; it has in times of trouble and of disorder transmitted them to others; the state, restored to peace and to the sway of legitimacy, makes you the only reparation in its power; receive it, and with the gift may all trace of these confiscations and heartburnings disappear forever.'

18. Argument of M. de Martignac in favor of the measure.

	Francs.	£
* The Expenditure of 1824 was	986,073,842	or 39,440,000
The Income.....	994,971,960	or 39,800,000

Excess of Income 8,898,118 or 360,000

—*Annuaire Historique*, App. 31, Partie I., 1825.

20. Continued. "We are asked, why should the losses sustained by the emigrants be the only ones to which the measure of reparation applies? are there no other wounds which require to be stanchèd—no other scars which are not healed, which need not the healing salve? The holders of public stock, for example, who sustained a loss to the extent of two-thirds by the act of 1797, why are they excluded from the reparation? Your sense of justice, gentlemen, has suggested the answer. Without doubt the Revolution has produced evils without end; injustices without number have been the fruits of its errors and fury, and it is in vain to think of repairing them all. But because every one cannot be relieved, is no one to be succored? because the work of justice can not be rendered complete, is it never to be attempted? The case of the emigrants is trying and peculiar; they have been the victims of injustice without example, a ruin without parallel. The state creditors, victims of a culpable faithlessness, have lost, indeed, two-thirds of their stock, but they have preserved the remainder, and the great rise in the value of stock has restored to them much of what they had lost. But what have the emigrants regained of their inheritance? If, among the numerous evils which the Revolution has produced, there is one which justice signalizes as the most odious, and reason as the most fatal, one of which the origin is a crime against the most sacred rights, and the effects a cause of the most endless divisions, are we to be told that the impossibility of applying an entire remedy to such enormous evils is a reason for not attempting such as is in our power?

21. Continued. "The injustice which the emigrants have undergone, the evils they have suffered, is beyond what any other class have. The laws of the Maximum, of the Assignats, have destroyed a large part of the wealth of the capitalists, but they have not diminished their immovable possessions. Those who have seen their fields laid waste by the armies of the enemy, have also beheld the sun of succeeding years restore their harvests, and the labor of subsequent time efface the traces of devastation. But the laws against the emigrants have wrested from them their *all*, their credit, their claims, their movables, their lands, their houses. They have stript them of every thing, down to the very roof which had sheltered their forefathers from the storm.* It is for these evils that reparation is demanded. The evils they have undergone take them out of the

common case; the injustice they have experienced is peculiar, unprecedented. The confiscation to which they were subjected was the worthy accompaniment of the proscriptions; it could be compared only to the violent acts of Sylla and Marius. It is for France to give an illustrious example of the sense of justice which repairs as much as possible such terrible deeds of injustice, and to show that, if it can follow other nations in the path of iniquity, it can precede them in that of repentance and reparation.¹

"Let us not be told that the emigrants have leagued with the stranger against their country, and are no more worthy to be ranked among its citizens. 22. Concluded.

When they fled to the frontier, the king indeed was upon the throne, but he was powerless, he was in chains; his most faithful servants had been persecuted or destroyed. What became of the assemblies which succeeded? They mutually destroyed each other. What then remained for the emigrants to defend? Their country? At the very moment when they left it, their real enemies were tearing out its entrails. Our country is in our religion, and its altars were overturned; it is on the steps of the throne, and its ruins even were scattered: our country is in the king, around the king, and he had disappeared in the tempest. Our country is in its institutions, its laws; and it had no other institutions but prisons, no other laws but scaffolds. The emigrants sought safety in exile, that they might breathe freely; they found death on our soil, which was no longer their country. Who can say, in these circumstances, that the emigrants committed a fault; that they did wrong in striving to liberate their country from the most execrable of tyrannies; that they committed a crime in refusing to return and place their necks under the guillotine?"²

The great difficulty which the Government had to encounter in the discussion of this question, was not the resistance it roused, but the concurring claims which it awakened. The justice of the appeal to the nation was generally admitted, but it was urged that other sufferers, during recent times, had equal or superior claims for indemnification. The Chamber of Deputies was assailed by petitions of all sorts from all who had been impoverished, and many who had been enriched by the events which had occurred since the Revolution. The capitalists who had suffered from the confiscation of the public funds, the dealers who had been such losers by the law of the Maximum, the Vendéans whose fields had been ravaged during the terrible war of which their country had been the theatre; the marshals and officers who had been deprived of their provisions by the disasters of 1814 and 1815, which had reft from France the countries on which they had been secured—the sufferers under the foreign invasion of those years of mourning—all preferred the most urgent claims to indemnification. General Foy expressed the general feeling of the Liberal party

on the subject, when he used in the heat of debate the expressions which became famous.³ "At the moment of the splendid feast which you are

* M. de Martignac gave the following details as to the extent to which the confiscation of land estates had been carried during the Revolution, and compensation was now sought :

	Francs.
Estates valued at twenty years' purchase, and sold.	792,407,615 or £27,840,000
Estates sold, of which the value was calculated at current prices	605,352,992 or £24,280,000
	1,297,760,607 or £52,120,000
Deductions allowed	309,940,645 or £12,364,000
To be provided for	987,819,962 or £39,756,000

To meet which he proposed the inscription of 30,000,000 rentes on the Grand Livre, which would produce a capital of 1,000,000,000 francs, or £40,000,000.—*Annuaire Historique*, viii. 86, 87.—*Rapport de M. DE MARTIGNAC*.

¹ An. Hist. viii. 85, 86.

² An. Hist. viii. 96.

23. Embarrassment of the Government from other claims.

³ Séance du Jan. 26, 1825; *Moniteur*, Jan. 28, 1825.

about to serve up to the emigrants, let a few crumbs at least fall to the old and mutilated soldiers who have carried to the furthest corners of the earth the glory of the French name."

It was strenuously contended in opposition to the project of Government—"The situation of the country, externally and internally, is the least favorable that can be imagined for so vast an addition to the public burdens. At the first Restoration, in the year 1814, the budget for the ensuing year was fixed at 618,000,000 francs, comprising in that sum 70,000,000 francs for the liquidation of arrears; now our expenditure amounts to 1,000,000,000 francs, and it is proposed to augment it by 30,000,000 francs a year! We want peace with all the world; our armies occupy the strong places of a neighboring power; but our debt has multiplied fivefold, and general misery attests the suffering state of our people. Will even the large indemnity now proposed satisfy the claimants? Never: it will only open the door to fresh demands, and, like the sums given in former days to buy off the hostility of the Normans, it will immediately give rise to new clouds of depredators, who will ravage and lay waste our country.

"Every one knows that the emigration which proved most fatal to France—that which armed Europe against her—commenced in 1791. When it began, France was at peace with all the world; the greatest possible tranquillity reigned in the interior. The decree of August 1, 1791, enjoined the emigrants to return. Soon a constitution, framed according to the suggestions of the King, and sanctioned by the laws, offered the French the hope of a durable liberty. What did the emigrants do? Did they return, according to the royal invitation, according to the injunctions of the government, according to their duty to their country? They did just the reverse. They followed no other route but that to Coblenz; they placed their honor in foreign lands. Forgetting alike to whom they had sworn fidelity, and whom they were bound to defend alike from duty and interest, and whose life, had they done so, they would probably have saved, they leagued with the stranger, they armed themselves alike against their king and country, and, without regarding the dangers which threatened their parents, their wives, their children, they called Europe to share in the spoil of the land which had given them birth, and which was yet charged with the maintenance of all who were dear to them. The manifestoes of Berlin, of the Duke of Brunswick, had appeared; the war had commenced when the confiscation was pronounced. It was not a measure of severity upon countrymen, but of retaliation upon those who had become enemies.

"We are told the emigrants have lost every thing; the capitalists, the fundholders, the merchants, have lost only a part. Say rather—and you may do so with sincerity—the others have lost much, they have lost all, but they have remained faithful to their country. Hence the disregard they have experienced—'*inde mali labes*.' It is a mere illusion to say the emigrants have lost

every thing, and the other sufferers by the Revolution only a part. With the exception of a few provincial proprietors, who would receive but a very trifling part of the indemnity—with the exception of those who have suffered only in their movable estate, and whom the proposed law, based on the principles of justice, excludes—with the exception of a few cadets of families, who have nothing but their swords, they are all or nearly all electors, nearly all belong to the elevated class of the grand colleges, all or nearly all are eligible as representatives of the people.

"We are told it is desired to remove the feeling which exists against the new proprietors, but never was property which can be found on a juster title. If the possession of lands which have once been confiscated is illegitimate, what title is free from that defect? Where is the estate in France which has not been confiscated since the sentence pronounced against Robert of Artois or the Constable de Bourbon to our days? What answer could be made to a new proprietor who, presenting himself before the Chamber of Peers with a list of historic confiscations in his hand, should ask restitution of them all? What became of the estates of Coligny, Teligny, and the thousands of Frenchmen who perished on the execrable day of St. Bartholomew? In whose hands are the estates of those who fled from the persecution of Louis XIV. on account of their religion? All in the possession of court-favorites, many of them of the most unworthy description. The principle on which the law is rested, therefore, is one which goes to shake property of every description. See into what an abyss the Government is about to lead us. It awakens a process which has slumbered since the days of Gracchus, a process which revives the furies of Sylla and Marius, and you are the judges appointed to decide it!

"If any thing could add to the insanity of such a proceeding, it would be the selection of the tribunal which is to decide so perilous a question. It is a fundamental principle of jurisprudence, recognized in all countries and in all ages, that no man is to be permitted to decide in his own cause. But when I look around me in the Chamber, I see nothing but parties interested—not one impartial judge. Not one but has a share, some a very large one, of the proffered indemnity to expect. In vain will you give the name of law to your decision in such a cause; it never can bear that character. It is essential to a law that it should be general, apply indiscriminately to all the citizens, whether it pronounces on their interests or determines on their duties. The present project can never approach to that august character, for it is the decision of a question in dispute, a litigated point between a part of the people and the whole, and the judgment is to be pronounced by the very parties most deeply interested in the issue. Whatever conclusion you arrive at, therefore, can never be a law; it can only be a decision of a litigated point by one of the litigants. And are we, the guardians of the laws, the protectors of right, the final judges in the last court of appeal, to set out with a proceeding so unjust that it would at once be set aside by a

24.
Argument
against the
project by
the Liber-
als.

25.
Continued.

26.
Continued.

27.
Continued.

28.
Continued.

superior judicatory, if attempted by the humblest in the land?

“What did the emigrants go to the stranger to ask? War—war against France, under chiefs and armies whose ambition after victory they would have been powerless to restrain. What is this but treason of the very worst description—treason against the land of your birth? All nations have an instinct which is superior to all other instincts—the instinct of self-preservation; a feeling paramount to all other feelings—the feeling of patriotism. All nations have regarded the citizen who herds with the stranger against his native land as its worst enemy. If such sentiments did not exist, if they were not implanted in our breasts by the hand of nature, it would be necessary to invent them; and the nation which should depart from these conservative principles, essential to the life and duration of societies, would be no longer a nation; it would have abdicated its independence, accepted ignominy, and voluntarily committed the most odious of suicides.

“It is the fundamental principle of a hereditary monarchy that the throne appertains to the nation; that it is founded with it, identified with it; that for its advantage, and that alone, it is occupied by a single race—by that race and no other race, by that prince and no other prince. Individual properties pass from hand to hand; they are sold and parceled out: the nation derives benefit from every sale and every division. But in the midst of that universal movement and turmoil, the throne alone remains in majestic stillness, motionless for the benefit of all. Should the day ever arrive when a whirlwind should separate the monarch from the monarchy, the whirlwind passes away, the monarch is restored to the monarchy. Those, then, calumniate the royal majesty who would separate the monarch from his entire subjects, who would make him the auxiliary only of a party, and who would place the King of France elsewhere than at the head of the affections, of the glories of the universal French people.”¹

The law passed both Chambers by large majorities; that in the Deputies being 105—the numbers being 259 to 154; in the Peers, 96—the numbers being 159 to 63.²

One very singular result, which was little expected, ensued from this measure, and that was the altered relations of the different classes of society to each other. The addition of so vast a capital as £40,000,000 sterling, equivalent to at least £60,000,000 in Great Britain, to a single class in society, the dispossessed proprietors, made a prodigious difference in their weight in society, but it did not restore their original position. It rendered them fundholders, not landholders; it allied them in interest, at least, not with the ter-

ritorial, but the moneyed class—not with the country, but the town. The importance of this change was not at first perceived, and least of all by the recipients of the indemnity, who were overjoyed at such an unlooked-for addition to their means of existence; but the consequences became very apparent in the end, and will be traced in the sequel of this work. The addition of so large a sum also to the movable capital of the nation produced a very great movement, gave a vast impulse to speculation, and augmented the moneyed interest so much as to throw the elections for the most part into their hands, and contributed in no small degree to the blind security on the part of the Government which led to the fall of the monarchy.¹

The distribution of this magnificent gift of justice was made with the greatest impartiality; the spirit of party had no hand in it. The greatest enemies of the throne, those who in the end overturned it, received as much in proportion as its staunchest supporters. It was only to be regretted that, owing to the magnitude of the estates of some of the great families which had been sold, the proportion which their heirs received was exorbitantly large, while that which fell to the lot of the provincial noblesse was often, from the scantiness of their heritage, very inconsiderable. The Duke of Orleans received no less than 14,000,000 francs (£560,000) for that part of his estates which had been sold; the Duke de Choiseul and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld 1,000,000 francs each (£40,000); the family of Montmorency 12,000,000 francs (£480,000); M. de Lafayette 400,000 francs (£16,000). It is melancholy to reflect on the part which many of these recipients of the royal bounty afterward took against their benefactors. In the mean time, however, the magnitude of the sums received diffused universal satisfaction, not only among the individuals who received the indemnity, but their relations, creditors, and dependants; and the ease and prosperity thence diffused through the nation went far to smooth the path of Charles X. in the first years of his reign.²

The clergy, as mere life-renters, possessed only of a usufructuary interest in the possessions which formerly belonged to the church, had no share in this indemnity, and this naturally excited some dissatisfaction among a body which had suffered so much from the Revolution as the ecclesiastical had done. It is a singular proof of the strange and infatuated ideas which at this period had got possession of the leaders of the French church, and their supporters in the Ministry, that they thought they would compensate this want, and extinguish this discontent, not by an enlarged provision for the church, but by an *enhancement of the pains of sacrilege*. A law was introduced by the Government, which proposed to punish the profanation of the consecrated elements with the pains of parricide; that of the sacred vases, not yet filled with the consecrated elements, with death; theft in churches or sacred places with death, or forced labor for life; and of sacred objects in unconsecrated places, with lesser penalties, as impris-

* The two last paragraphs in this argument are taken from the speech of General Foy on the question. It is easy to discern in them the distinctive marks of a great orator. One of the greatest privileges and chief enjoyments of a historical work of this description is that of translating or transcribing so many noble specimens of eloquence from the most gifted speakers of all nations.

¹ Cap. ix.
77, 78, Lac.
iv. 168, 169.

² Distribution of the indemnity: large share which fell to the Duke of Orleans and other Liberals.

² Lac. iv. 169;
Cap. ix. 74, 76.

³ Law against sacrilege.

onment for various periods. The excessive severity of these enactments, more suited to the twelfth than the nineteenth century, excited, as might have been expected, the most violent opposition in both Chambers. Viscount Chateaubriand spoke and voted for the amendment proposed by the Liberals; but such was the strength of the ultra-religious party in both, that the law, without any material alteration, passed the Commons by a majority of 115, and 36 in the Peers. It is worthy of notice, that in all these extreme measures the majority in the Commons was much greater than in the Peers; so materially had the modification of the Electoral Law, and the admission of an enlarged number of rural representatives, altered the character of the popular part of the legislature. The professed object of the law was to check the growth of irreligion and infidelity—a design in the importance of which all must concur,

¹ Ann. Hist. viii. 64, 65, 74; it was likely to be favored or retarded by enactments of so extreme and rigorous a description, is by no means equally clear.¹

Another step, less important in itself, but equally significant, as indicating the rapid tendency of ideas and legislation in the party at present ruling the state toward Romish institutions, was the bill for legalizing female religious communities. The law of January 2, 1817, had enacted, that every religious establishment recognized by the law should be capable of holding property under certain conditions; but this privilege applied only to societies of men. The present law extended the privilege to societies of women, on condition of their being established for religious and charitable purposes, under certain prescribed regulations, and approved by the bishop of the diocese. It was stated by the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, in the debate on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, that 140,000 sick persons among the poor were yearly attended by the pious care of the Sisters of Charity, 120,000 children in the humblest classes received gratuitous education from their labors, and 100,000 in the higher an education suitable to their more elevated duties. Certainly in these exemplary duties there was nothing which was not the proper object of admiration; and so obvious were the advantages of these charitable institutions, that, notwithstanding the jealousy of monastic advances, the bill passed the Chambers by a very large majority, that in the Deputies being 263 to 27.²

Although M. de Villèle had been defeated upon the question of a reduction of the interest of the national debt, he did not despair of ultimate success; and the extremely high state of the public funds, which had attained such an elevation that the Five per Cents were above a hundred, afforded the fairest prospect of success. The indemnity to the emigrants, as already noticed, was based on the establishment of a three per cent. stock; and as the principle of such interest was once admitted, it seemed to afford a precedent for effecting a gradual reduction of interest to the same level. The plan now brought forward by M. de Villèle was less

extensive than that which had been thrown out in the preceding year, and therefore less likely to excite general alarm; but it was destined to the same object, and intended to prepare the way for a more general measure. The Government proposed to the holders of five per cent. stock to convert them into four and a half per cent., with a guarantee against being paid off before 1835. It was hoped that this advantage, in the existing state of the money market, would induce the holders of stock to consent to the small reduction of their interest. The project, which was very complicated in its details, was adopted by a large majority in both Chambers; the numbers being, in the Deputies, 237 to 119; in the Peers, 134 to 92. Thus commenced the system of progressively reducing the interest of the public debt—a system, the expedience of which, in a financial point of view, is beyond all dispute, but which, in a social, is attended with very important and often unlooked-for results. "When the public funds," said M. Bertin de Veaux, during the discussion of this question, "shall yield only three per cent., and will yield only two per cent.; its value as stock will increase, its income diminish. Would you know the result of such a state of things? It must be the *entire disappearance of small properties*. To them it is, in truth, a law of expropriation. Under the long-continued action of such a system, the soil of France will come to be divided among a few great millionaires and seigneurs, who alone will be able to bear, from the immensity of their possessions, the low rate of profit to be derived from any portion of land."* It may be subject of grave consideration whether this effect is not already taking place in Great Britain, when it is recollected that, despite its vast stores of accumulated wealth, drawn from all parts of the world, there are only ¹ Ann. Hist. 236,000 persons possessed, from every source, of an income of £200 a year.¹

The coronation of the King took place, with extraordinary pomp, at Rheims on the 29th May. An accident which occurred to the King's carriage, and was nearly attended with fatal effects to the royal person, on the journey to the town a few days before, afforded, by the anxious solicitude which it awakened in all classes, a measure of the popularity of the sovereign. Nothing could exceed the grandeur and magnificence of the preparations and the ceremony, in which all the minutiae of feudal etiquette were religiously preserved, but combined with the splendor of modern riches and the delicacy of modern taste. An important change, indicative of the spirit of the age, was introduced into the oath which the monarch took on the occasion. A long negotiation between the government and the heads of the church had been carried on before, which terminated in a considerable modification of the coronation oath, both as regards the duty of the King to his subjects, and the obligations

* The beneficial effect of M. de Villèle's motion on the finances appeared from the result in August 5, when the books, opened for the conversion of five per cents to four and a half, were closed. The reduction of interest was 6,238,000 francs a year, which was applied to a reduction of the land-tax.—*Ordonnance*, 23d Sept., 1825; *Annuaire Historique*, viii. 284.

² Ann. Hist. viii. 25, 43. The bill passed the Chambers by a very large majority, that in the Deputies being 263 to 27.²

³ Measure of M. de Villèle for the reduction of the debt

³⁶. Coronation of the King at Rheims. May 29.

formerly imposed on him to persecute heretics. The oath he now took was to govern his subjects *according to the Charter*, and merely to maintain the Roman Catholic religion without assailing any other.* All the powers of Europe were present, by their ambassadors, at the august spectacle. England was worthily represented in rank, character, and splendor, by the Duke of Northumberland. All hearts were moved by the magnificent spectacle, which recalled the days of Joan of Arc and the paladins of the monarchy. None could foresee the gulf which was yawning beneath so brilliant a surface, or the treacheries which were to disgrace the last days of the monarchy of St. Louis. Three marshals were made Chevaliers of the Cordon Bleu on this occasion, who had fought against the Bourbons during the Hundred Days—Soult, Mortier, and Jourdan. The Duke de Chartres was invested with it,

¹ Ann. Hist. with that great felicity of expression viii. 260, 267; which was peculiar to the King, and Cap. ix. 121, gave such a charm to his generous 122; Lam. action; and a general pardon of po- viii. 41, 42; litical offenders terminated in a wor- Lac. iv. 186, thy spirit the royal benefactions.¹ 190.

Notwithstanding these gracious acts and gorge-
 37. gous festivities, the Liberal party
 Prosecutions had taken the alarm, and several
 against the articles appeared in the journals,
 Liberal press. particularly in the *Drapeau Blanc*,
 the *Courrier Français*, and the *Constitutionnel*,
 which denounced the measures of the Jesuits
 and the "Congregation," or *Parti-prêtre*, in the
 most violent terms. They were injudiciously
 made the subject of a prosecution by the Pro-
 cureur-Général or King's Advocate. The in-
 dictment prayed for a suspension of the jour-
 nals for three months each. They were ably
 defended by M. Dupin, and the trial was the
 first struggle between the religious and Liberal
 party. The court avoided the difficulty of pro-
 nouncing sentence or acquitting, by declaring
 itself incompetent to pronounce the suspension
 craved, and dismissing the complaint, without
 costs; enjoining, at the same time, to the edi-
 tors of these journals to be more circumspect
 in future. Neither party could boast of this
 result as a decided triumph, but it was with
 reason regarded as a great advantage gained
 by the Liberals, who, being freed from the
 shackles of the censorship, and now relieved
 from the apprehensions of a prosecution, were
² Cap. ix. 137, left at liberty to continue their at- 138; An. Hist. tacks on the measures of Govern-
 viii. 296, 297. ment without restraint.²

The close of this year was marked by the
 38. death of two very eminent men on
 Death and opposite sides, whose genius threw
 character of a radiance over the brief, but, in
 General Foy. an intellectual view, glorious peri-
 od of the Restoration. The first of these was
 General Foy, who died on the 29th November,

* The oath, so far as regards the state, now taken, was in these terms: "En présence de Dieu, je promets à mon peuple de maintenir et d'honorer notre sainte religion, comme il appartient au Roi très-Chrétien et au Fils aîné de l'Eglise; de rendre justice à tous mes sujets; enfin, de gouverner conformément aux lois du Royaume et à la Charte constitutionnelle, que je jure d'observer fidèlement; qu'ainsi Dieu me soit en aide et ses Saints Evangiles. Nous jurons à Dieu, le Créateur, de vivre et de mourir en sa Sainte Foi et Religion Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine."—*Annuaire Historique*, viii. 267.

while still in the vigor of his talents and at the zenith of his reputation. He was carried off by an affection of the heart—a malady to which those seem to be peculiarly subject, who, like him, feel the force of genius impelled by the stream of the generous affections. The general grief felt at his premature end recalled that felt at the death of Mirabeau; yet had he not the genius, at once creative and destructive, of the French Demosthenes. His turn of mind was of a different kind, but one more suited to the comparatively pacific period of the Restoration. A soldier who had distinguished himself in the fields of fame under Napoleon, he had never shared in the servilities of the Empire; thence his long disgrace under the Imperial régime. A stern republican in principle, he combated for the independence of France at Waterloo; but when the Bourbons were restored, he bowed to the necessities of the times, and aimed, under the Restoration, not at subverting the dynasty, but at restraining its excesses, and establishing, in conformity with the spirit of the age, a tempered monarchy in France. He was often vehement and imprudent in his language at the tribune, but it was against the Ministers that his violence was directed, and he generally distinguished between the respect due to the throne and the opposition called forth by its measures. He possessed oratorical powers of a very high order, and was at the same time a distinguished military writer—a remarkable circumstance in a man bred up in camps, and accustomed to wield the sword rather than the thunders of the forum. Alone almost of his military contemporaries, he preserved through life the affections of his earlier years; and though no bigot in religion, at his mother's desire, to whom he had been tenderly attached, made known on her death-bed, he celebrated the anniversary of her death, wherever he was, by taking the communion, at which he had formerly participated with her. He died poor—the sure sign of virtue in a corrupted age; and a subscription opened, and soon filled up, at once evinced the public grief and provided in the most splendid way for his family. It amounted to 1,000,000 francs (£40,000). The Duke of Orleans subscribed 10,000 francs (£400), Casimir Perier the like ¹ Lam. viii. sum, the banker Lafitte 50,000 45, 47; Cap. ix. 140, 142. (£2000).¹

Very nearly at the same time, M. de Serres also paid the debt of nature. He ^{39.} had long been in declining health, Death and
 and had gone to Naples for its re- character of
 covery, where he expired on the M. de Serres.
 25th November. Less celebrated by party eu-
 logy than General Foy, less the object of na-
 tional homage, he was not on that account the
 less of a national loss, or less deplored by the
 friends to whom his splendid abilities and ex-
 emplary worth were known. Having espoused
 the Royalist side, and never courted the favor
 of the people, he did not share in the gales of
 popularity, and died at Naples, oppressed by
 electoral defeats and the ingratitude of his
 country. Like Scipio Africanus, who expired
 on the same shores, he might say, "Ingrata
 patria ossa mea non habebit." He was a man
 of the finest genius, gifted with the soul of ora-

tory. It was oratory, however, of the very highest kind, springing from an elevated mind, the outpouring of a noble spirit; and not, on that account, so well adapted as the less philosophic, but more impassioned eloquence of General Foy, for effect in the tribune. These two very eminent men, though opposite in thought, antagonists in action, were inspired with the sincerest admiration for each other, and expressed it with such generous enthusiasm as savored rather of the warmth of political partisanship than the sober estimate of hostile power—a sure proof that they were both of a lofty disposition, and worthy of each other's opposition and esteem.¹

The year 1825 was marked by an event which, although practically decided a quarter of a century before, by the disaster which had then befallen the French arms, was not formally settled till this time. This was the recognition of the independence of St. Domingo by a convention concluded with the envoys of that power on the 31st October. Although these envoys were commercial rather than political agents, and the convention itself was ostensibly for settling the affairs of trade, yet it was, like the similar recognition, shortly before, of the South American republics by Great Britain, a practical acknowledgment of independence; and as the first concession of that position to a state composed entirely of negro inhabitants, it deserves particular notice, as a step in the social progress of mankind. Regarded as a concession to liberal principles, and a step favorable to the interests of commerce, it was extremely well received, and rendered Charles X., for a brief period, a favorite on the Stock Exchange. The motives which led him to take this step, painful to the feelings of the monarch, and therefore honorable to the principles of the man, were thus explained by himself in confidential conversation: "In that negotiation I was not influenced merely by the advantages of commerce and the marine; I was moved chiefly by compassion for a class at once the most unfortunate, and the most undeserving of misfortune. No one can doubt the repugnance which I felt at entering upon that affair; I was in the same position in regard to St. Domingo as my brother had been in regard to France. Three parts alone remained for us to take—either to make war, and attempt to subdue them by force; or to abandon the island and colonists altogether; or to enter into a compromise. The last was the one which we adopted, and which my Ministers carried into execution." The emancipation, like the Charter, was on those

principles conceded by ordonnance, not April 17. treaty, to avoid the appearance of compulsion; an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs (£6,000,000) was fixed, according to a scale calculated on the losses of the colonists, and certain commercial advantages 2 Ann. Hist. viii. 289, 291; were stipulated for France in its Cap. ix. 145, future intercourse with its emancipated colony.²

The principal design which the Liberal party had in view, in urging upon Government the emancipation of St. Domingo, was to furnish a precedent for the recognition of the independ-

ence of the South American colonies—an object of the most intense desire in Great Britain, and for the attainment of which Mr. Canning exhausted all the powers of his eloquence, and all the influence of his position. The details of the negotiations which took place on the subject will be given in the account of British transactions, as that power had the chief hand in accomplishing that great revolution. But France had a share also, though less considerable, in the development of its results; for its government, too, anticipated commercial advantages for their subjects from the severance of the insurgent colonies from the parent state. M. de Villèle joined his representations in favor of the colonies to those of Mr. Canning; but they were less warm than those of the British Foreign Minister, and remained without effect. Spain answered them only by fresh preparations for an expedition to South America in the harbors of Ferrol and Cadiz.¹

The affair of St. Domingo was brought before the Chambers in the session of 1826, because, although the King might, of his own authority, publish ordinances, or conclude treaties, the consent of the legislature was essential for a grant of money for the indemnity to the colonists. The project brought forward by M. de Villèle, on the part of the Government, was the complement of the royal ordonnance of 17th April, and provided for raising the 150,000,000 francs for the indemnity to the colonists who had been ruined by the revolution in that island. The details brought forward to justify the grant afforded a melancholy proof of the disastrous results of the premature emancipation of the negroes; for it appeared that while, in 1789, the exports of the island had been 150,000,000 francs, they had now sunk to 30,000,000, of which one half only was clear profit, the other half being absorbed by the expenses of cultivation. Calculating the present net revenue of the island, therefore, at 15,000,000 francs, and the value of the estates at ten years' purchase, he proposed 150,000,000 francs as the indemnity to be given to the colonists for the loss of their estates, which, by the severance of the island, they lost all chance of recovering. This, of course, was no indemnity to the proprietors for the consequences of the revolution in the island, which had inflicted on them losses three times greater. It simply took them as they stood, and awarded compensation for their entire loss at their existing depreciated value. The measure, however, was so obviously founded on justice that it could not be withstood; for what was given to the colonists was not any compensation for the social revolution in the condition, but for the loss of estates taken from them by an ordonnance of the sovereign. It passed, accordingly, by large majorities in both houses—that in the Deputies 2 Ann. Hist. ix. 64, 72, being 245 to 70; in the Peers, 135 to 16.²

A subject of greater practical importance, and awakening more of the passions of the people in France, was that relating to a change in the law of succession. This subject has been treated

41. Negotiations for the independence of the Spanish colonies.

1 Cap. ix. 150, 153; Ann. Hist. viii. 290.

42. Legislative measures regarding St. Domingo. Feb. 11.

2 Ann. Hist. ix. 64, 72, 82; Cap. ix. 204, 219.

43. Law of entail: its necessity.

by the author in a former work, and the revolutionary law of succession which the 913th article of the civil code established ¹ Hist. of Europe, c. vi. § 63; and fully explained.¹ The law of entail, c. xxxv. § 91. or *Majorats*, which had been subsequently passed in the time of Napoleon, with a view to form a certain indefeasible provision for the heirs of hereditary honors, had not been generally acted upon; and as the existing law, where there was no majorat, effected a division of estates to the extent of nearly three-fourths on an average on every death, it was evident both that the lands of France would soon come to be infinitely subdivided, and that no suitable provision could by possibility exist for any length of time for the heirs of the hereditary honors of the monarchy. It was no easy matter, however, to discover a remedy for the evil, for the equal division of properties had been one of the greatest objects and most highly-prized victories of the Revolution, and no opinion was more generally adopted in France than that it was the chief blessing which that convulsion had conferred upon society. Government, in the midst of so many difficulties, proposed a middle course, in the hope of being able to do something for the support of the aristocracy without entirely alienating the body of the people. The law they proposed was, that in all properties which stood destined to the direct descending line, and which paid 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes, if the deceased had not disposed of the amount of the succession which the law left at his disposal, that quantum should, under the title of a legal *Precipium*, descend to the eldest son; and if he had disposed of a part of the disposable portion, the *precipium* should consist of what remains. These provisions, however, were only to take effect in the event of the deceased not having disposed of the disposable part by a deed, *inter vivos*, or by testament; but if he had not done so, it should attach ² An. Hist. ix. 86, 87; to the first instance to the immovable estate, and failing it to the movable.²

It was impossible that any law infringing on the revolutionary order of succession, and tending toward the restitution of the right of primogeniture, could do so in a more slight degree than this, because it proposed only to make that portion of the succession which the existing law itself left at the disposal of the testator, descend *ab intestato* to his eldest son. But political measures are judged of, in general, not by their immediate or even remote effects, but by the tendency which they indicate, and the principles of the party from which they emanate. This project met with the most violent opposition, not only in both Chambers, but in the public press and throughout the country. M. Pasquier and Count Molé were the most powerful orators on the popular side. "Let us consider," said the former, "the inevitable consequences of the adoption of such a law. It divides society into two portions, but two of very unequal dimensions. On the one side are the fathers and the eldest sons of France, on the other the entire population. Will it benefit the fathers of families, will it augment their authority, increase their influence? Does it not com-

pel them, on the contrary, by the most immoral of all combinations, to disinherit a part of their offspring? As little will it benefit the eldest sons. Will not their right, which injures nature, which is founded on feudal ideas and ancient customs, alienate from them their brothers and sisters, without bestowing any countervailing advantage on themselves? The law is as impolitic as it is unjust. It professes to establish an aristocracy of elder sons, but must not that very circumstance convert the younger into a redoubtable democracy, interested to overturn institutions from which they have sustained injustice? In withdrawing from circulation a fourth or a third of properties, will you not proportionally diminish the territorial revenue of that portion of society, and cause it to be crushed by the weight of taxes? Let us appease all such disquietude, remove all fresh dangers, by rejecting this project."¹

"The ground on which this proposal is rested by the Government is not even justified by the fact. The excessive division of properties is the ground put forth to justify the measure; but if there is any thing in that reason, there is too much. If on that account a law restraining the division of estates in the case of the *precipium* at the disposal of the father is justifiable, it must be so equally, and for a similar reason, in the case of all. It should be made imperative; and if so, it would destroy the paternal authority, and the power of testing on any part of the succession. The proposed law must fail in attaining even its professed end, for it tends to augment the division of properties; it founds the stability of families on the instability of the imposts; it exposes the father to fatal errors in the disposal of his property; it shocks feelings, contravenes customs, disunites families, multiplies lawsuits, and overturns legislation. Does it not needlessly and painfully thwart the principle of equality in the eye of the law, that great victory and first blessing of the Revolution? Is it not a vain and powerless attack directed against that principle? Does it not essentially wound morals—not merely public but private morals—even the most intimate relations of life? Will it not put the fathers of families in the most false and deplorable position? and is not every law attended with such inconveniences, the most deplorable gift to society?"²

"No country can be pointed out in which agriculture has suffered from the excessive division of properties, many in which it has been ruined by their accumulation in the hands of a few. Italy, under the Roman Empire in its later days, perished from this cause. Spain, Sicily, the Campagna of Rome, have been ruined by it in modern times. Since the Restoration, the number of proprietors has greatly increased; is there any one bold enough to assert that such a change is not a signal public advantage? Has not the acquisition of property the effect of elevating a man in his own eyes, clothing him with a sense of his own respectability, and thus raising him in the estimation of society generally, and in the performance of every social and

44. Argument against the law by M. Pasquier.

45. Continued.

² Cap. ix. 194, 196; Ann. Hist. ix. 96, 97.

46. Concluded.

political duty? Has not the course of events proved that, with every acquisition of property, the people have become more difficult to move—that they were more excitable from 1764 to 1792, than from 1800 to 1825? No conclusion hostile to these principles can be drawn from what occurred from 1792 to 1800. That was a period of social and political madness, from which no sound argument or inference can be drawn. But reflect on the peaceable disbanding of the French army in the midst of foreign hosts in 1815, and say whether such an event, unparalleled in history, could have taken place

had not property cast its restraining influence over the minds of armed men.”¹

On the other hand, it was argued by M. Peyronnet and the supporters of the Government: “Succession does not depend on positive laws, any more than property its foundation. In the savage state, man has only limited wants and desires; but with the complications of society other wants arise, and his wishes extend to his children and dependents. Do not say, therefore, that you wound original feeling, when you give men in the latter state the means of preserving their family, their fortune, their name. These sentiments are as natural, and arise as inevitably in one state of society, as those invoked on the other side do in another. The right of primogeniture arose at the period when the obligation of military fiefs rendered it necessary for the eldest son to be in a situation to wield the united forces of the family. The head of the family in a monarchy represents the family; and he does so not less effectually in the legislature than his ancestors did in the field of battle. But how is he to find an entrance, how maintain his place there, if the fortune of the family is dissipated and divided on every decease? It is evident that the thing is impossible; and thus the only effect of rejecting the present law will be to render the maintenance of a peerage impossible, and to prevent any thing like a hereditary succession of statesmen in the Chamber of Deputies. If such a state of things can coexist with the maintenance of freedom in any country, which is very doubtful, most assuredly it is not in France, so full of sentiments of honor, so fraught with historical recollections, that the combination is to be looked for.

“The preservation of estates keeps up, in a most important and influential class of society, ideas of order, foresight, and moderation; and from their influence it tends to diffuse these valuable qualities through society. It induces an order of things peculiarly suitable to a monarchical government, which, as it reposes on one head, so it requires a corresponding agglomeration of interests and opinions round his head in every grade of society. There must be a certain analogy between the frame of government and the institutions and ideas of society beneath it, if stability in institutions is to be looked for. The Liberal party can not dispute this, for it was on this principle of its being conformable to a democratic form of government that the new order of succession was established in 1792. Granting that this was the case, is it not equal-

ly necessary, and for the same reason, to re-establish primogeniture to a certain extent if monarchy is to be maintained?

“If the extreme division of landed estates is an evil, and is attended with serious inconveniences in every civilized community, it is peculiarly so in a constitutional monarchy. As such governments are mainly distinguished from other governments by the larger admission of the people into them, so it is in a peculiar manner essential that a class should exist in society capable of sending forth persons capable of discharging the duties of legislators, and exercising the functions of government. But where is such a class to be found? how is it to be preserved, if the perpetual division of all property, movable and immovable, is going forward? If France becomes a land of peasants and bourgeois, where are its legislators to be looked for? It is evident that a certain training, a costly education, the possession of libraries, and ease of living, is essential for men who, relinquishing their private concerns and interests, are to devote their principal attention to the affairs of the state. The tendency of the existing law of succession is to destroy this class, and prevent its ever arising again. And yet, is it not on its existence and vigor that not merely the fortunes of the state, but even the preservation of the democratic principle and the maintenance of the public liberties depend? For if properties come to be infinitely subdivided, is it not evident that the number of persons entitled to exercise the electoral franchise, and eligible to a seat in the Legislature, will be continually diminished, from the diminished fortunes of all classes; and thus not only will the intelligence be wanting requisite to the right conduct of public affairs, but an oligarchy of the worst kind, because incapable of remedy, will arise from the very excess to which the democratic principle has been carried.”²

Notwithstanding the strength of these arguments, such was the hold which the principle of equality had got of the minds of the people that it soon became evident that the ministerial project, at least so far as regarded the re-establishment in any degree of the right of primogeniture, would be defeated. Orator after orator, on the Opposition side, hastened to inscribe their names to speak against the measure; and the excitement which their declamation produced was such that it was evident that the measure must be thrown out. The measure was originally introduced in the Chamber of Peers, and after a long and stormy discussion, the main clause re-establishing the right of primogeniture, to a certain extent, was defeated by a majority of 26, the numbers being 120 to 94. The minor clause regarding substitution, which was of little practical importance, passed both Chambers. The overthrow of this attempt to re-establish primogeniture was celebrated over all France as a victory over the aristocracy, and it increased not a little the reputation of M. de Pasquier, to whose eloquence in the Chamber of Peers the result was in a great measure with justice ascribed.³

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 97, 98.

^{47.} Answer of the Government.

^{49.} Concluded.

¹ Ann. Hist. ix. 84, 85; Cap. ix. 198, 199.

^{50.} Result of the debate.

² Ann. Hist. ix. 116, 117; Cap. ix. 199, 200; Lam. viii. 59, 60.

When Dr. Johnson was challenged to assign any good reason for the right of pri-
 51. Reflections mogenture, he replied, "What, sir!
 on this sub- do you consider it no advantage to
 ject. secure only one fool in a family?"
 Without giving an entire assent to this cele-
 brated saying, and fully admitting that there
 are many eldest sons, especially among the
 aristocracy, who justify the eminence of their
 rank by the display of all the qualities by
 which it is ennobled, it can not have escaped
 the observer that, in the middle ranks particu-
 larly, there is much truth in the observation.
 The caustic and witty observation of the sage
 is more applicable in a commercial and indus-
 trious country, such as England, than a mili-
 tary monarchy such as France; but still the
 observation is generally applicable, and points
 to a principle of universal importance in human
 affairs. It never, however, appears to have
 crossed the imagination of any man in France,
 during the prolonged and anxious discussions
 which took place on the subject. No one can
 doubt, however, who is acquainted with the
 state of society and the springs of improvement
 in Great Britain, that one of the principal of
 them is to be found in the general destination
 of the landed estate to the eldest son, which,
 while it provides a phalanx for the support of
 the throne, and the maintenance of a mixed
 constitution, leaves at the same time no other
 resource, in the general case, to the younger
 but their own energy and perseverance—quali-
 ties which often prove more valuable to them
 in the end than all the gifts which fortune has
 lavished on their elder in birth. Certainly, if
 we survey in private life the career of those
 who have been "cursed with a moderate com-
 petence," we shall have no reason to conclude
 that fate has been in reality adverse to those
 whom it has assigned nothing but the stimulus
 of necessity and the vigor of their own minds;
 and perhaps among the causes which have
 spread the British race throughout the world,
 and established an empire in the East "above
 all Greek, above all Roman fame," a principal
 place must be assigned to the institutions, ap-
 parently adverse, which drew forth the ener-
 gies of the whole class of younger brothers, and
 sent them forth in every career to struggle, to
 labor, to conquer, and to make themselves and
 their country great.*

The revenue of France in 1826 was 985,000,000
 52. francs (£39,400,000), and the expendi-
 Statistics ture something less, being 981,972,609
 of finances francs. Thereceipts for 1827 were cal-
 of 1826 and culated at much less, being 916,608,000
 1827. francs, and the expenditure at 915,-
 729,000 francs. The exports† in 1826 fell nearly

* A very superior man, well known for his taste and
 knowledge in paintings, Mr. Woodburn, once said to the
 author that he objected to art-unions as giving a moderate
 independence to artists too soon, and thus tending to pro-
 duce "myriads of mediocre artists." The history of
 France will show whether the infinite subdivision of
 property does not tend to produce "myriads of mediocre
 men."

† EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO FRANCE.

	Imports.
1825.....	400,579,530 fr. or £16,027,000
1826.....	436,116,000 " " 17,400,000
	Exports.
1825.....	543,881,169 fr. or £21,760,000
1826.....	461,027,171 " " 18,440,000

—*Annuaire Historique*, ix. 28, 29.

a fourth short of those of 1825, owing to the
 terrible monetary crisis in England at the end
 of the last of these years; but the imports of
 1826 exhibited rather an increase. The army
 exhibited, from the preparations made for the
 Spanish war, a great increase over what it had
 been before revolutionary troubles broke out in
 the Peninsula. It amounted to 232,000 men;
 the navy to forty-five ships of the line and
 thirty-seven frigates. The public debt was
 3,373,500,000 francs (£135,000,000), including
 the large additions made for the indemnity to the
 emigrants in France and colonists in St. Domingo.
 A supplementary vote of 37,000,000
 francs was voted to the Government,
 without opposition, for the expenses
 of the occupation of Spain.¹

A more important topic, in reference to its
 ultimate effects, was the continued
 and persevering efforts made by the
 Congregation and the Jesuits to ob-
 tain the mastery of the Government, and carry
 their long-conceived designs for the establish-
 ment of a theocracy into effect. Two events
 occurred at this period, affording an oppor-
 tunity for evincing their intention, which ex-
 cited, not without reason, the utmost alarm,
 not only among the decidedly irreligious, but
 among the reasonable and sensible portion of
 the community. The first of these was a gen-
 eral jubilee, which was, on the application of
 the Government, appointed for all France, in
 the middle of summer. It lasted a
 month and a half, during which the
 churches and the capital resounded
 with an eternal *miserere*; and four great pro-
 ceSSIONS traversed the streets, displaying in its
 utmost splendor the pomp and magnificence of
 the Catholic worship. All the chief function-
 aries of Government were to be seen in these
 processions. Marshal Soult was particularly
 distinguished by the regularity of his attend-
 ance, and the enormous breviary which he
 caused to be carried before him. Some persons
 were malicious enough to observe, that it would
 be more to the purpose if he would make resti-
 tution of some of the pictures which he had
 plundered from the monasteries of Spain during
 his military occupation of Andalusia.* It may
 be conceived what an impression these un-
 wonted displays and sudden conversions made
 in the mocking and irreligious capital of France,
 and the alarm which they excited in all
 classes as to the ultimate designs of the
 ultramontane party which had now
 obtained the direction of affairs.²

A more serious subject of disquietude, be-
 cause it related to a more important
 matter, was the choice of the pre-
 ceptor for the young Duke de Bor-
 deaux. The care of the prince dur-
 ing his infant years had been intrusted to the
 judicious management of Madame de Gontaut;
 and the Duke de Montmorency, who had his
 direction when he became of an age to admit
 of intellectual culture, was in every way quali-
 54. fied for the post.

* A very interesting account of the magnificent collec-
 tion of paintings which by his abuse, not of the rights but
 the wrongs of war, Marshal Soult contrived to make,
 during his two years' military occupation of Andalusia,
 is to be found in Mr. Stirling's most able, learned, and
 interesting work on Spanish Painting.—See STIRLING
On the Spanish Painters, ii. 237-239.

fied to train him in the exercise of every moral and Christian virtue. But this estimable nobleman died in the course of this summer, and his place as preceptor was supplied by M. Tharin, Bishop of Strasburg, a violent Romish prelate, who had lately published, in an inflated style, an acrimonious diatribe against the philosophy of the age. The Duke de Rivière, at the same time, was appointed controller of his house-

¹ Cap. ix. 223, 224; Lac. iv. 238, 239. hold—an ominous appointment, as he was one of the most ardent and uncompromising enemies of the Revolution.¹

These open advances and important acquisitions of power on the part of the Jesuits, led to an intrepid denunciation of their designs by the Count de Montlouis. He had been a veteran defender of the *Coté Droit* in the Constituent Assembly, and the Liberals were far from anticipating such an assault from an old champion of the royal cause. But though a steady friend of the monarchy, the Count de Montlouis was far from being a partisan of the Jesuits, and his memory, which was rich in historical lore and inferences, furnished him with too many facts condemnatory of their policy to make him bend to their designs. On the contrary, he denounced them in the most unmeasured terms. It was in these words that he apostrophized the secret consultations of that aspiring party among each other: "Why," say they, "should we any longer delay to declare ourselves? The mystery of our existence affords a powerful arm to our adversaries. The holy father has recognized us, and re-established our order in the most flattering terms. The King protects us with the same zeal as if he was one of our brethren; nearly all the prelates and pastors are united to us, and breathe only our holy maxims. We may say the same of the whole noblesse of France: the court is our empire; every day we are making further progress in the army. Is it not time to cast aside the veil which partially conceals, but in truth

² Lac. iv. 240, 241; Cap. iv. 224, 225. only renders us suspected? It is our name which we claim as a right. Mystery belongs to weakness, publicity to force."²

On the other hand, it was contended by the Bishop of Hermopolis, with that caution and astuteness which in general characterizes their proceedings, that nothing could be so unfounded, and even ridiculous, as the terrors now so generally expressed against the Jesuits. "What is the real amount of influence in this body, which we are told is to overturn the liberties of France? Among all the colleges and seminaries of France they possess only seven! One is tempted to smile at the terrors excited by so very trifling a portion of public instruction being in the hands of any portion of the religious establishment. But what great things have the Jesuits done with such trifling means! what immense blessings are their missions daily conferring upon mankind! The good they do is in proportion to the terrors they excite; the power they possess is in its inverse ratio." There was some truth in these representations, but it was not the whole truth. It was true that they had only the command of seven seminaries of education;

but it was not less true that such was the vigor and energy of those in the direction of these establishments, and the extent of the riches which the zeal and piety of their adherents among the laity placed at their disposal, that they could boast of a greater number of scholars than all the other seminaries of education in France put together.¹

Such was the vehemence of the contest between the Jesuits and the press, that it was soon apparent that one or other of them must perish. They were rival powers contending for

the supremacy in the empire; it was inevitable that one must be destroyed. Bitterly did the ultramontane party now regret the concession on the liberty of the press, made by them during the first transports of the accession of the new monarch, and the result of several prosecutions rendered it more than doubtful whether any check could, under the existing law, be put to the antagonism and licentiousness of the press. They now became convinced that no government or system of administration, either in church or state, could maintain its ground against the ceaseless attacks of an uncontrolled press, acting upon and inflaming the passions of an excitable people, on a side in conformity with their general inclination. The Jesuit Camarilla accordingly determined on some measure coercive of the liberty of the press; and, situated as they were in the country, there can be no doubt that, for their own interests, they were right in their views. They had to contend with a vast majority of the reading and influential portion of the public in the towns, then in the entire possession of political influence; and their only allies being a party, zealous indeed, and able, but whose speeches and writings none of their opponents would so much as read. They had great difficulty, however, in getting the Cabinet to go into their views, for its members were practical men, well acquainted with the real state of affairs and balance of powers in the state; and M. de Villèle, in particular, was decided in his opposition to the proposal. But the Congregation prevailed, and after a violent contest in the Cabinet, it was carried by a majority to adopt the measure proposed by the Congregation. This is an important era, for this was the first cannon-shot fired in the great conflict which terminated in the overthrow of the throne.²

In the bill brought forward by Government, it was proposed that all writings of twenty pages and under should be deposited with the censors five days before publication; if published before the expiry of this period, the entire edition was liable to be confiscated, and a fine of 3000 francs (£120) imposed on the publisher. A duty of one franc for the first sheet, and ten sous for each sheet after, was imposed on every publication below twenty pages. Speeches in either Chamber, pastoral letters, and journals appearing only once in two months, which by the existing law were obliged to find caution, were relieved from these enactments. The proprietors of journals were to be the parties against whom actions founded on delinquencies against the state or individuals were to be directed,

¹ Lac. iv. 242, 243.

² Lac. iv. 252, 254; Ann. Hist. x. 54, 59.

and no company for conducting a journal was to be legal if consisting of more than five persons. Fines might be imposed from 2000 to 20,000 francs (£80 to £800).¹

No words can describe the storm of indignation which this law, with its severe enactments, created in the Liberal party throughout France. The whole public press was instantly up in arms on the subject. They denounced it, not without reason, as utterly subversive not only of the liberty of the press, but of all other liberties, and indicating in the clearest manner the arbitrary designs of the faction into whose hands the government had now fallen. The indignation was the more formidable from its being not confined to the parties immediately interested, but extending to the judges, the bar, the professors, the men of letters; in a word, the whole reading and thinking part of the public, beyond the pale of the Jesuit and ultramontane interest, were unanimous in their condemnation. The universal cry was that the censorship of Napoleon was now re-established, with additional powers invested in Government, and a more formidable body of inquisitors to direct its movements. The Academy of France, with M. de Chateaubriand at its head, took a leading part in the movement; his strong Royalist and religious feelings did not prevent him on this occasion from standing forth as the defender of freedom of thought. M.M. Villemain and Lacretelle, and Michaud the historian of the Crusades, joined in the remonstrance, which was carried in the Academy by a majority of 17 to 9. Strange to say, in the minority were found the illustrious names of La Place and Cuvier: occupied with the architecture of the heavens, or the remains of pristine creation, they had little concern with the interests of present existence, or were swayed only by its gains or honors. The Government evinced a want both of judgment and temper on this occasion: M. Michaud

was dismissed from his situation as reader to the King, M.M. Villemain and Lacretelle from lesser situations under Government.²

The discussion of this question in the Chamber of Deputies, where it was first introduced, still further increased the agitation of the public mind on the subject; and the excitement was peculiarly great in the young men at the academies and universities, always the first to be influenced by generous feeling, whether well or ill directed. The bill underwent several amendments in the committee, and was the subject of long and vehement debates in both Houses. It ultimately passed them both, however, though in so mutilated a form, by the adoption of successive amendments, that its authors hardly recognized their own handiwork. The division in the Deputies was 233 to 134; in the Peers, 164 to 144. The result of this great debate was justly regarded as a triumph by the Liberal party, and it was celebrated as such over all France. Certain restrictions were imposed on the press by the adoption of the project, but they proved almost nugatory in effect, and the powers of thought rose into

increased influence and activity from the vain attempt made to coerce them. In this there is nothing surprising: a coerced press is impracticable in an age of intelligence and advancing civilization, and should never be attempted. Physical and moral strength, the sway of intellect, and the force of the sword, are antagonistic powers, which can never coexist in the same community. If the press is to be restrained, and public freedom preserved, it must be by itself, and its own weapons alone; neither bayonets nor batons can effect it. Great as have been in every age of intellectual activity the evils of the licentiousness of the press, they are inferior to the total ruin consequent on the extinction of its liberties. The first gives rise to many curses, but it contains the germ of all blessings; the last is an entire destruction of the hopes of humanity. It is the first duty of intellect, by combating intelligence with its own weapons, and *them alone*, to avoid the necessity of recurring to ruder methods of coercion, and reply to the maledictions of liberalism by preserving its existence.¹

Two events occurred at this period strongly indicative of the extreme peril of the course on which the Government had now entered, and which, to any men but those infatuated by religious fanaticism, would

have presaged the calamities which were approaching. The first of these was a serious riot which occurred at the funeral of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld. This respectable old nobleman, whose name was associated with the early career of the Constituent Assembly, and who was a moderate Royalist on the Opposition side, had recently fallen under the displeasure of the Court, in consequence of some votes and speeches in the Chamber of Peers during the discussion on the liberty of the press, and he had in consequence been deprived in one day of all his offices under Government, which consisted of seventeen presidencies, and as many honorary distinctions, the reward of a long life of beneficence and humanity. He survived his disgrace only a few days, and at his funeral, which took place at Chalons on the 30th March, a melancholy scene of discord was exhibited. Being extremely beloved in that neighborhood, which in every department of industry and charity had felt the influence of his benevolence, a procession was formed of the young men at the School of Arts there, to bear his remains to their last resting-place. They did so accordingly, and bore his body on their shoulders from his house to the church, where the funeral service was read. But in coming from the church to the place of interment the police interfered, and insisted on the coffin being placed on the hearse. The young men refused, and prepared by force to keep possession of the body; a scuffle ensued, in the course of which the coffin fell from the hands of the youths, and was broken on the pavement, and the ensigns of the peerage placed on it were drawn through the mud. The military were called in, the coffin replaced in the hearse, and the funeral conducted as the authorities intended; but the incident, which became the subject of a solemn inquiry in the House of Peers, excited a prodigious sensation throughout

¹ Ann. Hist. x. 53, 56; Cap. ix. 253, 256; Lac. iv. 259, 260.

^{59.} Universal indignation which it excites.

² Lac. iv. 263, 265; Lam. viii. 68; Cap. ix. 257, 258.

^{60.} Passing of the law in a mitigated form.

¹ Ann. Hist. x. 110, 142. Lac. iv. 273, 274; Cap. ix. 289, 312.

^{61.} Riot at the funeral of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld.

France, and materially increased the strength of the Liberal party, by demonstrating the generality of the feelings with which the violent proceedings of the Jesuits were regarded over the whole country.¹

The next event was one still more indicative of the state of the public mind, in the most important and influential classes, and so important in its effects, that it may be regarded as one of the principal causes of the revolution which overturned the elder branch of the Bourbons. Deeply chagrined at the evident symptoms of the decline of the popularity of which he was so passionately desirous, and yet blind to an inconceivable extent to the cause which was producing it, Charles fixed a great review of the National Guard of Paris for the 12th April, the anniversary of his entrance into Paris two years before. The day was beautiful; the National Guard had never turned out in such strength and in such splendid appearance; and a magnificent cortège surrounded the King, who rode on horseback on a beautiful charger, which he managed with consummate grace, along the line. Cries of "*Vive la Roi*" were at first heard on all sides, and the monarch was saluted by the great majority of the legions with the utmost enthusiasm. But when he came to the tenth legion, their loyal demonstrations were mingled with cries of "*A bas les Ministres!*" "*A bas les Jésuites!*" and some of the most violent even left their ranks to give expression to their cries at the feet of the monarch. "I come here to receive homage, and not lessons," was the dignified reply of the monarch; but it produced no impression. The cries were repeated, and after the King had passed on, became still more frequent; loud demonstrations of dislike were leveled at M. de Villèle, regarded as embodying the policy of the Government; and the princesses, who were present at the review in open carriages, returned to the Tuileries in despair at the contumelious expressions with which they had been assailed.²

Considering the great importance of the National Guard, both as a powerful military force in possession of the capital, and as an organ of public opinion in its inhabitants, this incident was sufficiently serious in itself; but it became doubly so from the ill-advised and disastrous step which immediately followed. The King at first put a good face upon the matter. "My dear Marshal," said he to Marshal Oudinot, who commanded the National Guard, after the review was over, "we have had some grumblers, but the mass is well disposed; say to the National Guard that I am satisfied with their appearance, and bring me the evening order to sign." But these prudent views soon gave place to more violent councils. The princesses arrived in tears at the contumelies to which they had been exposed, and the seditious cries which had met their ears; and the party of the Jesuits were indefatigable in their representations, that the time had now arrived when further temporizing was impossible, and when a vigorous measure was imperatively

called for. The King was unfortunately drawn into these violent councils. In the evening a Cabinet Council was hastily summoned; the deliberations continued till a late hour in the night; and on the following morning an ordonnance appeared disbanding the National Guard of Paris.¹

If any thing could exceed the imprudence and disastrous consequences of this step, it was the joy with which it was received by the ultra-Royalists in Paris. "At length," said they, "we have a King—a great King; no more days such as the 14th July;* we see what Paris is worth. Force—always force; that is the secret of success." At first every thing seemed to favor their anticipations. Paris remained perfectly tranquil; the disbanding of the National Guard took place without opposition; but by a fatal want of foresight *they were left in possession of their arms*. As a military organized force, subject to discipline, they were put an end to; as a body of discontented men whose feelings had been ulcerated, upon whose loyalty an imputation had been cast, they remained with arms in their hands. But all was joy and confidence at the Tuileries; the days of revolution were thought to be at an end. "Well," said the Duke de Rivière, preceptor to the Duke de Bordeaux, "Paris is tranquil; the King has great power; France is tired of revolutions and revolutionists."—"Paris has not moved," replied a Liberal peer, to whom the words were addressed, "because the King has not exceeded his power. He was entitled, if he chose, to dissolve the National Guard; but let the time come when he may need the support of his good city of Paris, and you will then see what you have done."²

Both parties were to blame in this memorable event, which was the first downward step in the fall of the monarchy. The National Guard, who insulted the King by seditious cries, forgot their first duty as soldiers, which is implicit obedience; their first duty as citizens, which is personal respect to their sovereign. If they were dissatisfied with the measures of Government, they had a clear and constitutional mode of expressing it, which was by their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies; if they were dissatisfied with the King for retaining such servants in his confidence, their course was to displace them by a vote of the Chambers. But to insult him with cries when he was reviewing them as soldiers, to urge a change of men and measures with bayonets in their hands, was to forego all the advantages of representative government, and impose on the country a rule of the worst kind—that of prætorian guards or an armed democracy. The King and Government were nearly as much to blame in the method they adopted for making their displeasure known. They were fully entitled, nay, officially called upon, to express their high displeasure at the legions which had been guilty of these acts of insubordination; nay, if they had even disbanded some of the battalions most in fault, though many might

* The day on which the Bastille was taken.

¹ Ann. Hist. x. 144, 145; Lac. iv. 276, 278; Cap. ix. 319, 320.

^{62.} Review of the National Guard. April 12.

² Ann. Hist. x. 151, 152; Cap. ix. 324, 326; Lac. iv. 279, 280.

¹ Moniteur, April 13; An. Hist. x. 151, 153; Cap. iv. 281, 383; ix. 327, 328; Ordonnance, April 13, 1827.

^{64.} Its immediate success, and ultimate effects.

² Cap. ix. 328, 329.

^{65.} Reflections on this event.

have doubted the prudence, none could have disputed the legality of the step. But to disband the *whole* National Guard on account of the misdemeanor of the 10th legion, to punish the many innocent on account of the sins of the few guilty, and alienate the affections of the whole military force of the capital, because a small part of their number had been guilty of acts of insubordination, was an act of injustice so glaring, of imprudence so manifest, that it almost looks like judicial blindness to have taken such a step. The only thing which could by possibility have justified it, was the necessity of disarming so formidable and seditious a force in the capital; but even this excuse was wanting, for their arms were left in their hands.

The treaty of 6th July, 1827, regarding Greece has been considered in the chapter on its Revolution, with which it is more immediately connected, as it led to the glorious battle of Navarino, which had the chief effect in establishing its independence. A domestic matter, however, signaled the French legislation of this year, which was also connected with England, for it was mainly urged on the Cabinet by the English Government. This was a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade. By the project of the law introduced on this subject, the engaging in the slave-trade was declared punishable, with confiscation of the cargo and banishment to the chiefs of the expedition, and from three to five years' imprisonment to all others engaged in the enterprise. The discussion on the subject was very warm in both Houses, not so much on its own merits, for on such a subject there could be no dispute, but on the indignity to France of submitting to what was deemed an insulting and degrading dictation from a foreign power. It passed, however, by large majorities in both Houses;

the majority in the Peers being 114 x. 49; Cap. in a house of 227, and in the Deputies 346, 347. ties nearly in the same proportion.¹

Notwithstanding the large majority in the Chamber of Deputies which had hitherto supported ministers, it was apparent before the end of the session that their position was becoming precarious, and that ere long it might be necessary to dissolve the Chamber. The financial projects of the year were discussed with great rigor and acrimony; and the commercial crisis, which had been felt with such severity in the close of the preceding winter in England, reacted upon the prosperity of France, and occasioned an alarming deficit in the Exchequer. January had exhibited a surplus of 2,860,000 francs, but February and March showed instead a deficit of 6,755,000. This deficiency, though noways ascribable to Ministers, furnished, as usual in such cases, a powerful handle against them, and added to the vehement denunciations with which their conduct was assailed by the Opposition. Benjamin Constant exclaimed—"M. de Villèle speaks of the interest of the country! Was it, then, for the interest of the country that the National Guard should be disbanded? Was its existence inconsistent with the inter-

est of the country? Come to the point; specify, how it happened that that National Guard, which in every crisis has defended and supported the interest of the country—which is attached to its laws—which is so devoted, so orderly, so courageous—which is, as it were, the fruit and measure of the industry and prosperity of the state—should be thus ignominiously treated? Where are Ministers now to find their support? In the people?—They have outraged them. In public opinion?—They have roused it against them. In the Peers?—They can not subject them, but by subverting their independence. In the magistracy?—They resist them in the sacred name of justice."¹

The manner in which these violent apostrophes were received in both houses, and the lessening majorities by which Ministers were supported in the Deputies, especially on the financial questions, demonstrated the necessity of an appeal to the people to strengthen the hands of Administration. The Government, accordingly, in secret sounded the prefects as to the chances of success in the event of a dissolution; and having received, as it always does on such occasions, satisfactory assurances, the measure was resolved on. As a preparatory measure, it was determined, after the session of the legislature had closed, to re-establish the censorship by a royal ordonnance, and this was accordingly done. The motives for the step were announced in an article in the *Moniteur*, in which, amidst some exaggeration, much undoubted truth was stated.* The Opposition immediately took the alarm; a society was quickly organized, of which M. de Chateaubriand was president, to defend the liberty of the press; and a host of pamphlets which issued from its members, and inundated the country, showed how little in real strength Government had gained by a measure so unpopular, and so much calculated to inflame the most violent passions.²

But it was not sufficient to stifle the voice of the press; it was necessary also to overcome a hostile majority in the House of Peers, which, even more than the Chamber of Deputies, was known to be hostile to the present policy of Government. So largely had the former great creation of peers, in 1819, to force through the democratic changes in the constitution effected in that year, modified the spirit of the Chamber of Peers, that it

* "Cinq années de liberté de presse, durant lesquelles l'autorité s'est refusée constamment à désespérer du bon sens national, et des écrivains qui seraient obligés de la contester pour lui plaire; cinq années de travaux laborieusement suivis à travers les difficultés, que la licence des écrits suscitait sans cesse autour des projets les plus éclairés et des résolutions les plus droites; cinq années d'excès d'une part, et de patience de l'autre, ont pu enseigner à tous les hommes dont l'opinion mérite de compter dans les destins d'un pays, où étaient les amis et les ennemis de la presse. Ses ennemis ont vaincu; ils ont désarmé la résistance de ses amis; ils ont arraché une ordonnance de Censure à une administration qui est née de la publicité de la Tribune et de la Presse, qui a vécu par elle, et qui est réduite à modifier l'une de ces libertés pour sauver l'autre, pour les sauver toutes ensemble."—*Moniteur*, 26 June, 1827; *Annuaire Historique*, x. 245.

66. Treaty of 6th July on Greece, and convention regarding the slave-trade. Feb. 10.

1 An. Hist. x. 49; Cap. ix. 346, 347.

67. Financial projects and embarrassment of the Government.

1 Cap. ix. 350, 351; Ann. Hist. x. 230, 231.

68. A dissolution resolved on.

January 24, 1827.

2 Cap. ix. 354, 357; Lac. iv. 286, 287; Ordonnance, June 24, 1827; *Moniteur*, June 26.

69. New creation of Peers, and dissolution of the Chambers.

had now become necessary to counteract it by as large a measure on the other side; and after considerable discussion in the Cabinet, it was agreed that the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies should be followed by a great creation of peers, sufficient to render it in harmony with the views and policy of Government. A great creation of ecclesiastical peers was resolved on, it being thought that the interest of the Church was not sufficiently strong in the Upper House. Five archbishops were in the number, fifteen nobles, and thirty-six rich proprietors from the Lower House. The world was astonished at some of the names in the list; among others, the Count de Vieuville and the Count de Tocqueville, prefect of the department of Seine and Oise, were to be seen beside Marshal Soult, the hero of the Empire and the Hundred Days, and Prince Hohenlohe, celebrated in German story. The total number of peers agreed on was seventy-six—a number sufficient to overbalance the numerical majority on the other side. The same *Moni-*

Nov. 5, 1827. *teur* which contained this great creation contained also an ordonnance dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and appointing the electoral colleges to meet on the 17th and 24th November, and the Chambers to assemble on the 5th February following. A list was published of the presidents of the electoral colleges, nearly all in the interest of the High Church party.* The reason assigned for this step was mainly the difference between the situation of the peerage in England, which contained so large a proportion of the property

in the state, and in France, where it had so little; and the consideration of the Assembly was chiefly dependent on the number and talents of its members.¹

The die was now cast, and both parties began seriously to prepare themselves for a struggle, which all saw to be inevitable. On the one side was the whole weight of authority and power, exercising its prerogatives, and making use of its influence in the most determined way, and setting at defiance the opinions of the great bulk of the intelligent inhabitants of the country, to follow the dictates of a resolute but rash and ill-judging ecclesiastical party. On the other was the whole popular party, which, now foreseeing the danger which was approaching, began to organize themselves in regular bodies, with a view both to a systematic action on the public mind in the mean time, and an efficient means of physical resistance to Government, if it should become necessary to have recourse to

70.
Formation of the parties, and preparations for a moral struggle on both sides.

* En Angleterre la Chambre des Pairs a, comparativement à celle des Communes, une importance qui pourrait être moindre même sans danger, si on considère que la Chambre des Communes y est, pour ainsi dire, fille de la Pairie, qui, avec la Couronne, a une si grande influence sur les élections, où les pairs font admettre leurs fils, leurs frères, leurs parens, leurs obligés. En France rien de semblable. La Chambre des Pairs ne s'élève qu'aux deux-tiers à peu près de la Chambre des Députés; et avec une population double de celle de l'Angleterre, notre Chambre des Députés ne forme guère que les deux-tiers de la Chambre des Communes, et la Pairie Française égale à peine celle de l'Angleterre. La force de résistance de la Chambre des Pairs doit donc être dans le nombre de ses membres, et surtout dans l'esprit qui l'anime."—*Moniteur*, 5 November, 1827.

that extremity. The society "*Aidez toi et le ciel t'aidera*" was now established, composed for the most part of ardent Liberals or Italian *Carbonari*. Its maxim, as the name indicates, was to act for itself, and seek the means of salvation for the public liberties in the vigor of its own councils and the determination of its own measures. There was nothing illegal in either its constitution or objects, as at first established. It proposed simply, by constitutional means, to organize an effective resistance to the advance of power by the Government. All the measures of opposition were agreed on and discussed in its meetings; and never was union more complete, and enthusiasm more ardent, than existed among its members. The press resumed all its activity in the form of pamphlets, still exempt from the censure, and was directed with more ability, and a more thorough unity of object. Every thing the Royalist Ministry had done since their accession to power was made the subject of the most violent invective, and commented on with the most unmeasured exaggeration. The acts by which they had gained a majority in the election of 1824, after the successful termination of the war in Spain, was now turned against themselves. To such a length did the general transport go, and so little did the parties deem it necessary to disguise their projects, that, in a letter publicly addressed to the Duke of Orleans, he was invited to head a revolution, and place himself on the throne, in terms so unambiguous that he found it necessary, personally, to disavow it to the sovereign.^{1*}

The general election came on in November, and as the objects of the opposite parties were now avowed, the greatest efforts were made on both sides, and the excitement of the public mind became indelible. Every one felt that on the result it depended whether the objects of the Jesuits were to be accomplished, and a throne based on an ultramontane theocracy established, or a constitutional monarchy resting on a democracy, with the Duke of Orleans at its head, substituted in its stead. The elections in the colleges of arrondissements, which were composed of the highest class of electors, were a thunder-stroke to the Ministry. The Opposition obtained two-thirds of the seats of that class: Paris was the theatre of the most violent contest; but the triumph of the Liberals was complete. Their candidates, M. Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, Casimir Perier, Benjamin Constant, Ternaux, Royer-Collard, and Baron Louis, all staunch Democrats, had 6690 votes, while the ministerial could only muster 1110. Illuminations took place in several places; in others the mob endeavored to force the occupants of houses to illuminate against their will. This led to

* "Echangez vos armoiries duciales contre la couronne civique. Alons, Prince; un peu de courage; il reste dans notre monarchie une belle place à prendre, la place qu'occuperait Lafayette dans une République—celle de premier citoyen de France. Votre principauté n'est qu'un chétif canonicat auprès de cette Royauté morale. Le peuple Français est un grand enfant, qui ne demande pas mieux que d'avoir un tuteur; soyez-le, pour qu'il ne tombe pas en de méchantes mains, afin que le char, si mal conduit, ne verse pas. Nous avons fait de notre côté tous nos efforts; essayez des vôtres, et saisissez ensemble la roue sur le penchant du précipice."—*Lettre à M. le Duc d'ORLEANS, Nov., 1827, par M. CAUCHOIS-LEMAIRE*, p. 16, 17.

serious riots, in the course of which the military were called out, and numerous arrests took place. These riots were characterized by one ominous symptom—the FIRST BARRICADES of these days, so well known in the contests of former times, were seen in the streets. One of them was so strongly constructed that it more than once repulsed the assailants, and was at last only conquered by a regular fire of musketry. What was still more alarming, hesitation for the first time appeared in the troops of the line. The enthusiasm excited by the Spanish war was at an end; and in more than one instance the officers of infantry refused to obey the orders of the civic authorities, or to act against the people. “It is not from such

as you I am to take orders,” said ¹ Ann. Hist. x. 258, 262; one; “I will not exchange bullets with stones,” replied another. It was a rehearsal on a small scale of the great drama of 1830.¹

The repeated defeats sustained in the provinces as well as the capital—and above all, the extreme and violent character of the successful candidates, left no doubt in the minds of Ministers that the Chamber returned would be greatly less manageable

than that which had been dissolved, and that it was not improbable Government might be left altogether in a minority. Violent altercations in consequence ensued between M. de Villèle and the leaders of the Jesuits; each, as usual in such cases, endeavoring to throw the responsibility of steps which had proved so calamitous on the other. “What would you have?” said he: “have I not, this year, satisfied all your wishes? The severe restrictions on the press, the censorship of the journals, the creation of seventy-six peers, the disbanding of the National Guard, the camp at St. Omer, are they not sufficient? I have said it a hundred times, your march is too rapid; you think only of violence when management is what is required.”—“Let us hear no more of concessions,” replied the Duke de Rivière: “let us openly advance under the banners of a King who has the blood of Louis XIV. in his veins. Those cursed elections, which occasion so much annoyance, are entirely to be ascribed to your own want of foresight, perhaps of your perfidy.”²

The majority of the Chamber, upon the whole, was ministerial, though in a much lesser degree than had been expected, or than the former Chamber had been. But when language such as this passed between the head of the Ministry and the chief of the secret Camarilla which ruled the King, it need hardly be said that the position of the Government was eminently precarious, and that a remodeling or entire change of it had become indispensable. In fact, their position had become so uncomfortable, and the dissensions in the Cabinet so serious, that nearly the whole Ministers, in despair of being able to meet the Chambers, and carry on the Government, had come to the resolution of resigning, or expelling their neighbors. M. de Villèle designed to expel M. de Peyronnet, M. de Peyronnet had the same intention toward M. de Villèle. M. de Corbière declared his inability

to remain Minister of the Interior; M. de Chabrol was deputed to M. de Martignac, to sound him as to the formation of a new ministry. A secret instinct, usual in such cases, told all that a crisis was approaching, and that every one, as in shipwreck, must look out for his own safety. M. de Villèle had too much sagacity not to see that he had not influence sufficient to command the Chambers in the crisis which was approaching, nor power to direct the vessel of the state through the violent shock with which it was threatened. Before the end of the year, he had announced to the King the necessity of forming a new ministry, and MM. de Chateaubriand, de la Ferronais, de Fitz-James, and de la Bourdonnaye, had been submitted to his Majesty as the heads of the new Government. But Charles felt a repugnance at M. de Chateaubriand, in consequence of his recent opposition to the measures of the Government against the press; and he was too great and independent a man not to be the object of secret jealousy to the Romish authorities, to whom nothing is so repugnant as independence of thought. Great difficulty was experienced in making up the list of the Cabinet, and especially in determining who was to be its head as President of the Council. But at length the choice fell on M. de Martignac. With him were conjoined M. Portalis, as Keeper of the Seals, M. de Caux, as Minister at War, the Count de la Ferronais, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Vatismenil, in the Interior, M. ¹ Lac. iv. Hyde de Neuville, for the Marine, 336, 342; and M. Feutrier, as Minister of Pub- Cap. ix. 393, lic Worship.¹ 397.

Thus fell the Ministry of M. de Villèle. It underwent the usual fate of a Government which, placed between two opposite and implacable factions, ^{74.} Reproaches addressed to him from both parties. strives to steer a middle course between them, and generally succeeds only in alienating the one without conciliating the other. The Liberals could not forgive the concessions he had made—reluctantly, indeed, and under the pressure of necessity, but still made—to the ultra-Royalist and Jesuit party, the restrictions on the press, the law against sacrilege, the attempt to restore the right of primogeniture, the disbanding of the National Guard, and the dissolution of the Chamber in the hope of obtaining one more favorable to the arbitrary views of the dominant party at the court. The Royalists forgot, in their present animosity, the immense services which he had rendered, in the hour of need, to the monarchy and the throne. They forgot the wisdom and prudence he had displayed at the tribune, the moderation which he had evinced in the conduct of public affairs, the magnificent compensation he had succeeded in obtaining for the sufferers by the Revolution, the stability which, after so many shocks, he had succeeded in giving to the throne, the glorious war he had brought to a successful issue in Spain, the entire restoration of the finances, the foundation laid for Grecian independence by the treaty of 6th July, the lustre he had shed over the white flag by crushing the forces of revolution. They reproached him with not going the whole length of their desires, with being at heart a Revolutionist, with having neglected to use the influ-

73. Dissolution of the Villèle Administration.

² Lac. iv. 293, 294. Cap. ix. 375, 376.

ence of Government so as to secure a majority in the elections; with having introduced some Liberals, under false colors, into the Upper House; with having done nothing efficient to restore the influence, or vindicate the property of the church; with having introduced the fatal principle of expedience instead of that of duty, and based government on the influence of corruption instead of the attachments of loyalty. There was some truth, as is generally the case, in all these representations; but both parties would have done more justice to that eminent statesman if they had shown how the acts which they made the subject of reproach could have been avoided, or how the government of a country, so divided in opinion, and distracted by opposing influences, as France then was, could have been conducted without concessions to both parties, which could not fail to alienate the violent men of either.¹

¹ Lam. viii. 103, 105; Lac. iv. 296, 297.

If the King had been at liberty to follow out his secret inclinations, he would have sent for M. de Polignac at this crisis, and thrown himself at once and openly into the arms of the extreme Royalist party. But it was not deemed safe to take at once so extreme a step; the public mind was not yet sufficiently prepared, the new influences adequately extended, and a transition Ministry was considered, with justice, as an indispensable preliminary to the formation of a purely ultra-Royalist one. The Martignac Ministry, accordingly, was a species of compromise—an attempt to overcome the animosity of the Liberals, who had been violently irritated by the last measures of M. de Villèle, and prepare the public mind, by a change of servants, and seeming change of policy, for an ultimate change of measures. M. Martignac himself was as fortunate a choice as could have been made for this object. Bred up in the school of M. de Villèle, the intimate friend of M. Lainé, whose esteem was itself a security, he possessed all the qualities requisite to regain the popularity of the Crown, by counseling such measures as might conciliate the mind and calm the irritations of the country. Eloquent in diction, gracious in manner, prudent in council, loyal in feeling, liberal in intellect, he represented and embodied the idea, then so general in France, of blending the ancient institutions of the monarchy with the expanding ideas and growing wants of modern civilization. But it resulted from this, that the Minister did not possess the real confidence of the sovereign; he was intended only as a compromise, and the means of getting over a period of difficulty, until the time had arrived when the new system might be introduced, and a Ministry of lasting duration established.²

² Lam. viii. 116, 117, 121; Cap. ix. 397, 399; Lac. iv. 345, 347.

It may readily be conceived that, under such circumstances, the Martignac Ministry was not destined for long duration. "You know, gentlemen," said the King at one of the first Cabinet Councils, "that I have not voluntarily separated from M. de Villèle; his system is my own; and I hope that you will conform to it to the utmost of your power." This was but a poor commencement for an ad-

ministration avowedly installed in power in order to alter the system of government of the preceding administration, and regain popularity, by at least an ostensible change of measures. From the first, accordingly, it was evident that they did not possess the confidence of the monarch, and that, in English state phraseology, they only held office till their successors were appointed. A seat in the Ministry was offered to M. de Chateaubriand; he at first was inclined to have accepted it, but, by the persuasion of his friends, he in the end declined an honor which might compromise his reputation, and did not seem destined for long endurance. It was soon apparent that he had judged wisely in the decision at which he had arrived. When the Chambers met, it was evident to all that the Ministry did not possess their confidence. Such was their hatred at M. de Villèle that they dreaded his resurrection to power in the persons of any administration which had been associated with him in office. The choice of a president for the Chamber of Deputies, which was the first trial of strength, showed what a formidable coalition had been formed against the Government. M. Labourdonnaye, who was supported by the coalition, had 178 votes; M. Ravez, who had long filled the chair with ability and moderation, only 162. On the next division, M. Delatot was elected by a majority of 212 voices, to 189 who supported Royer-Collard; but the King, desirous to conciliate the Liberals, selected the latter from the list presented to him. The speech of the King was as moderate and conciliatory as could well be imagined; but the Address presented by the Chamber revealed the implacable hostility with which the majority of its members was animated. One expression, in particular, in allusion to the dismissal of the late Ministry, was deemed peculiarly painful, if not insulting, to the Crown: "The remonstrances of France have put an end to the *deplorable system* which had rendered illusory all the promises of your Majesty." The question of retaining so very strong an expression in the address gave rise, as well it might, to the most vehement debates; but it was carried that it should be retained, by a majority of 33. The whole party of M. de Chateaubriand voted in the majority.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 14, 17; Lam. viii. 126, 127; Lac. iv. 348, 349.

Charles was deeply wounded at this address, but he preserved a dignified demeanor on the occasion. "I shall receive this address," said he, "as my brother received that which was voted against M. de Richelieu and his ministry. I shall admit to my presence only the President and two secretaries of the Assembly, and I shall deliver an answer which will be a reproof without inducing a rupture." The monarch with his own hand effaced several expressions from the answer prepared by his Ministers which savored too much of severity, and as ultimately agreed on the answer was as follows: "In calling on you to labor with me for the happiness of France, I reckoned on the concurrence of your sentiments as well as on the light of your intelligence. My words were addressed to the entire Chamber; it would have been agreeable to me if the answer had been unanimous. You

^{76.} The new Ministry had not the confidence of the King.

^{77.} Answer of the King to the Address.

will not forget, I feel assured, that you are the natural guardians of the majesty of the throne, the first and most noble of your guarantees. Your labors will prove to France your profound respect for the memory of the sovereign who gave you the Charter, and your just confidence in him whom you call

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 24, 27; Lam. the son of Henry IV. and St. Louis."¹

The legislative measures of the session of the Chambers were not of very great importance; but such as they were, measures of they bespoke the change, painful to the session. the King, which had taken place in the ruling power in Parliament. A law was introduced to exclude from the electoral suffrage all persons employed under Government; and as their number was so considerable in France, this was a measure of great importance, and which went seriously to diminish the influence of the Crown. LAFAYETTE, who had been recently returned to the Chambers, denounced in violent terms the enormous multiplication of offices which had sprung up under the imperial régime, and been found too serviceable to be abandoned by succeeding governments. "In casting our eyes," said he, "over that hierarchy so skillfully constructed, under the imperial régime, on the ruins of the rights of the French people, and religiously upheld to this hour by the Government of the Restoration, we shall search in vain for an atom of independence. Prefects, sub-prefects, councils of prefectships, of municipalities, of arrondissements, of departments, receivers of contributions, judges of the peace—all are the creatures of power, and removable at its pleasure. Are we waiting to pass the present law till the principle of freedom of election, called for on all sides, has restored life to the commercial and departmental administrations, and to the judges of peace,* and reduce to reasonable limits the exorbitant power of the prefects, whose name has been exhumed from the ruins of the Lower Empire? No, without doubt; but there are means of execution which you may vote on the spot." There can be no doubt that Lafayette was right in these observations, but he forgot to add, what the event has now abundantly proved, that it was his own frantic innovations which imposed of necessity this vast herd of servile employés upon the country by destroying the race of comparatively independent proprietors, who might have

² Ann. Hist. xi. 31, 32; the nomination and by the influence Lac. iv. 354. of the people.²

So strong was the feeling in the Chamber of

79. Deputies against the exercise of the influence of the Crown in elections by the Peers. means of their employés, that the law passed it by a majority of 257 to 106. It met, however, with a very different reception in the Chamber of Peers, where M. de Villèle's creation of seventy-six Royalists had rendered that party nearly a majority. Several amendments proposed were only thrown out by a majority of four or five votes. The law, however, finally passed by a majority of eighty-three, a result which proved that even the vast additions made

at successive times to the peerage had not been able entirely to extinguish the spirit of Republicanism in its bosom. The right of hereditary succession had in some degree restored it, and many of the new peers gave proof of this by voting against the ministerial project, and in a way which was little expected by the party which had created them. The great want of the peerage, however, was of estates commensurate to the rank bestowed; a defect which necessarily drove a large proportion of them into a discreditable submission to any government which might furnish them, through office, with the means of existence.¹

The part which France was called on to take in aiding the Greeks in their efforts to shake off the Ottoman yoke, in consequence of the treaty of 16th July, of which an account has been given in the press. 80. New law regarding the press. treating of the affairs of Greece, led to a demand on the part of Ministers of a vote of credit of 80,000,000 francs (£3,200,000), which was granted by a very large majority. But a more serious difficulty arose in regard to a new law of a conciliatory character regarding the periodical press, which removed several of the most galling restrictions on the public journals. It proposed to allow all persons to set up journals, provided they conformed to the provisions of the law, and to abolish the most obnoxious species of prosecution, called the "procès de tendance." The law passed both Houses by large majorities, that in the Peers being 65, and in the Commons 132; and it was in a great degree owing to the liberty of discussion thus acquired that the Liberals were able to fan the conflagration which ultimately consumed the throne.²

² Ann. Hist. xi. 68, 71; Lac. iv. 357, 359; Lam. viii. 131.

These concessions, though by no means inconsiderable ones, were far from satisfying the Liberal party, which had by the last election acquired so great a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies. Some more substantial guarantee against the designs of the Jesuits was demanded, and nothing so anxiously as some restriction on their interference with the education of the young, which they were so anxious to effect, and had in some degree acquired. It was no easy matter, however, to prevail on the King to consent to any change in this respect; for this touched his conscience, and threatened to disturb the system which his spiritual advisers represented as the sole foundation which could be relied on either for the altar or the throne. When his Ministers first broached the matter in Council, he said, "That is a serious matter: I can not determine on it without consulting my council." The Council, however, was unanimous on the subject; even the Duke d'Angoulême, whose devotion was so well known, and the royal confessor himself, counseled a temporary bending to the storm, with a view to evading its fury. Charles long held out; but at length, yielding to the earnest solicitations of his whole Council, he agreed to sign two ordonnances, the first of which suppressed all the schools and seminaries in France under the direction of the Jesuits, and restored them to the control of the University; while the second limited to twenty thousand

* A species of arbitrators appointed to settle the disputes of the poor without having recourse to actual litigation.

the number of those who were to be trained for the ecclesiastical profession at these seminaries. "My dear Minister," said the King to the Bishop of Beauvais, who presented to him the ordonnances, and his pen to sign them, "I can not disguise from you that this signature has cost me more than any thing else in my life: I am thus putting myself into hostility with my most faithful servants, with those whom I esteem and love the most: fatal situation of princes, in whom a sense of duty rules the heart. Do you not think we are doing wrong?" "No, sire!" replied the Bishop; "you are saving religion from irreparable ruin."¹

Nothing could exceed the indignation expressed by the whole Jesuit party at this great concession to the demands of their adversaries. The King was stigmatized as impious, the Minister as a persecutor, the Bishop of Beauvais as an apostate. A hundred thousand copies were thrown off of a protest by the bishops of France against the ordonnance, and circulated among the families of the faithful, where they produced no small grief and consternation. The Archbishop of Toulouse refused to obey the ordonnance, and put himself into open hostility with the Crown; the Bishop of Chartres prophesied the approaching downfall of the impious dynasty. The Government had influence enough with the Court of Rome to procure a bull, addressed to M. de Latil, one of the bishops most attached to the King, and the least suspected of undue concessions to the irreligious spirit of the age, approving of the ordonnance as a measure of internal policy of the French Government, which did not interfere with the prerogatives or rights of the Church. This public act, on the part of the head of the Church, appeased the tumult, but did not remove the discontent. The Jesuits left France, but retired into Switzerland, where they established themselves on the frontier, and continued, in an underhand and indirect way, their action upon all the devout and aristocratic families over whom they possessed influence.²

These measures were so evidently adverse to the wishes and principles of the King, that it soon became evident to all that the present transition and compromise Ministry could not by possibility stand, and that it was merely a question of time when it was to be succeeded by one either of a decidedly Royalist or Revolutionary character. The opportunity for making a change occurred sooner than might have been expected. M. de la Ferronnais, the respected Minister of Foreign Affairs, had been obliged to relinquish his active duties for a time from bad health, and he had been succeeded *pro tempore* by M. de Rayneval, a veteran diplomatist, but not equal to the duties of that responsible situation. The King resolved to take advantage of the opportunity which the necessity of choosing a successor presented for introducing M. DE POLIGNAC, whom he had already in secret fixed on as his future Prime Minister, into the Administration. He dispatched, accordingly, an official letter to that

nobleman, who was then ambassador in London, desiring him to return forthwith to Paris. He appeared there in the end of December, to the great terror of all parties—of the Royalists, from dread of the dangerous steps which he might adopt—of the Revolutionists, from apprehension of the overthrow of the semi-Liberal administration which he would probably effect. The King, however, was nowise shaken in the resolution, which he had now matured, of confiding himself to M. de Polignac. He was confirmed in that intention from a journey which he had recently made with a view to test the temper of the public mind in Lorraine and Alsace, where he had been received with the most unbounded demonstrations of loyalty. Both parties concurred in these expressions of attachment: it was hard to say whether the peasantry of the few great seigneurs who had survived the Revolution, or the workmen of the great manufacturers who had arisen on the ruins of those who had fallen, were most loud in their cheers. The King decorated with his own hand M. Casimir Perier, who, with M. Benjamin Constant, was peculiarly conspicuous from the fervor of his loyalty. Yet were both parties insincere, or rather deceptive, in these demonstrations, which went far to mislead the King as to the real state of public opinion in the country. Each had an object to gain in making them, because both felt that a crisis was approaching, and that it was by outvying the other in effusions of loyalty that they were most likely to turn it to their own advantage.¹

Notwithstanding the secret resolution of the King to intrust to Prince Polignac the formation of a new Ministry, it was not deemed safe as yet openly to take that step; and the session of 1829 commenced with M. de Martignac still at the head of the Government. The King drew with justice a flattering picture of the state of the country, which was prosperous in every part beyond all former example; and his speech, which was hailed with enthusiasm, concluded with these words: "Experience has dissipated the prestige of insensate theories. France knows, as you do, on what basis its prosperity rests; and those who seek it elsewhere than in the sincere union of the royal authority and the liberties consecrated by the Charter, will find themselves speedily disavowed by it." These words were received with loud applause, and it seemed, from the unanimity displayed, that the legislature was more unanimous than they had ever been in their attachment to the throne, instead of being, as it really was, on the eve of a convulsion which was to shake it in the dust.²

In the discussion on the address in the Chamber of Peers, Prince Polignac, who was not yet invested with any ostensible power, but whose presence at Paris had excited no small sensation in the capital, spoke as follows: "The public journals have, within these few days, directed against me the most violent attacks, without provocation on my part, without truth, without even probability, without a single fact to adduce that could fur-

¹ Lac. iv. 360, 363; Lam. viii. 136, 137; Ann. Hist. xi. 84, 87.

^{82.} Indignation excited among the Jesuits; but the Pope approves the measure.

² Lam. viii. 138, 139; Lac. iv. 363, 364; Ann. Hist. xi. 127, 134.

^{83.} Preparations for a change of Ministry.

^{84.} Opening of the Chambers. Jan. 11, 1829.

² Ann. Hist. xii. 3, 4; Lam. viii. 151; Lac. iv. 373, 374.

^{85.} Remarkable speech of Prince Polignac.

nish them either with motive or pretext. They have dared to hold me up to entire France as nourishing in my heart a secret repugnance to our representative institutions, which seem now to have acquired an additional title to veneration since the King who bestowed them reposes in an honored tomb. Could the authors of these calumnies penetrate into the interior of my home, they would find there the best, the most decisive refutation of these calumnies. They would find me surrounded with the fruits of my continual studies, all of which had but one object and end, to consolidate and defend our institutions, and to contribute to make them descend to our children. Yes," he added, in a solemn tone, "our institutions appear to me to reconcile all that can be required on the one side by the power and dignity of the throne; on the other, by the just independence of the nation. It is, then, in entire accordance with my conscience and conviction that I have taken the solemn engagement to concur in and maintain them. And what right has any one now to say that I will recede from that engagement? What right have they to suppose in me an intention to sacrifice my legitimately acquired liberties? Have they ever seen in me the servile adorer of power? Has my political faith wavered at the presence of danger? If it were possible to interrogate the consciences and life of my accus-

ers, would I not find them bending the knee before the idols, when, more independent than these, I braved in chains danger and death?"¹

This speech, which revealed the secret hopes and expectations of the orator, fell like a thunderbolt on M. de Martignac, to whose administration it presaged an early downfall. He was sagacious enough to perceive that the King was preparing for him a successor; and he felt the disheartening conviction that he was only smoothing by his administration the path of power for a different Government. The first votes in the Assembly showed how thoroughly its members were imbued with these thoughts and presentiments. M. Royer-Collard had the majority; but M. Casimir Perier had 155 votes, and M. de la Bourdonnaye, the ministerial candidate, only 90. This sufficiently demonstrated that the state of parties was such that it was impossible for the Government to withstand any coalition that might be formed against it. The Centre even belonged more to M. de Villèle than M. de Martignac; and the support of the Left was not to be relied on in a question with a combination that threatened to overthrow the Ministry.²

To conciliate the Liberal majority, Government brought forward a law which tended to increase the popular influence in the municipal councils. The Royalists were expected to support the project, for as it proposed to give admission to an additional number of votes from the rural districts, where their chief influence lay, it appeared calculated to increase their authority. The Liberals were equally relied on for their support, for they were impressed with the idea, which subsequent events have so entirely disproved, that any

considerable increase in the number of voters, or the powers with which they were invested, would tend to augment their preponderance in the state. Nevertheless, by one of those combinations of parties which often precede or occasion the fall of a ministry, this measure, framed to please both parties, gained the support of neither. On the contrary, a coalition was formed against it, which proved fatal to the law itself and the Administration. The projected law was divided into two parts, one regulating the municipal régime, the other the councils of arrondissement. The first met with little opposition; but the second, which went to establish more extended and popular assemblies of the cantons, in lieu of the old councils of arrondissement, was defeated by a coalition of the Left and Left Centre, the numbers being 124 to 103. It is difficult to imagine a more flagrant instance of factious and unprincipled combination than this, for the measure thus thrown out by a coalition of Liberals and Liberal Royalists was a large concession to popular influence, and a decided blow at the influence of the Crown. The Royalists, anxious to overthrow the Ministry, remained immovable on their seats, and, anticipating their fall, were deaf to the entreaties of M. de Martignac and M. Hyde de Neuville, that they would come to the rescue of the Crown. The Liberals, guided by Casimir Perier and Guizot, disregarded equally the representations of the Minister, that the king would never go beyond these concessions, and that his fall would throw the Government into the hands of an ultra-faction, which by its extreme measures would endanger the monarchy. It seems strange that, for the purpose of party, public men should lend themselves to such a dereliction of principle; but the history of England furnishes many similar examples—¹ one in particular, which will be detailed in the sequel, on an occasion hardly less momentous, or attended with consequences less important than this.¹

Nothing could exceed the satisfaction of the King, who in secret desired the fall of his Ministers, at this defeat. When M. de Martignac and M. Portalis announced the hostile vote, he said, with joy depicted in his countenance: "Well, see how they receive my kindnesses. You see where they wish to drag me; you see whither you have been dragged yourselves by your system of concessions. I have smiled twenty times at your confidence in the Chambers. You will gain nothing but by vigor. Return and announce to the Chamber that I withdraw my laws." Thunderstruck with this announcement, the vigor and celerity of which revealed a prior and concerted resolution, the Ministers, downcast and sad, returned to the Chamber, and announced the royal determination. The consternation of the Chamber equalled that of the Ministers; they now saw what they had brought about, and bitterly regretted the step they had taken. But it was too late. The thing was done, and could not be undone. All foresaw that a crisis was approaching,² and that in the shock of parties the monarchy might be overthrown, and all men of sense deplored the perils which could no longer be

¹ Moniteur,

Jan. 17, 1829; the knee before the idols, when, more Lam. viii. 152, independent than these, I braved 153.

86.

State of parties in the Assembly.

² Lam. viii. 154, 155; Lac. iv 375, 376; Cap. x. 27, 34.

87.

Law for the departmental municipal palities, and its defeat.

¹ Ann. Hist. xi. 104, 109; Lam. viii. 156, 158.

Lac. iv. 381.

88.

The King M. de Martignac and M. Portalis announced the hostile vote, he said, with joy depicted in his countenance: "Well, see how they receive my kindnesses. You see where they wish to drag me; you see whither you have been dragged yourselves by your system of concessions. I have smiled twenty times at your confidence in the Chambers. You will gain nothing but by vigor. Return and announce to the Chamber that I withdraw my laws." Thunderstruck with this announcement, the vigor and celerity of which revealed a prior and concerted resolution, the Ministers, downcast and sad, returned to the Chamber, and announced the royal determination. The consternation of the Chamber equalled that of the Ministers; they now saw what they had brought about, and bitterly regretted the step they had taken. But it was too late. The thing was done, and could not be undone. All foresaw that a crisis was approaching,² and that in the shock of parties the monarchy might be overthrown, and all men of sense deplored the perils which could no longer be

² Lam. viii. 157, 158; Lac. iv. 381, 383; Cap. x. 61, 64.

averted. The ultra-Royalists alone, preoccupied with one idea, and blind to the signs of the times, evinced an undisguised and almost ominous joy at their approach.

Though conscious that he could no longer carry on the Government, M. de Martignac, like a good soldier, remained at his post, resolved as long as possible to avert the collision of the Crown and the Legislature. The remainder of the session, however, was almost dumb show; all were aware that the decisive stroke had been struck, that the days of the compromise Ministry were numbered, and that it was merely a question of time when they should give place either to a decided Royalist administration, appointed by the King, or a decided Liberal one forced on him by the Chamber of Deputies. The budget, as a matter of necessity, was voted, under a tacit compromise between the parties, almost without discussion. A slight change took place in the Ministry, by the appointment of M. Portalis as Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, in the room of M. de la Ferronnais, whose health was permanently broken; but it was generally understood that this was a temporary arrangement only, and that the place was really reserved for Prince Polignac. The approaching downfall of the Ministry was so universally presaged that they had become an object of derision to the very courtiers and pages of the palace.¹

One evening, after a prolonged and bitter discussion on the expenses of the army, M. de Caux, the Minister at War, entered the King's Cabinet. "Well, M. de Caux," said the monarch, "what do you say to this assembly?"—"Abominable, sire," replied the minister. "You agree with me, then, that this can not last? Am I sure of the army?"—"Sire!" answered M. de Caux, "you must first tell us in what cause." "Without condition," rejoined the King.—"Well then, sire! the army will never fail the King in the defense of the throne and the Charter; but if it became a question to re-establish the ancient régime?"—"The Charter, the Charter," replied the King; "who talks of violating it? Doubtless it is an imperfect work—my brother was so desirous to reign at any cost. I shall respect it, nevertheless; but what has the army to do with the Charter?"—"Your Majesty," replied M. de Caux, "is in error; and the reason is, that out of 20,000 officers in the army, there are not 1000 who possess, of private fortune, 600 francs (£24) a year." This sufficiently indicated where the danger lay. The vast majority of the officers in the army was composed of the bourgeois class; it sympathized with its feelings, was guided by its interests, read its journals. The Royal Guard was an exception; its officers had been carefully selected from the best families that yet remained in France. But these vital con-

siderations made no impression on the King. Secret conferences, chiefly during the night, were now held frequently in the Tuileries, to which the most ardent Royalists, such as M. de le Bourdonnaye and M. de Montbel,² were conducted by the valet-

de-chambre's apartments in ordinary dresses; and Prince Polignac, who had returned to London after his speech at the tribune, was recalled by a holograph letter of the King himself.

Profoundly skilled in dissimulation, the monarch concealed all these secret movements from his Ministers, and M. de Martignac was slumbering on in fancied security, in the belief that he had recovered his confidence, and that he might yet weather the storm, when, on the 6th August, M. Portalis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was suddenly called to St. Cloud, and informed by the King himself of the dissolution of the Ministry. "Concessions," said he, "have weakened me, without satisfying my enemies;" an observation which may be applied with equal justice to all conciliatory measures, yielded to intimidation instead of a sense of justice. The whole Ministers immediately repaired to St. Cloud, and surrendered their portfolios to the King; M. Roy, the Minister of Finance, alone was requested to remain, which he declined. M. Hyde de Neuville could scarcely be brought to believe in his disgrace. In the evening, the list of the new Ministry, which was all prepared, appeared in the *Moniteur*, and as it was composed entirely of persons known to entertain the most extreme Royalist opinions, it sounded like the tocsin of revolution throughout France. Prince Polignac, though ostensibly Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the real Premier; M. de la Bourdonnaye was Minister of the Interior; M. de Bourmont, of War; M. de Montbel, of Public Instruction; M. de Courvoisin, of Justice; M. de Chabrol, of Finance; and M. d'Haussey, of the Marine. The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs was suppressed. M. de Rigny, the hero of Navarino, had declined the office accepted by M. d'Haussey.¹

Thus was accomplished, for the first time since the Restoration, an entire change of government in France. Power was now placed in the hands of men able indeed, and zealous, and devoted to the monarchy, but destitute of practical experience, and guided by a fanaticism which refused to take counsel from the signs of the times. It was a singular combination of circumstances which brought about such a result in a country possessing representative institutions, and so strongly imbued in the middle class, in which power was vested, with democratic opinions. But little eventual good could be anticipated from a change which, in an age of intelligence and intellectual activity, placed a Government in power whose principles, however much in harmony with the opinions of the majority of the rural population, were utterly at variance with those of the urban inhabitants, in whom political power was exclusively vested; and who yet were so sincerely impressed with the danger of yielding to their antagonists' opinions, that they were prepared to hazard the monarchy itself in striving to overturn them. Nothing but combined wisdom and energy, vast previous preparation, and decisive rapidity in action, could bring the Government through such a crisis; and these were precisely the qualities in which, with all their ability, the new Administration were most deficient.

89. State of the Legislature at the close of the session.

¹ Lam. viii. 158, 159; Lac. iv. 383, 384.

90. Conferences of the King and the extreme Royalists.

91. Change of Ministry, and Prince Polignac Premier.

¹ *Moniteur*, Aug. 8, 1829; Lam. viii. 162, 163; Lac. iv. 368, 369.

92. Importance of the change.

CHAPTER XVII.

FRANCE FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY TO THE FALL OF CHARLES X.

PRINCE POLIGNAC, who was the real head of this Administration, and played so important a part in the eventful drama which so soon succeeded, was a man possessed of several brilliant, some noble qualities. Born under the shadow of the court in the brilliant days of the monarchy; the son of the princess whose beauty and tenderness had fascinated the heart of the romantic and confiding Marie-Antoinette; godson to that princess; bred up on the knees of the Count d'Artois; driven into exile early in life, from the effects of a Revolution to which the attachment of the Queen to his mother had in some degree contributed; held up to the maledictions of the people, in consequence of the sincerity of his devotion to the royal family, he was bound to the throne by the strongest of all ties, to a generous mind—early associations, gratitude for prosperity, fidelity in misfortune. He was, before he had passed adolescence, actively engaged in the attempts made to restore the fallen fortunes of royalty, and was implicated in the plot of Georges at Paris, in 1801, to overturn the First Consul. In consequence of this he was arrested, brought to trial, and condemned to death; and he then evinced the generosity of his disposition by a heroic contest with his brother, who also was condemned, each striving to devolve upon the other a pardon, which, on account of their extreme youth, Napoleon had accorded to one of the two. His life was spared; but as a dangerous state criminal, he was imprisoned for several years in the castle of Vincennes, during which, as is generally the case with an ardent and intrepid mind, he was hardened in resolution, and confirmed in opinion, from the severity of the suffering which he was enduring for its sake. He was at length liberated by the Emperor, and joined the Count d'Artois in exile, with whom he re-entered France in 1814. He retired with that prince to Ghent in 1815, and headed an insurrection in Savoy against the Emperor. After the second restoration, he distinguished himself by the intrepidity with which, almost alone, he maintained his opinions in church and state against a hostile majority. He was sent as ambassador to London by Charles X., soon after his accession, chiefly in order to prepare him, by intercourse with public men, for the important place in the councils of the

state for which he was designed by that monarch; and he still held that embassy, when he was called to the perilous task of guiding the monarchy in an open contest with the majority in the country.¹

His character, from the vast importance of the events which occurred during his administration, has been drawn in the most opposite colors by annalists on the different sides. At this distance of time and place, however, it is possible to form a

comparatively impartial opinion of his merits and demerits. His countenance—which inherited from nature the beauty of his mother, and the aristocratic cast of his father—had been imprinted with melancholy from his early misfortunes, and the long imprisonment he had undergone in consequence of his fidelity to his opinions. His manners were refined and gracious; and when he did apply to business, it was with vigor and effect. During his lengthened confinement, which had endured nine years, he had read and meditated much. Unfortunately he was, by that very circumstance, debarred from intercourse with men, or collision with the world, during his long solitude, and led to form his opinions, not from what he saw to be practicable, but from what he thought to be right. These external influences, combining with an intrepidity which nothing could shake, and a loyalty which nothing could seduce, rendered him the most dangerous Minister whom it was possible to imagine for France at this crisis; for they led him to engage without hesitation in a contest which his conscience indeed approved, but of which his reason had neither calculated the chances nor for it provided the means. His political principles, albeit ultra-Royalist, were far from arbitrary. He aimed at securing for France a constitution similar to that which for a century and a half had given prosperity and glory to Great Britain; and he engaged in the contest of 1830 chiefly in order to emancipate it from the revolutionary influences which seemed to him the only impediment to that consummation. Unhappily he never took into account the essential discrepancies between the circumstances of the two countries, or the impossibility of constructing, in a country where the aristocracy had been destroyed, and the church spoliated, a constitution adapted to one in which they formed the two pillars of the state.¹

M. DE LA BOURDONNAYE, the new Minister of the Interior, was a man of vigor and resolution, who imparted to the Royalist side the ardor and determination which had so often proved successful on the popular. A Vendean representative of 1815, and deeply imbued with the passions of that period, he became a minister in 1829 with a resolution to carry those principles into effect. He was a sort of Royalist Terrorist; he retorted upon the Revolutionists their own principles, and made the Liberals turn as pale now with the extreme measures which he was understood to have in contemplation, as he had done the Bonapartists with the lists of proscription he had demanded. His violence, however, was in words rather than action; his fire evaporated at the tribune; and he was satisfied if his burning expressions, circulated from one end of France to the other, threw his opponents into continual alarm. He

¹ Lam. viii. 165, 166; Cap. x. 164, embassy, when he was called to the 165; Biog. Univ. lxxx., in an open contest with the majority (Polignac.)

¹ Lam. viii. 164, 167.

³ Character of M. de la Bourdonnaye.

menaced more than struck; he desired renown rather than power; and rejoiced more in the thunder of his eloquence than the wounds he might inflict upon his enemies. The King had been misled as to his real character and qualities by his sonorous declamations at the tribune. He expected to find in him a sort of monarchical Mirabeau, and discovered to his cost, when the hour of trial came, that he had introduced into his Cabinet a man of words rather than deeds, whose vigor evaporated in terse expression, and who made no preparation in action for

¹ Lam. viii. the support of the changes which he
168; Cap. had so strenuously recommended in
x. 127, 129. council.¹

M. DE BOURMONT redeemed an unhappy circumstance, which cast a shade on his life, by the highest military and civil talents. He embodied in his single person the whole spirit of La Vendée; his name recalled the heroic courage, the glorious victories, the tragic reverses, of its immortal contest. Unhappily, it recalled also the dishonorable defection on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, and the envenomed testimony which he had borne against Marshal Ney, which had gone so far to seal the fate of that unfortunate man. He had borne a distinguished part in the war of La Vendée, and, after its pacification, in those of the Empire, when his former antagonists had become his comrades. The penetrating eye of Napoleon had distinguished him among the many whom that eventful period trained to the profession of arms; and it was the confidence with which he had been treated, and the value of the information which he possessed, which caused his defection on the eve of the battle of Waterloo to be so severely felt. His military abilities were of the very highest cast, his powers of administration great, his foresight and arrangement, so far as they depended on him, perfect. It is the general opinion, that if he had been at Paris instead of Algiers when the Revolution of 1830 broke out, the issue of the convulsion would have been different from what it was. He possessed great civil as well as military talents; he was sagacious in council, eloquent in debate, and gifted with the rare quality of fascinating the minds of his hearers by the fire of extempore oratory. His high forehead and pensive eye bespoke the ascendant of intellect; his fascinating smile and gracious manners, the polished courtier; his firm and confident step, the consciousness of superiority, and power to rule mankind. The brevity and force of his expressions revealed the force of a mind which made itself felt, like that of Burke, in the shortest conversation. Fascinated by these solid as well as brilliant qualities, and regarding it only as a proof of his devotion to the royal cause, Charles felicitated himself upon his choice of such a man as War Minister, and overlooked entirely his defection at Waterloo. But France had not forgotten it, and considering, with reason, fidelity to his colors as the first duty of a soldier, regarded with undis-

² Lam. viii. guised dismay his appointment to so
170; Cap. important a situation, and trembled
x. 129, 134; at it, as the herald of Royalist re-
Lac. iv. 391. action and civil war.²

though all men of talent, did not stand prominently forward like those who have been mentioned. M. de Montbel, ^{5.} M. de Montbel, M. de Courvoisin, and M. de Chabrol. new to public life, had been known only as able in the administration of affairs at Toulouse, of which he had been mayor. He was an *élève* of M. de Villèle, and was obviously placed in the Cabinet to facilitate his return to power. M. de Courvoisin was in a peculiar manner the orator of the Cabinet, and as he had defended with vigor and eloquence the system of M. Decazes, he was regarded with less jealousy by the Liberals than the rest of the Ministry. M. de Chabrol and M. d'Haussey, who hitherto had been unknown in power, though distinguished in subordinate branches of the Government, were men capable of discharging with success their respective departments of Minister of Marine and of the Finances; but as they were not master-spirits, and characterized chiefly by their loyalty and fidelity to the King, they might be expected to concur, without ¹ Cap. x. difficulty, in any measure which the ^{Lam. viii.} 137, 139; ruling powers in the Cabinet might ^{171, 172.} propose.¹

Deeming the mask now thrown off, and that open war was proclaimed between the Government and the country, the Liberal press broke out, the very day after the Ministry was announced in the *Moniteur*, into the most violent invectives against them. Nothing before had ever equaled since the Restoration, nothing since has ever surpassed, the fury with which they assailed the new Cabinet. "Coblentz, Waterloo, 1815," exclaimed the *Journal des Debats*, after giving the names of the Ministers; "the emigration in M. de Polignac; desertion to the enemy in M. de Bourmont: the fury of proscription in M. de la Bourdonnaye: such are the three principles in the three leading persons of the Administration. Press upon it; nothing but humiliation, misfortune, and danger will drive it from power. Unhappy France! unhappy King!" M. Guizot and M. Thiers, the one in the journal of *Le Temps*, the other in that of the *National*, launched with more ability and argument the thunders of their eloquence against the madness of the King. Other writers, less eminent, and more declamatory, congratulated the country upon the veil being at length torn aside, which had hitherto imperfectly concealed the conspiracy which had been going on for six years against the liberties and constitution of the country. The Directing Committee, under the guidance of M. de Lafayette, which gave the law to all the other democratic bodies in France; the society "Aidez-toi et le Ciel t'aidera," under the rule of M. Guizot and M. de Broglie, began seriously to organize the means of rebellion. Corresponding committees were established in all the principal towns of the country, to organize a general system of resist- ² Cap. x. 279, 280; ance to taxes, and subscriptions opened ^{Lam. viii.} 172, 173; to defray the necessary expenses of a ^{Lac. iv.} 392, 393. universal moral and physical warfare against the Government.²

To take advantage of the universal ferment, General Lafayette made a journey to the

The other members of the Royalist Cabinet,

south, where he was received with such enthusiasm that it resembled rather the progress of a popular and adored sovereign, than the honors bestowed on a subject, how eminent soever. At Grenoble, he was escorted into the

town by a numerous body of cavaliers; at Vizille, the mayor of the town presented him with a silver crown, in imitation of oak leaves. At Lyons his reception was still more enthusiastic, and he made his entry in an open chariot, drawn by four white horses, like a sovereign prince. His speech to the inhabitants and functionaries, who received him at the gate, was remarkable. "To-day," said he, with the aristocratic grace which he knew so well to assume, "after a long diversion of brilliant despotism and constitutional hopes, I find myself in the midst of you in a moment which I would call critical, if I had not perceived every where on my journey, and if I did not see in this great and powerful city, the calm and even disdainful firmness of a great people which knows its rights, feels its strength, and will be faithful to its duties; and it is above all, at this very moment, that I love to express to you a devotion to which your appeal will never, to my latest hour, be made in vain." To counteract the effect of this move-

ment, a progress of the King into Normandy was projected by the Ministers, but abandoned, on consideration, as too hazardous.¹

It soon appeared, when they took their seats at the Council, that Prince Polignac and M. de la Bourdonnaye were not likely long to draw together. Both aspired to the dignity of President of the Council, corresponding to the premiership in England, and neither was inclined to wave his pretensions in favor of the other. Their feelings and motives of action also were different, though both were equally sincere Royalists. Polignac was the representative of the ultra-Romish party, which, regarding the contest in which they were engaged as an affair of conscience, never stopped to calculate the chance of success, but was equally prepared to accept the crown of martyrdom or the chaplet of victory from its results. La Bourdonnaye, a statesman trained in the contests and desirous of the triumphs of the tribune, was more worldly in his ideas, and was strongly impressed with the idea that the one thing needful was, to secure a parliamentary majority, and that any strong measures would be hazardous and misplaced till this object was secured. In this state of matters their co-operation in the same Cabinet was impossible. The complaint made against M. de la Bourdonnaye by the Pope's nuncio and the *Parti-prêtre* was, that he was not a man of action, however skillful in debate—an ominous expression, indicating that he was not prepared to second the desperate measures which were in contemplation. Sensible that he was misplaced in a Cabinet where such designs were in contempla-

tion, M. de la Bourdonnaye voluntarily resigned before the divergence of his opinions with those of his colleagues had been manifested by any overt acts;² he was raised to the Peerage, and was not heard

of again in public life. He was succeeded as Minister of the Interior by M. Guernon de Ranville, an able and eloquent man, who had courage enough, in critical times, like Strafford, to accept a ministry which presaged the possibility of a scaffold.

Two men appeared at this juncture in the legislature, and entered on the career of public life, destined to the highest celebrity in future biography. 9. times, M. GUIZOT and M. BERRYER. M. Guizot had been employed in the Administration at intervals since he accompanied the King to Ghent, in 1815; and from his known talents for business, as well as powers of oratory, he had already acquired a great reputation. He belonged to that small section of very eminent men who, like the Economists in former days, have acquired the soubriquet of the "*Doctinaires*," and whose object was to combine the institutions of the ancient monarchy with the wants and requirements of modern society. M. de Barante, M. Vilmain, M. Broglie, and M. de Staël belonged to this school, which was cordially supported by M. Decazes, that statesman being in a manner the acting representative of it. With his colleagues of the same political creed, M. Guizot retired on the fall of that able minister, and betook himself to the composition of the lectures on history, in the University of Paris, which have since been published under the name of *Civilization in Europe, and Civilization in France*, and have laid the foundation of his great reputation. He is a Protestant in creed, and has none of the lustre of nobility in his descent; but some men are made noble by the patent of nature, and no man ever stood forth as a more zealous and intrepid defender of an enlightened Christian faith.¹

M. Guizot, as a philosophic historian, is one of the very greatest men that the world has ever produced. 10. Less terse in his style than Montesquieu as a writer and quieu, less discursive than Robertson, he is more just and philosophic than either. He has drawn his conclusions from a wider induction, and rested his views on a more thorough acquaintance with the progressive changes in the social system. He exhibits that combination of antiquarian research and accuracy in detail, with luminous views and a thorough appreciation of the growing wants of the age, which is so rare in philosophical writers, but which, like the union of minuteness of finishing with generality of effect in Claude Lorraine, is essential to the highest eminence in the sister arts of history and painting, and never appears without leading to lasting fame. A laborious antiquarian, an eloquent professor, an indefatigable journalist, his eyes were fixed alike upon the past and the present, and from the combination of the two he drew his inferences as to the future. His countenance bespeaks his character. He has neither the fire of genius nor the ardor of enthusiasm in his expression, but the sober steadiness of deliberate thought, and the calm eye of steadfast resolution. He was invaluable as a political partisan, for he gave to party views the air of philosophic conclusions, and, perhaps unconsciously to himself, advanced the interest of a faction when he seemed en-

¹ Lam. viii. 177, 178; Cap. x. 285, 287; Lac. iv. 392, 394; Ann. Hist. xii. 278, 279.

² Lam. viii. 178, 179.

grossed only with those of humanity. A liberal Royalist during the government of the Restoration, he took an active part in the journalist hostility and open rebellion which at length overturned it; and, borne forward to power on the gales of popularity, under its successor he again reverted to his loyal impressions, and, as Minister of Louis Philippe, stood forth the eloquent and courageous supporter of conservative principles. But he did so only to share his fall; and he was precipitated from power in 1848, and the liberties of France destroyed, by the influence of the very doctrines which in 1830 he had done so much to promote, and which all his subsequent efforts had not been able to arrest—a memorable example to future times of the extreme danger, for factious or party purposes, of subverting established authority, and of the awful responsibility which attaches to those who, gifted with the power of launching forth the “winged words” which bear thought on their pinions, become in the end the rulers of their country’s destinies.

M. Berryer has not obtained the same niche in the temple of fame as M. Guizot, chiefly because he was more consistent; for, unfortunately, all history tells us that the men who rise, even for a time, to greatness, are often those who, like Cæsar or Marlborough, can accommodate their principles to the varying circumstances of the times; not those who, like Cato or Aristides, preserve them unchanged through all the mutations of fortune. Connected by birth with the highest society, he had been admitted into its saloons, and imbued with its principles and its graces. His talents for conversation, and the charm of his manners, had acquired for him a great reputation in those elevated circles; and though bred to the bar, and known as a public speaker only in its courts, he was selected for public life by Prince Polignac, after his accession to power, with the highest expectations of his value as a political supporter. In this he was not disappointed, although the time of his entrance into public life was unfortunate, and he became the ornament of a party only in time to share its fall. His handsome countenance prepossessed all who approached him in his favor; his piercing eye bespoke the internal fire of genius; his lofty forehead the power of intellect; his open expression the benignity of a magnanimous disposition. His courage was equal to any trial; and he possessed that chivalrous disposition, the sure mark of a noble mind, which led him to embrace without hesitation the cause which honor dictated, and attached him only the more strongly to the throne, from its obvious inability to bestow temporal rewards on its supporters. But his information was not equal to his eloquence: his reflection was inferior to his energy; he often spoke before he had thought; his name is attached to no great work either in legislation or literature; and, like many other persons similarly gifted, his biography leaves only a feeling of regret that dispositions so noble and talents so brilliant should not have realized themselves in a form permanently beneficial to humanity.¹

¹ Lam. viii. 179, 180.

THIERS, like M. Guizot, had none of the advantages of aristocratic birth or connection: what he gained and became he owed to himself, and himself alone.

He raised himself to eminence, in the first instance, by his *History of the French Revolution*, written in early youth—a party work, often inaccurate in facts and erroneous in principle, but powerfully written, unscrupulous in politics, and only the more likely to be, in the first instance, popular, from its inculcating the doctrine, convenient to statesmen, but dangerous to nations, that the horrors of the Revolution were owing to a fatality unavoidable in such circumstances, not the faults or crimes of the persons engaged in it. The early celebrity of this work led to his being actively engaged on the Liberal side in the public press, which, with the lead which he took in the Revolution of July, early raised him to power under the government of Louis Philippe. His talents proved equal to any situation however great, any duties however onerous; and he was alternately prime minister with Guizot of the quasi-legitimate monarchy. It is the strongest proof of his ability, that it has proved equal not only to the highest and most varied functions, but has increased in the most remarkable manner in the line in which he originally became distinguished. His *History of the Consulate and the Empire* is so superior to that of the Revolution, that it is difficult to believe they proceeded from the same hand. The one is the production of a vigorous inexperienced youth, the other of a matured and reflecting statesman. Gifted with a ready elocution and uncommon powers of oratory, he soon acquired a lead in, and in the end almost the mastery of, the Chamber of Deputies. It is to be regretted only that his consistency and candor are not equal to his genius; that he has too often sacrificed public principle to private ambition; and that, in the anxiety to make his own fortune, he has not escaped the imputation of having unduly made use of his influence and peculiar means of information as a minister to augment it.

A very able Memoir on the state of the kingdom was prepared in Prince Polignac’s office, and laid before the King at Prince Potish juncture, which contains a clear exposition of the state of the country, the difficulties with which the Government was beset, and the grounds on which the *coup d’état* which followed was rested by its authors. “An alarming agitation,” it was said, “undoubtedly prevails in the public mind, but its origin is to be found exclusively in the disposition of those who are habitually occupied with public affairs. As to the mass of the people, they are entire strangers to it, and remain in that state of impassibility which excludes alike applause or murmurs. Every where in the country, as in the town, the masses are occupied only with their material prosperity; all interests find a sufficient guarantee in the institutions accorded by the Crown; they connect with them speculations for the present, and projects for the future; the overthrow of the order of things established by the Restoration would overturn all means of existence to the great majority; and, despite the declamations of the journals, no one seriously regards as pos-

sible the accomplishment of their sinister predictions.

“It is the daily press which alone keeps up the agitation in the minds of men, and it gives to that movement an importance much greater than it really possesses. In truth, what can be the object of that agitation? Is it dread of the overthrow of our institutions? No one is thinking of it. Our institutions are the work of the royalty which protects and defends them. The King, whose word embraces all guarantees, has made known his determination to maintain them; his Government is applying itself sedulously to carry his wishes into effect; all the laws are executed, not only literally according to their word, but in good faith according to their spirit. The public liberties are respected, property of all sorts protected with a scrupulous care, which renders it doubly precious from the security which accompanies it. To these facts, which are so notorious that no one can deny them, what do the public journals on the other side oppose? Nothing but suppositions purely gratuitous as to culpable intentions on the part of Ministers, accusations which they themselves repel with indignation, and which derive their only credence from those who advance them imputing to their antagonists those culpable intentions as to *coups d'état*, by which their own conduct, whenever they were, even for a short season, in power, has been invariably regulated.

“To impute with any show of reason an intention on the part of Ministers to overturn our institutions, it must be shown that this project has some prospect of success. Can any one suppose for a single moment that such chance exists at the present day? No one knows better than the chiefs of the Administration what profound roots our institutions have struck in the heart of all Frenchmen, friends of order and of public peace. These institutions conciliate all the feelings of the French, and give them entire satisfaction. The guaranteed security of private interests, the protection afforded to industry of every sort, fulfill all the wishes of the people; in a word, it is not only in our actual institutions that they find all they wish, but it is in them that they look for all that they hope. No power is able to tear that system from the hearts of the French. It is already so powerful and so solidly established, that if, by a concurrence of unforeseen circumstances and events which no human prudence could avert, some deviations from our institutions might become unavoidable, that deviation, how slight soever, and though known to be only momentary, could not by possibility be favorably received, unless the public were thoroughly convinced that it secured for the future on an imperishable basis the whole of our actual institutions. France would never submit to their *passing suspension*, but in the hope of securing their durable existence down to the latest posterity.

“The chief causes of our present difficulties, and of the agitation which pervades the public mind, are the license of the public press, and the bad spirit which pervades a part of the electoral body. The last evil is in part the result of the first; in part it is owing to a cause peculiar to itself,

which is the indefatigable labors of the revolutionary Directing Committee. Opposition writers, interested in denying the existence of that Committee, found mainly on the impossibility hitherto experienced of specifying the names of the individuals of which it is composed. Assuredly the Directing Committee is not an association whose members are proclaimed, or whose meetings are regulated by fixed and public statutes; it is modified according to circumstances, and changes according to the time its means of correspondence and action. The electoral body is the constant object of its measures. At the approach of elections, the editors, proprietors, and patrons of the revolutionary journals meet and agree on the candidates who are to be proposed and supported in every college. The journals publish those lists, and recommend them in the most imperious manner to the electors. In that singular traffic of votes, it constantly appears that the revolutionary journals make a sacrifice of their interests, their resentments, their preferences, and come to an understanding with singular precision as to the candidates to be supported. That of itself is sufficient to demonstrate the existence of a central ruling authority, to which all local committees yield obedience. In November, 1827, the Liberal committee went so far as to insert in the public journals a letter, by which certain candidates were recommended to the electors by the persons subscribing that letter, and these persons were M. Dupont de l'Eure, Voyer d'Argenson, Lafayette, Benjamin Constant.

“As to the means which the Committee employs to secure in each department the effect of its recommendations, or rather of its electoral injunctions, they are no longer the subject of doubt. In every place of any importance there is to be found what is called an ‘Electoral Committee;’ the members of these are known to the Minister of the Interior. These committees exercise a permanent inquisition over the electoral lists—favored by the right which the law gives to a third party to interfere in the structure of those lists. The Committee use every possible effort to get enrolled all of democratic principles, and to exclude such as are suspected of Royalist principles. The class of electors upon whom these committees chiefly act are those who owe their suffrages to patents (trades and professions); it may readily be conceived what a powerful influence rich merchants and manufacturers, who are often in the interest of the committees, exercise over such persons. The peasants in the rural districts are equally at the mercy of the attorneys, notaries, and legal men out of office, by whom their properties are beset, and who naturally swell the ranks of opposition. In a word, the representation has become entirely subjected to external influences of the most dangerous kind, and it is no longer in the power of the King without the aid of the Chambers. The Ministers can do nothing but remove all cause of discontent or fear for the future, by causing the agitation excited by the press and the committees to be deprived of any real foundation.”¹

Prince Metternich said, in April 1830, when at Paris, “If I were not Prime Minister in Aus-

¹ Memoir, Feb. 1830; Cap. x. 331, 339.

tria, I would be a journalist here." In effect, the influence of the press in France had become such that it was omnipotent; the ruling power had slipped out of the hands of Government and passed into its. By means of the electoral committees, which were entirely at its disposal, they had got the command of the Chamber of Deputies, nearly two thirds of which was arrayed under the banners of Opposition. By incessant action on the public mind, they had succeeded not only in directing but in inflaming it to such a degree as to render Government, by the means and influences provided by the constitution, impracticable. An appeal to the people, to extricate the Crown from the meshes of the net in which it was enveloped, only made matters worse; every successive dissolution augmented the Liberal majority. The momentary reaction produced by the change in the Electoral Law, introduced in 1821, and the success of the war in Spain in 1823, had been soon obliterated; the colleges of departments had fallen as much under the direction of the revolutionary committees as the colleges of arrondissements; and the press, acting upon the whole middle class of society, in which the electoral suffrage was vested, had come to acquire the entire direction of the legislature. The fatal mistake of vesting the right of voting for members of the Chamber of Deputies in *one single class of electors*, and that the most democratic in the state, committed by the *coup d'état* of 5th September, 1817, had prostrated the commons before the revolutionary party; the great democratic creation of Peers, in 1819, had given it the command of the Upper House. Deprived of its natural supporters in both branches of the legislature, the Crown was left alone to maintain a contest with a revolutionary party, bent upon subverting the throne, and wielding the greater part of the material and intellectual strength of the state; and, as if to render the conflict utterly hopeless, the Government was so left when under the guidance of an ecclesiastical Camarilla, whose rashness in adopting extreme resolutions was equaled only by their total want of preparations or foresight in carrying them into execution.¹

The rancor with which the whole Liberal press of France assailed the Polignac Ministry had had no parallel even in the past annals of that convulsed country, and it has scarcely had an equal in subsequent times. It was not the resolute determination of men striving to establish a principle or secure an object; it was the fierce passion of a woman set upon destroying a rival. The journals made no attempt to combat the measures of Government; they did not stop to inquire either what they were, or what they were likely to be; they directed their whole efforts to destroy the men who composed it. Indefatigable was the industry, great the ability, unbounded the license, which they exerted or permitted themselves in the pursuit of this object. Private scandal, false accusations, vilifying lampoons, were freely mingled with eloquent declamations, heart-stirring appeals, and gloomy denun-

18. Vast influence of the press in France.

19. Vehement hostility of the press at the Polignac Ministry.

ciations of impending danger. In this death-struggle, the greatest ability, the most transcendent genius, was found in the same ranks with the most base and prostituted talent; Guizot, Benjamin Constant, and Thiers, poured forth their effusions against the Ministry, day after day, alongside of Paul Courier, Dulaure, and other pamphleteers, whose names have long since been forgotten. There were able writers, too, on the Royalist side, but they had few readers; the people, as usual in such conflicts, would peruse nothing but what fell in with their preconceived opinions; and the great circulation of the Liberal, compared with the Royalist journals, proved decisively to what an extent the majority of the more intelligent portion of the community had ranged itself in opposition to the Government.^{1*}

The Chambers met on the 2d March, 1830, and their proceedings were looked to with the utmost anxiety in every part of France; for every one foresaw that the decisive struggle was approaching, and that the legislature would be the theatre of the conflict. The deputies arrived in great number some days before from all quarters; none who could possibly attend on the day of battle were absent. The whole pomp of royalty was ostentatiously displayed; peers and commons were arrayed in a dense mass round the throne, which was placed on an elevated platform, and from which the King pronounced the LAST royal speech of the Restoration. He dwelt on his amicable relations with all foreign powers save Algiers, which he was resolved to punish for the insults offered to the French flag; on the prosperous state of the finances, which had much surpassed expectation, which would enable him to gratify his wishes by alleviating the public burdens. "The first wish of my heart," said he in conclusion, "is to see France happy and respected, developing all the riches of its territory and its cultivation, and enjoying in peace the benefit of the institutions which it is my firm resolution to maintain. The Charter has placed the public liberties under the safeguard of the rights of the Crown; those rights are sacred, and my duty is to transmit them uninjured to my successors. Peers of France, deputies of the departments, I can not doubt your concurrence in effecting the good which it is my object to bring about. You will repel with contempt the perfidious insinuations which malevolence has sought to propagate. Should culpable manœuvres obstruct my government, which I can not and will not anticipate, I will

¹ Capefigue, Hist. de Louis Philippe, i. 113, 120.

20. Opening of the Chambers. March 2.

* In April, 1830, the following was the circulation of the Parisian journals:

LIBERAL.	
Constitutionnel	16,666
Débats	9,900
Courier Français	5,000
Le Temps	4,166
Globe	1,853
National	1,590
ROYALIST.	
Gazette de France	9,863
Quotidienne	4,060
Drapeau Blanc	666
Gazette des Cultes	622
Messager des Chambres	1,330
Moniteur	2,606

—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, i. 113, note.

find the means of surmounting them in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in my just confidence in the French, and in the love which they have always shown for their King."¹

There was nothing which could be the object of just criticism or attack in this speech; but the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies felt themselves in such strength that they resolved to commence hostilities, and in the very outset hoist the signal of defiance. Their strength appeared on the first division for the election of a President; for the candidate whom the Ministry supported, M. de Berbes, had only 131, and Delatol 125 votes; while Royer-Collard had 225, Casimir Perier 190, and General Sebastiani 177. The King, as a matter of necessity, not less than inclination, selected M. Royer-Collard from the list presented to him; for not only was he the first on the list, but he had in former days been Royalist in principle, and Charles could not believe that he would now prove unfaithful to the Crown. The Address prepared by the committee, and which led immediately to the rupture which followed, concluded with these expressions: "Sire! in the midst of the unanimous expressions of respect and affection with which your people surround you, there has appeared in the minds of men a disquietude which disturbs the tranquillity which France had begun to enjoy, dries up the sources of its prosperity, and might, if it continued, become fatal to its repose. Our honor, our conscience, the fidelity which we have sworn, and *which we will always preserve*, impose on us the duty to unvail to you its cause. The Charter, which we owe to the wisdom of your Majesty's predecessor, and which your Majesty is so firmly resolved to maintain, consecrates as a right the intervention of the country in the direction of the public interests. That intervention is and ought to be indirect, wisely measured, circumscribed within narrow limits, which we will never permit to be passed; but it is not the less real in its results, for it makes the paramount concurrence of the political views of the Government with the wishes of your people *an indispensable condition* of the regular march of public affairs. Sire! our loyalty, our devotion, compel us to say that that concurrence does not now exist. An unjust distrust of the feelings and reason of the French is at present the fundamental thought of your Administration. Your people are afflicted at it, because it is unjust toward themselves; they are disquieted by it, for it is menacing for their liberties. That distrust can never find a place in your noble heart. No, sire! *France does not wish for anarchy any more than you wish for despotism*. It is befitting that you should have the same faith in its loyalty which it has in your promises. Let the wisdom of your Majesty determine between those who misunderstand a nation, so calm, so faithful, and we who, with a profound conviction, pour out into your bosom the griefs of a people jealous of the esteem and confidence of their King.² The royal prerogatives have placed in your hands the means of insuring between the different pow-

ers in the state that constitutional harmony, which is the first and necessary condition of the power of the throne, and of the greatness of France."

These words necessarily occasioned a storm in the Chamber, for they brought out mildly, but fairly and manfully, the fundamental question at issue between the parties. This was whether the appointment of Ministers was to be vested in the Crown or the Chamber, or rather whether the former was to be obliged to yield to a negative imposed by the latter. This question, so long resolved in favor of the House of Commons in England, and so thoroughly understood in parliamentary practice in that country, was new in France; and the assumption of such a power on the part of the Deputies appeared to many, as probably it was understood by themselves, as but a step to the entire direction of affairs, and the stripping the King of the most important of his prerogatives—that of the choice of his responsible servants. It gave rise, accordingly, to animated debates when the motion was made that the address should be agreed to, in which M. Berryer for the first time mounted the tribune, and by his energy and eloquence produced a profound impression.¹

"The projected address," said he, "attributes the disquietude which prevails to the formation of a new Ministry; that is to say, an act emanating from the royal will—the sole act of the executive power which can not be the object of any responsibility, which is clearly a discharge of the King's duty, and within his prerogative—is represented as the cause of the grief of a whole people. Send to the King, then, a great deputation, and say to him at once: 'Sire, the use you have made of your prerogatives disturbs our security, dries up the sources of our prosperity, and may become fatal to our repose. (Loud murmurs on the Left.) Your interruptions,' continued he, addressing the Left, 'do not disturb me; they satisfy me that I am right. You recoil from the consequences of your own act. That assures me that the address, fraught with such results, will be rejected. If there is a want of respect in its expressions, there is a violation of the constitution in the alternative in which it places the King. The Chamber has no right to demand its own dissolution. There is something fearful and withering to the heart in the resolution of an Assembly which demands its own ruin; which, betraying the confidence of the electors, wishes to withdraw itself from the duties imposed upon it by the country, and which it has to discharge alike toward the Crown and the people. And it is at the very moment when these duties are most imperious that, by a strange infatuation, it is proposed to desert the post which has been committed to you.'

"If the Ministers of the Crown inspire distrust—if the Deputies are informed of their secret projects, let them remain at their posts, watch over their projects, and thwart them. What does it signify, when the rights of the Crown are invaded—when the King is outraged—that your ad-

² An. Hist. viii. 18, 19; Lam. viii. 185, 186.

²⁴ Continued.

dress is filled with protestations of devotion, of respect, and of love? What signifies it that you say, 'The rights of the King are sacred,' if at the same time you control him in the exercise of the powers which you have intrusted to him? What effect can such a sad contrast have but to recall the mind to times of fatal memory; to remind us by what steps an unhappy King was conducted, in the midst of protestations of fidelity and love, to exchange for the palm of martyrdom the sceptre which he had let fall from his hand. I am not surprised that the framers of the address should have said that they feel themselves '*condemned*' to hold such language to the King. And I also, more occupied with the future than the resentments of the past, feel that if I should adhere to the address, my vote would forever weigh on my conscience as a withering condemnation.

"Whither are we going, great God? Are we to be dragged along like slaves at the feet of that power which is called public opinion? If the power of the Crown consents to sink before that influence, it would no longer be the Crown; it would have mistaken its mission, neglected its duty, abdicated its authority. A great duty is reserved for the Ministry of the 8th August (Polignac's). It is called on to consolidate the work of the Restoration, to combat and destroy the spirit of faction, to found general unanimity on the accord of religion and knowledge, to extirpate from our codes the arbitrary principles of the Republic and the Empire. A Minister who advances on such a line can not but meet with the support of the country. Have you any right to compel the King to dismiss his Ministers? Do you not see that such a pretension menaces our whole institutions? If it is conceded, what becomes of the thirteenth and fourteenth articles of the Charter? Where is the independence of the executive power? What will remain of the royal authority? The King will not consent to the concession now demanded. He can not consent to it, because his rights are sacred, because he is bound to transmit them intact to his successors, because he has sworn to maintain our institutions, and he will abide by his oath. His Ministers do not disguise from themselves the difficulty of their duties; but, convinced of their importance, they will not fail in their discharge. He whose power has called them to their posts has alone the right to dismiss them. As long as it seems meet to him to retain them in his service,

¹ Moniteur, they will continue faithful to it; March 5, 1830; nothing will shake their resolution, nothing will wear out their constancy."²¹

On the other hand, it was contended by M. Guizot, who, like his great antagonist, made then his first appearance on the parliamentary arena: "One power alone now makes itself felt in France, and feels itself entirely at its ease, and that power is the press. Never, in my opinion, was its action more salutary or necessary. It is it, and it alone, which during seven months has frustrated all designs against our liberties, and disappointed all hopes; but that preponderance of the press is fearful, and bespeaks a dangerous and distressing state of

society. This general perturbation in the state, and in all the constituted authorities, is an evil foreign to the usual and healthful state of society, and it is to it that it behoves us to apply a remedy. We are told that France is tranquil; that the public order is nowhere disturbed. True: externally, peace is every where preserved; no reports disturb the general tranquillity; but does the evil I have pointed out exist the less? Is it less grave, less alarming, less important in the eyes of all serious or reflecting men? It is more to be apprehended than many riots, more serious than the disorders such as have for a long time agitated England.

"Such open disorders are symptoms which power can not fail to recognize: it is unavoidable, when they break out, that Government should become aware of grievances, and endeavor to rectify them. With us no such warning exists: the danger, unknown, unheeded, lurks in the bosom of society. Its surface is tranquil—so tranquil, indeed, that Government is tempted to believe that the depths can never be stirred, and itself beyond the reach of all danger. Our words, gentlemen, the freedom of our words, is the only warning which power can receive among us; the sole voice which can penetrate to the King, and dissipate his illusions. Let us beware, then, of weakening their force; let us beware of softening our expressions; let them be respectful, even tender; it is our duty to be so, and no one has accused your committee of being awanting in that respect; but let them not be timid or doubtful. Truth has already difficulty enough to penetrate into the cabinets of kings; let us not send in its light pale and feeble; let it be such that it is alike impossible to misunderstand our meaning, and to doubt the loyalty of our sentiments.

"The fact is, that, in the midst of universal protestations of devotion and fidelity, there exists a vague disquietude which disturbs the security of the country; and that disquietude proceeds from the distrust which the country entertains of the present Ministry, and the reciprocal distrust which the Ministers entertain of the country. This fact is notorious; no one can deny it; it strikes every mind. So strong is this distrust on the part of the Ministers of the Crown, that it has even entered into the speech which they have composed for the King. Reciprocally, the country has no confidence in the Ministers; and it is of the nature of such feelings mutually to inflame each other. It is impossible to conceal, in vain to disguise, that there is no sympathy whatever between the Ministers of the Crown and the country. But we are living under a constitutional monarchy, of which it is an indispensable condition that a concurrence should subsist between the King and the majority in both Chambers. It is in vain to say our attempts to restore such a concurrence are an invasion of the Royal prerogative—a stripping the King of his legitimate power. Such is neither the object nor the language of the address. No attempt is made in it to dictate to the King what should be done. The existence of the evil is only indicated, leaving it to his Majesty to apply the remedy which his wisdom may dictate. But

^{26.}
Answer of
M. Guizot
and the
Liberals.

^{28.}
Concluded.

when the Ministers of the Crown have spoken in the speech from the Throne of *Force*, it is surely permitted to the Chamber to

¹ An. Hist. xiii. 31, 33. allude to the law. I vote for the address, and against the amendment."¹

So great was the impression produced by the speech of M. Berryer, who was then

^{29.} Vote on the for the first time heard in the Assembly, that M. Royer-Collard said,

"This is not only an orator, but a power which has appeared among us." But it was all in vain: the Opposition was too strongly rooted in the Chamber and the country to be overcome by any reasoning how convincing, any eloquence how persuasive soever. The address, as it originally stood, was voted, and the amendment, which was intended to soften it,* rejected by a majority of 40, the numbers being 221 to 181. That majority, considerable as it was, did not convey an adequate idea of the real strength of the Opposition; for 30 of the minority were detached from their ranks by the conciliatory terms of the amendment on which the vote was taken, so that the real strength of Ministers was only 150 out of 402. This great majority was produced by the defection of the whole Left Centre to the Opposi-

² An. Hist. xiii. 42, 43; liberal Royalist, who by this defection overturned, in the first result, 188, 189; the throne—in the last, the liberties of his country.²

Ministers were thunderstruck by this majority, which was much larger than they

^{30.} Measures of Ministers in consequence. had anticipated; but they were not deterred by it from pursuing the course which they had adopted. They answered it by the immediate

dismissal of all the public functionaries who had taken a part in the hostile vote. One of the most remarkable of these was M. Calmon, Director-general of Registers and Domains. He received his *congé*, and his situation was offered to M. Berryer; but he replied, "I am too young as yet in the Chamber to deserve a situation, and next year I will perhaps deserve a higher one." The place was bestowed on M. de Suleau, a young writer of talent on the Royalist side, who had the courage in this crisis to ally himself to its fortunes. But several able men, especially in the diplomacy, hastened to resign their offices, or declined uniting themselves to the Administration. M. de Chateaubriand resigned his situation as ambassador at Rome, and returned to literary poverty when he heard that Government were determined to resist the majority of the Chamber. M. Marcellus, formerly his *chargé-d'affaires* when ambassador in London, refused the situation of Under-secretary of State to Prince Polignac; and M. Lam-

* The amendment on the address proposed, and on which the vote was taken, was in these terms:—"Cependant notre honneur, notre conscience, la fidélité que nous vous avons jurée, et que nous vous garderons toujours, nous imposent le devoir de faire connaître à votre Majesté, qu'au milieu des sentiments unanimes de respect et d'affection dont votre peuple vous entoure, de vives inquiétudes se sont manifestées à la suite des changements survenus dans la dernière session. C'est à la haute sagesse de votre Majesté de les apprécier, et d'y apporter le remède qu'elle croira convenable. Les prérogatives de la Couronne placent dans ses mains augustes les moyens d'assurer cette harmonie constitutionnelle, aussi nécessaire à la force de la Couronne qu'au bonheur de la France."—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 37, 38.

artine declined a similar offer of the direction of foreign affairs, from a dread that a violation of the charter was in contemplation. Polignac on this occasion expressed himself in the most earnest manner as to no permanent violation of the charter being in contemplation, but only a temporary suspension of it, to secure its durability in future times.^{1*}

It was resolved in the Council that the King should receive the address, surrounded by all the majesty of the throne, but that he should return a severe answer to the deputation. M. Royer-Collard, as President, presented and read it with a faltering and moved voice; for he was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the crisis, and the mild but yet dignified manners of the King. Charles answered, when it was concluded, "I have heard the address which you have presented to me in the name of the Chamber of Deputies. I had a right to reckon on the concurrence of the two Chambers to carry out the good which I meditated; my heart is grieved to hear from the deputies of the departments that such concurrence is not to be looked for. I have announced my resolution in my speech at the opening of session; that resolution is immovable; the interests of my people forbid me to depart from it. My Ministers will make known to you my intentions." In effect, on the following day, in the midst of an uncommonly full house, the Minister of the Interior put into the hands of the president an ordonnance of the King, which prorogued the Chamber until the 1st September following.²

This bold and decided step, which, like a similar measure resorted to by Charles I. in England, was in effect a declaration of war against the Chamber, excited general surprise; it was not supposed the King was capable of so much resolution, or of adhering so perseveringly to one course of policy. It was foreseen that such a prorogation, on the eve of a costly expedition to Algiers, and with no provision for the current expenses of the season, could only be the prelude to a dissolution. What a dissolution would lead to, in the present excited state of the public mind, it was not difficult to foresee. In effect, the King had made up his own mind to go through with all the measures which he deemed essential to main-

tain.

^{32.} Prorogation of the Chambers, and general agitation it excited.

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* "Le Prince m'écrivit pour m'appeler à Paris, et pour me confier la direction des affaires étrangères. Je répondis en m'excusant sur ma jeunesse et sur mon insuffisance. 'Eh bien,' me dit-il avec bonté et du ton du reproche, 'vous êtes donc du nombre de ceux qui me calomniez, en m'accusant de vouloir renverser les institutions qui soutiennent à la fois le trône et la liberté. Vous croyez, donc, que je rêve un coup d'état?' 'Non, mon prince,' lui dis-je, 'je ne crois pas qu'un coup d'état soit dans vos pensées: mais je crois qu'un coup d'état est dans la fatalité inévitable de la position que le Roi et le Ministère prennent devant le pays.' M. le Prince de Polignac alors m'entraînant dans son grand cabinet, et se promenant avec moi d'un bout à l'autre, pendant deux heures d'un entretien confidentiel et passionné, protesta avec énergie, évidemment sincère, contre toute pensée de renverser ou même d'atténuer la Charte, et me conjura, avec plus de force, de croire en lui, et d'accepter le poste de confiance qu'il me gardait dans son Ministère."—LAMARTINE, viii. 191.

¹ Lam. viii. 189, 190; Cap. x. 325, 326; Chateaubriand, Mém. d'Outre Tombe, ix. 178.

^{31.} The King's answer to the Address. March 18.

March 19. ² An. Hist. xiii. 44, 49; Cap. x. 328, 329; Ordonnance, March 19, 1830.

tain the prerogatives of the Crown, and the Cabinet was so submissive to his will that no resistance on their part was to be apprehended. "The Chamber," said he, "has played a high game in attacking my Crown, but I have answered them as a king." The Ministers respectfully proposed the question to him whether he should yield to the injunction of the address, and change his Ministry? "No," replied the King; "that would be a degradation of the Crown, and an abdication of the royal prerogative. Besides, what ministry could come to an understanding with such a Chamber? When I wished to change the Martignac Ministry, whose concessions, received by ingratitude, led me to the edge of the abyss, I consulted Royer-Collard as to the men who would be likely to carry with them a majority of the Assembly." "None could do so," replied the statesman, discouraged by the incoherence of the elements of the Assembly over which he presided. One of the Cabinet, when the address was presented, suggested to the King whether it might not be possible still to come to an accommodation with the Chamber, and to get a majority? "A majority!" replied the King hastily, revealing his secret thoughts, "I should be sorry to gain it; I would not know what to do with it."¹

The prorogation of the Chamber was immediately followed by several political banquets, at one of which M. Odilon Barrot presided at Paris, where every thing was said that could inspire vigor and resolution in the Liberal party. No obstacle was thrown by Government in the way of these assemblages; but it was otherwise with the licentiousness of the press, which had now reached an unparalleled height. Several prosecutions took place against the leading Liberal journals, particularly the *National*, the *Globe*, the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, and the *Journal du Commerce*, which were followed by convictions and sentences of considerable severity. Alarmed at the menacing aspect of public affairs, the courts of law now took part with the prosecution in these cases as much as in the preceding years they had inclined to the other side. Some articles at the same time appeared in the *Moniteur*, which disavowed the intention of resorting to violent measures ascribed to the Government by the Liberals; but they excited little attention, and as the Royalist journals continued not the less strongly to inculcate the necessity of having recourse to a *coup d'état*, the opinion became universal that such a measure was really intended, and that Government was only waiting for a favorable opportunity for promulgating it.²

During the sort of interregnum which prevailed between the prorogation of the Chamber and the publication of the ordonnances, two occurrences took place, well worthy of a place in history, from their present importance and their consequences in future times. The first of these was a report by the Minister of Finance on the state of the country, dated 15th May, 1830, which threw the most valuable light on that momentous subject, and

the progress the nation had made under the Government of the Restoration; the second, the expedition to Algiers, not less important to the commercial and maritime interests of the kingdom, and the ultimate fate of Islamism, and balance of the Christian and Mohammedan powers.

From the report of the Finance Minister it appeared that the population of France, which in 1821 amounted to 35. 30,304,340 souls, inhabiting 5,886,727 houses, the average rent of which was 49½ francs a house, and the entire value 303,832,734 francs, had increased in 1830 to 31,657,429 souls, inhabiting 6,396,008 houses, at an average annual value of 66 francs, amounting in all to 384,008,125 francs. This exhibited an increase of a third in the average annual value of houses during those nine years, of a fourth in their entire value, and an increase of 1,300,000, or about a thirteenth, in the numbers of the whole inhabitants. But the relative increase in the proportion of rural and urban dwellings was not less decisive as to the comparative advance in the great divisions of society than the sum total was of their common prosperity; for in 1821 only 169,810,754 francs belonged to towns, and 134,021,980 francs to rural localities; while in 1830 no less than 211,806,483 francs arose from the former, and 172,201,642 francs to the latter. With reason, the Finance Minister concluded that this was "the evident consequence of the increase of population, of the general well-being of society, and of the numerous buildings which since 1820 have been constructed upon all points of the territory."¹

The direct taxes exhibited a great increase in all branches, especially those on houses and windows, during the same period. The general result was 325,000,000 francs between the original imposition and the *centimes additionnels*, or local burdens, derived from the direct taxes. The charges of collection were 16,200,000, or 5 1-10th on the total sum received by the treasury; and this large sum was obtained after 91,865,000 francs had been remitted to the proprietors from the sums exigible by law, by the indulgence of the Government. The increase was still more marked in the indirect taxes, for they had risen, without any new burdens having been imposed, from 163,000,000 francs, in 1818, to 212,000,000 in 1828; while the charges of collection, which had been 18 per cent. in 1813, and 14½ in 1818, had been reduced in 1828 to 12½ per cent. The treasury exhibited an equally favorable result; the receipts were 1,030,782,656 francs (£41,200,000), and the expenditure was 1,026,617,152 francs—a state of matters which, considering the large military establishment, exceeding 200,000 men, on foot in the empire, and the large sum set apart for the sinking fund, bespoke in the clearest manner the general well-being and prosperity of the country.²

The details presented in regard to the public debt were still more important, for they exhibited in one view the vast benefits conferred by the Government of the Restoration, and formed, as it were,

¹ Lam. viii. 192, 197; Cap. x. 329, 330; Ann. Hist. xiii. 46; Lam. viii. 201, 202.

² Prosecutions against the press.

² Moniteur, March 29, April 5, April 7, 1830; Ann. Hist. xiii. 47, 50.

³ Report of the Finance Minister, May 15, 1830.

^{35.} Its import-
ant statisti-
cal details.

¹ Rapport du Ministre de Finance, May 15, 1830; Moniteur, May 17; Ann. Hist. xiii. 50, 51.

^{36.} Indirect taxes and general revenue.

² Rapport, May 15, 1830; Ann. Hist. xiii. 52, 53.

^{37.} Public debt.

the testament bequeathed by the elder branch of the Bourbons to the country. The public debt, according to this statement, consisted of 3,949,553,337 francs (£158,000,000), and the annual interest to 170,328,205 francs (£6,800,000). The capital redeemed by the sinking fund amounted to 755,402,140 francs, and its annual charge to 37,503,204 francs. The annuities charged on the treasury, and which were divided among 187,173 parties, amounted to 56,984,196 francs; and the entire annual charge of the debt, interest of capital sums and annuities, was 322,752,660 francs. Of the pensions only 1,825,604 francs were civil, 5,986,000 francs ecclesiastical, while the military were 47,643,000 annually—a curious proof of how entirely the resources as well as inclinations of the French,

even in peace, had run into the profession of arms. The debt contracted for the indemnity to the emigrants, nearly a fourth of the whole, was included in this enumeration.¹

It need hardly be said, after these statistical details, that the country had eminently prospered under the Government of the Restoration, especially during its later years; and that in no former period had benefits so general and important been conferred upon all classes of society. Under the Government of its ancient Kings, since the year 1822—that is, during a period of only eight years—the imports and exports of France had increased 50 per cent., and the tonnage of the shipping nearly 25 per cent.* The annual value of agricultural production over the whole kingdom had risen to 945,353,962 francs, drawn from 12,659,773 arable hectares (30,800,000 acres), being at the rate of 72 francs per hectare, or nearly 18s. an acre. The difference between this average value of agricultural produce and that of Great Britain, notwithstanding the great advance in industry and prosperity made in France during the Restoration, is very remarkable, for the average value of agricultural produce per acre in this

country has never been estimated (Agriculture), by competent observers at less than £6 sterling per acre.²

It is very remarkable, that while the prosperity of the country had increased in this prodigious ratio during the Restoration, its discontents had fully kept pace with it, and they had now reached the highest point at the very time when the well-being of the people was most universal and conspicuous. The smiling

aspect of the fields, the busy activity of the commercial towns, the animation of the seaports, the splendor and increasing edifices of the capital, were equalled only by the general discontent and sullen disloyalty which pervaded these scenes of prosperity and happiness. What was still more remarkable, the classes among whom the discontent was the greatest, were the very ones which had been most largely benefited by the government of the Bourbons, and most severely crushed by that which had preceded it. The proprietors, altogether excluded from participation in the government under the despotism of Napoleon, had been let into a large share of it under that of the Restoration, were generally averse to their benefactors, and sighed for the return of their tyrants. The burgher class, reduced almost to nullity during the latter years of the Empire, had prospered immensely under the pacific reign of the Bourbons, and from its influence in the elections had well-nigh got the government of the state; and it was all but unanimous against the Government which had fostered and protected, while it worshiped the memory of that which had insulted and ruined it. The “avocats” were the special object of hatred and obloquy with Napoleon, the “ideologues” were to him a perfect horror, and the press was retained by him in the closest fetters, while all these classes had been in an especial manner cherished, protected, and admitted to almost unlimited power by the Bourbon Government; and the only return they made, like the serpent in the fable, which the husbandman warmed in his bosom, was to turn round and sting their benefactor. This memorable example proves the fallacy of the opinion generally entertained, that no disturbances are to be regarded as serious if the material comforts of the people are duly attended to, and of the truth of the distinctions drawn in a former work between troubles originating in real grievances, which may be expected to be alleviated by their removal, and such as arise from the thirst for political power, which are only increased by such comforts as tend to increase the pugnacious propensities of the people.¹

The other event which occurred at this period was the expedition to Algiers, which gave a lasting settlement on the African shores to the French arms, and was the third of the great shocks which were given in this century to the Ottoman power. This diminutive state, which had so long withstood all the hostility of the European powers, and exercised its hostility almost without opposition on their subjects, had eluded the resolution of the European powers at the Congress of Vienna to terminate the making of slaves by the states of Barbary, and had continued to exercise on other nations the acts of piracy which had been stopped as to the English by the victory of Lord Exmouth in 1816. Its defenses on the sea-side had been materially augmented since the terrible bombardment which they then underwent, and the mole and sea batteries were in a situation to bid defiance to the most formidable attack from naval forces. But the land defenses had not been equally at-

¹ Capefigue, Hist. de Louis Philippe, i. 250, 251; Hist. of Europe, c. iii. § 152.

* TABLE SHOWING THE EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND TONNAGE OF FRANCE DURING THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Tonnage out and in.
	Francs.	Francs.	
1822	426,179,193	385,168,711	1,351,681
1823	361,828,242	390,754,431	1,389,422
1824	454,861,597	440,541,901	1,494,424
1825	533,622,392	667,294,114	1,499,156
1826	564,728,610	560,508,769	1,687,872
1827	565,804,228	602,401,276	1,614,823
1828	607,677,321	609,922,632	1,661,584
1829	616,353,397	607,818,643	1,649,494
1830	638,338,433	572,664,064	1,638,593

—Statistique de la France (Commerce Extérieur), 13, 14.

tended to; and as the French were determined to assert the honor of their flag, and emancipate themselves from a disgraceful tribute to barbarians as the English had done, the Government resolved on an attack in the rear with land forces. As the town was situated on the slope of a hill, and entirely commanded, like Genoa, by the heights in its rear, which were not defended by any adequate fortifications, there was good reason to expect that they might be mastered by a vigorous attack, and the city taken without any further resistance than a combat in the open field.¹

¹ Lam. viii. 203, 204; Ann. Hist. xiii. 63, 64.

The pretense of the rupture with Algiers was a dispute about a sum of 2,000,000 francs (£80,000), which was owing by some French merchants to the Dey of Algiers for grain, on the occasion of which the Dey had given a slight tap to the French consul with a fan which he held in his hand, in presence of the other European envoys. Prince Polignac, who was thirsting for a pretext to illustrate his administration by some brilliant exploit, and was desirous of exciting the army by success on the eve of a civil conflict, seized with alacrity on this insult to demand reparation; and as the Dey, with characteristic Mohammedan obstinacy, refused to make any, orders were given to prepare an expedition, composed of land and sea forces, on a great scale at Toulon. The intelligence of these preparations, and of the magnitude of the scale on which they were made, excited the alarm of the English government, which, ever since the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt in 1798, had felt the utmost jealousy of any warlike preparations on the part of the French in the Mediterranean. Lord Aberdeen, in the most earnest manner, required explanations from Prince Polignac, who long eluded the demand, by answering that they were intended, like those of the English in 1816, only to obtain reparation from the Algerines, and not to make any permanent settlement or conquest in the country. The English government was, or professed to be, satisfied with these explanations, and the preparations for the expedition went on, if not with the apprehension, at least without the open resistance, of the Cabinet of St. James's.²

Accordingly the French government in the whole of April pursued their preparations not

² Cap. x. 357, 359; Ann. Hist. xiii. 66, 69; Lac. iv. 419, 421.

* "My Lord—Le retard mis par le gouvernement Français, à donner sur ses intentions ultérieures relativement à Alger des explications plus précises et plus officielles, a causé ici une grande surprise. Les promesses de M. de Polignac à cet égard ont été si fréquentes et si positives que le gouvernement de sa Majesté ne peut comprendre encore les motifs d'un pareil délai. Il faut le dire, cette affaire commence à prendre une tournure fâcheuse, et par éveiller des soupçons qui d'abord étaient bien éloignés de notre pensée."—*Le Comte d'ABERDEEN à Lord STUART DE ROTHESAY, Ambassadeur Anglais à Paris*, 4 May, 1830; CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, x. 358. On being pressed to declare his ulterior intentions as to Algiers, the French writers declare Prince Polignac answered to the English, with becoming spirit, "La France insultée ne demanderait le secours de personne pour venger son injure, et elle n'aurait besoin de personne pour ce qu'elle aurait à faire de sa nouvelle conquête."—*Considérations sur le Régence d'Alger*, 142, par M. le Baron LUCHESINI DE ST. DENIS.—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 71, note.

only at Toulon, but at Brest, Havre, and Cherbourg, with the utmost vigor. The Duke d'Angoulême in person superintended the armament at the first of these harbors; and with such activity were they carried on, that by the 3d May the whole was assembled at Toulon ready for sea. The land and sea forces were both immense. The former consisted of three divisions, mustering in all 37,500 combatants, with 180 pieces of artillery, most of them of heavy calibre; the latter of 11 sail of the line, 23 frigates, 70 smaller vessels, 377 transports, and 230 boats for landing the troops. The magnitude of these forces, which much exceeded those employed in the far-famed expedition of Napoleon to Egypt thirty years before, conveyed a striking idea of the manner in which the strength and resources of France had increased during the peace and repose of the Restoration. The vast accumulation of forces in Toulon, the crowds of soldiers, guns, and brilliant uniforms in the streets, the splendid spectacle of the squadron which covered the bay with its sails as far as the eye could reach, filled every breast with enthusiasm, and multitudes flocked from all quarters to behold the magnificent armament. The command was solicited by Marmont; but Prince Polignac bestowed it in preference on Bourmont, the Minister at War, who was thus withdrawn from the direction at Paris at the most critical period of the monarchy. The embarkation was completed on the 11th May, amidst the cheers of an immense multitude of spectators; and the Duke d'Angoulême, intoxicated with the splendor of the spectacle, returned to Paris with the assurance that "all is safe with an army animated with such a spirit."¹

^{42.} Magnitude of the expedition, and its departure.

May 11. ¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 70, 75; Lam. viii. 207, 211; Lac. iv. 422, 423.

Contrary winds, however, detained the fleet in the neighborhood of the Bay of Palma till the 10th June, when it again set sail, and hove in sight of Algiers on the 13th of that month. By the advice of two junior captains, who alone had declared a landing practicable, when all the senior officers had said it could not be attempted, the fleet was directed to the peninsula of Sidi-Feruch, situated at five leagues from the capital, where the disembarkation was effected with surprising order and celerity on the two following days. At first no enemies were to be seen; but ere long the invaders were surrounded by fifteen thousand active and intrepid horsemen, who, although repeatedly repulsed from the masses of the troops by the fire of the squares, batteries, and ships, hovered incessantly round, cut off detached bodies and stragglers, and prevented all predatory expeditions or foraging parties beyond the range of their guns. Great difficulty was at first experienced in getting water; but on the 16th, a violent storm, accompanied by torrents of rain, came on, and after that the soldiers found water every where in the sand, by digging a few feet beneath the surface. Constant skirmishes and frequent combats went on for some days, but at length the forces on both sides being collected, and the French solidly established on the coast, with all their guns and stores, both parties prepared for

^{43.} Landing at Sidi-Feruch, near Algiers.

June 14.

June 16.

a decisive conflict. The Turks and Arabs consisted of forty-five thousand men, for the most part admirable cavalry; and their camp was situated on a strong position on the neck of the promontory, within cannon-shot of the French advanced posts, and barring their further progress into the interior. The French had full thirty thousand effective men in the field, armed and equipped in the best possible manner, animated with the very highest spirit, and supported by a hundred guns.¹

At daybreak on the 19th, the Mussulmans descended from their position, and advanced toward the invaders' Sidi-Feruch. lines. The French infantry, like the English archers at Azincour, had put rows of stakes with the points outward toward the enemy, to break the violence of the shock of such formidable bodies of horse; and the troops, stationed directly behind them, stood with their muskets in their hands, three deep, ready to receive them with a rolling fire. The Osmanlis advanced with loud cries and the utmost impetuosity; and such was the vigor of the onset, that in many places they broke fairly through both the stakes and the lines, and the sabres of the Bedouins were seen, in the centre of the bivouacs, in close conflict hand to hand with the European bayonet. The battle seemed more than doubtful, when Bourmont, who had the eye of a great general, brought forward his reserves out of the camp, and charged the assailants in flank, when disordered in pursuit; while the broken infantry, re-forming in the rear, advanced again with a rolling fire against the Turks, now engaged with their assailants in flank. The double shock proved decisive. The Osmanlis were driven back in confusion; and the French, preceded by their guns, which poured in grape on the retreating mass with prodigious rapidity, succeeded in entering the enemy's camp pell-mell with the fugitives, and made themselves masters of their cannon, ammunition, and baggage.²

When the Turks, who in the first instance had made an orderly retreat, and replied vigorously to the fire of the pursuers, saw their camp and guns taken, they were seized with a universal panic, and dispersed on all sides. Their loss in killed and wounded was above three thousand, while that of the French did not exceed five hundred—so decisive a superiority had the skill and discipline of the Europeans acquired over the most formidable forces of the desert. It was the fire of the guns on their dense masses which produced so great a loss to the Arabs. For some days after this great victory Bourmont remained quiet, strengthening his position, completing the disembarkation of his heavy artillery, and clearing out an old Roman road, protected by block-houses, for their conveyance to the ramparts of Algiers. Gradually the Mussulmans recovered from their consternation; and having engaged in several skirmishes, in which their light horsemen asserted the superiority over the European—which since the days of Hannibal they have invariably maintained—and received considerable reinforcements, ventured on a general

attack on the French camp. Twenty thousand men, for the most part mounted on hardy steeds, advanced to the attack, with loud shouts and the utmost intrepidity. But the divisions Borthezene and Loverdo moved out of the trenches, as they approached, in the same order, and with the same success, as on the 19th. The terrible fire of grape, issuing from the guns between the columns, threw the enemy into disorder, and they were soon hurled back in utter confusion, and pursued two leagues with great loss. In this pursuit, Amadie de Bourmont, son of the commander-in-chief, fell at the head of his company of grenadiers, while gloriously following up the advantage which his intrepidity had in a great degree contributed to gain.¹

Nothing now could prevent the approach of the French to Algiers; and although their advance was seriously impeded by the light troops of the Arabs, who disputed every tenable position, and impeded every movement, yet they gradually drew near, and ground was opened before the town on the 30th June. The attack was directed, in the first instance, against the Emperor's Fort, a quadrangular fortification erected on the ground occupied by the Emperor Charles V. three hundred years before, when engaged in his calamitous attack on Algiers. This fort was perched on the summit of the plateau which surmounted the town, and in consequence commanded every part of it. The batteries were armed on the 3d, and the fire opened on the 4th July. Never, except on occasion of Lord Exmouth's attack in 1816, had such a cannonade been heard on the African shores. The ships of the line approached the mole, and attempted to distract the attention of the enemy by an incessant fire on the sea defenses; while the land batteries, armed with a hundred guns of heavy calibre, thundered with extraordinary vigor on the ramparts of the Emperor's Fort. The Algerines replied with the utmost intrepidity from above three hundred guns, and the town, enveloped both on the land and sea side in flames and smoke, resembled the crater of a huge volcano suddenly burst forth on the side of the hill. But notwithstanding the courage and constancy of the Mussulmans, the superior fire of the besiegers soon made itself felt. The Algerine guns one by one were dismounted; huge breaches began to yawn in the ramparts; the gunners were in great part killed or wounded, and at length driven from their batteries; the survivors sought refuge in a great tower which stood in the centre of the fort. But here a frightful catastrophe awaited them. In the midst of a terrific cannonade, a loud explosion was suddenly heard; the sides of the tower were seen to gape, an immense column of smoke issued from its summit, which rose to the height of above five hundred feet; and immediately after the walls fell, and a mass of ruins, dismounted guns, and dead bodies, alone showed where the building had stood. Nothing dismayed by the fearful spectacle, the French grenadiers rushed through the wreck to the assault,² and before a few min-

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 75, 81; manner, animated with the very Lac. iv. 425, highest spirit, and supported by a 427.

44. Battle of Sidi-Feruch. lines. The French infantry, like June 19. the English archers at Azincour,

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 84, 85; Lac. iv. 426; mell with the fugitives, and made Cap. x. 360, themselves masters of their cannon, 365. ammunition, and baggage.²

45. Second victory of the French. June 24.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 92, 93; Lac. iv. 427, 428; De-pêche de M. Bourmont, July 5, 1830.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 89, 90; Lac. iv. 426; Bourmont's Dispatch, June 26, 1830.

46. Commencement of the attack on Algiers, and fall of the Emperor's Fort.

July 4.

utes were over they were entirely in possession of the Emperor's Fort.

The Dey, who had flattered himself with the hope that this stronghold would arrest the enemy until the rainy season set in, when their attack would of necessity be suspended, was seized with the utmost consternation when he beheld it carried amidst such circumstances of horror by the besiegers, and their troops in possession of a commanding position, from which bombs and cannon-shot reached every part of the city. Passing, in the true Mussulman spirit, from the height of confidence to the depths of despair, he immediately prepared to submit, and before two hours were over the white flag was hoisted on the ramparts. It was attempted to obtain more favorable terms, and to appease the wrath of the conquerors by ample concessions, without abandoning the national independence. But the French government had resolved on a permanent acquisition. Marshal Bourmont received the Algerine envoy seated amidst the ruins of the Emperor's Fort, surrounded by his whole staff; the English consul in vain offered his mediation; and at length it was agreed that the Dey should surrender Algiers, with all its forts and warlike stores, but be permitted to retire wherever he chose in safety, with his wives, children, and whatever belonged to him personally; and that the lives and property of all the inhabitants should be respected. On the following day the gates were surrendered, and the French army, in great pomp, with their artillery in front, entered the city. The fruits of the conquest were great beyond example, and much exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the conquerors. In the treasury were found gold and silver to the amount of 48,500,000 francs (£1,940,000), the accumulated fruits of several centuries of piracy; and on the walls and ships of war were 1542 pieces of artillery, of which 677 were bronze guns of the most approved construction. The entire value of the spoil was 55,684,000 francs, besides nearly as much more in houses, which belonged to the government, and passed to the conquerors. Seldom had spoil so mighty attended success in war; but the French soldiers found a still more precious recompense for their toils in the grateful tears of the crews of the brigs *Silène* and *l'Aventura*, which had been liberated with many others from slavery by their conquest.

The total loss of the victors was 2300 men, of whom 600 were killed, and they enhanced the lustre of their conquest by religiously observing the capitulation, and respecting the lives and property of the inhabitants.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 97, 98; Lac. iv. 427, 428; Bourmont's *Dépêche*, July 6, 1830.

ALGIERS, which thus fell under the French dominion, and became a lasting European settlement on the coast of Africa, has a territory subject to its influence, which, in the time of the Romans, contained ten millions of inhabitants, but was now thinly peopled by seven or eight hundred thousand souls,* composed chiefly of Bedouin

* They were thus classed:—
 Turks and janizaries 8000
 Their children..... 32,000
 Moors..... 400,000
 Bedouin Arabs... 120,000
 Atlas tribes..... 200,000
 Jews..... 20,000
 —*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 82.

Arabs and Moors, with an intermixture of Jews, Turks, and Europeans. In 1838, when a census of the population was taken, and the limits of the French dominion had been finally settled by the capture of Constantine, a stronghold of great importance in the interior, it was found that the European population in the capital and dependent cities amounted to 20,078 inhabitants, and the Asiatic and African to 29,488—a disproportion by no means great, and nothing to that which obtains in Calcutta, Madras, and the other cities in British India. The soil is in many places extremely rich, and peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of wheat, as is proved by the fact that, even under all the oppressions of Mohammedan misrule and Arab depredations, there was sold in Algiers of native growth 81,994 hectolitres of wheat and barley, equivalent to 180,000 quarters. In ancient times, as is well known, Libya, with Egypt and Sicily, was the granary of the Roman empire, and the interruption of its commerce on occasion of the revolt of Gildo brought the capital to the straits of famine, so feelingly deplored in the beautiful lines of Claudian.* The revenue was only 2,273,000 francs, including 500,000 francs of tribute from European powers, disguised under the name of consular presents; so little had human industry developed the boundless gifts of nature. Notwithstanding its natural riches, however, this valuable acquisition has proved of little real value to France; its revenue has never approached its expenditure; the native population has never been arrayed in its defense; and the government is maintained solely by seventy thousand French troops, more than double the number of the English soldiers who ever clustered round the standards of Great Britain on the boundless plains of Hindostan.¹

This important expedition, which was likely to have so important an effect on the destinies of France and of the world, was not undertaken by the French Government without extensive projects for the future, and the promise of powerful support for the present. It was the first of a series of measures intended to revive the military spirit of the French nation, to restore its confidence in itself, to bind anew the people to the sovereign by the strong ties of national glory, and to turn their passions from social struggles to national objects. It was intended to follow it up by the advancing the frontier to the Rhine—a project which Chateaubriand confesses in his *Memoirs* he had long cherished, and would ere this time have carried out if he had remained in power, and which had remained a secret but

¹ “Advenio supplex, non ut proculcet Araxem
 Consul ovans, nostræ premant pharetrata secures
 Susa, nec ut rubris aquilas figamus arenis.
 Hæc nobis, hæc ante dabas; nunc pabula tantum
 Roma precor: miserere tuæ, pater optime, gentis.
 Extremam defende famem.—
 Tot mihi pro meritis Libyam Nilumque dedere,
 Ut dominam plebem, bellatoremque senatum
 Casibus æstivis alerent.—
 Nunc inhonorus, egens, perfert miserabile pacis
 Supplicium, nulloque palam circumdatus hoste
 Obsessi discrimen habet. Per singula letum
 Impendit momenta mihi, dubitandaque pauci
 Præscribunt alimenta dies.”

sacred deposit in the archives of the Cabinet. But as both the attack on Algiers and the appropriation of Belgium and the Prussian provinces on the Rhine would necessarily bring them into collision with Great Britain and Prussia, the French Government had secured to themselves a powerful ally to support them in their advances. The determination to assert the prerogative in France, and shake off the dependence on the Chambers, had, as a matter of course, been cordially approved by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, with which that of the Tuileries had been brought into close and confidential communication. The result was a secret agreement that Russia should support France in the eventual extension of its frontier to the Rhine, and France Russia in the advancing its standards to Constantinople. Prussia was to be indemnified for the loss of its Rhenish provinces by the half of Hanover, Holland, for the sacrifice of Belgium, by the other half. But this agreement, how carefully soever veiled in secrecy, came to the knowledge of the British Government; and it was the information they had obtained in regard to it which led to the warm remonstrances against the occupation

of Algiers, and to the immediate recognition of Louis Philippe by Louis Philippe, the Duke of Wellington's Administration.¹

While these successes, glorious to the French arms, were in progress on the African shores, and which alone, of all the conquests since the Revolution, remained a lasting acquisition to France, the Government at home was advancing in the infatuated career on which they had resolved. Great hesitation for some time prevailed in the Cabinet as to the course to be pursued with regard to the Chamber of Deputies. But at length the favorable intelligence brought by the Duke d'Angoulême, as to the disposition of the army which had embarked at Toulon, decided the majority of the Cabinet, and a dissolution was resolved on. The ordinance, accordingly, appeared, appointing the colleges of departments to meet on the 23d June, those of arrondissements on the 3d July, and the Chamber to meet on the 3d August. This determination, however, was not taken without great difference of opinion in the Cabinet, which led to the resignation of M. de Courvoisin, the Keeper of the Seals, who was succeeded by M. Chantelauze, President of the Royal Court at Grenoble, and of M. de Chabrol, the Minister of Finance, whose place was given to M. de Montbel, the Minister of the Interior, who again was succeeded by M. de Peyronnet, a man of known capacity and vigor. The dissolution was accompanied by a touching proclamation of the King to the electors, in which he charged the former Chamber with having mistaken his intention, and called on the electors to rally round the throne.^{2*}

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 59, 114; Moniteur, May 17, 1830; Lam. viii. 220.

* "La dernière Chambre a méconnu mes intentions; j'avais droit de compter sur son concours pour faire le bien que je méditais; elle me l'a refusé. Comme père de mon peuple mon cœur s'en est affligé; comme roi, j'en ai été offensé. Hâtez-vous de vous rendre dans vos collèges; qu'une négligence répréhensible ne les prive pas de votre présence; qu'un même sentiment vous anime, qu'un même drapeau vous rallie: c'est votre roi qui vous le de-

mande, c'est un père qui vous appelle. Remplissez votre devoir; je saurai remplir le mien. CHARLES."—*Moniteur*, 17 May, 1830.

So confident were the Liberals that their cause would be promoted by this dissolution, that they offered no complaints on the subject. They set themselves with their wonted vigor to improve the advantage thus put in their way; the electoral committees soon were every where in activity; the press resounded with the most vehement denunciations against the Ministers, and the *coup d'état* against the public liberties which was supposed to be in contemplation; and before the elections began, it had become evident that the Liberal majority, so far from being diminished, would be materially augmented by their result. When they commenced, every successive post brought a fresh defeat to Ministers. Out of the 221 members who had voted with M. Agier in favor of the address by the former Chamber, 202 were returned; it was soon ascertained that the Opposition numbered 270 votes, the Ministry only 145, in which last was included 13 who were dubious, having voted for the amendment of Lorgier in the former Chamber. Even the departmental colleges had gone against Government; a third of the Opposition came from their ranks. Encouraged by this success, the Liberal leaders in Paris proceeded vigorously and systematically in their opposition; orders to organize a general opposition to taxes were sent down to all the departments, and every preparation was made, though still in a legal way, to overthrow the influence and nullify the action of Government. So strongly were the feelings of the people excited by the thoughts of the coming struggle, that the intelligence of the conquest of Algiers, which was received in the middle of the election, awakened no other feelings but those of consternation and spite on the part of the majority. The passions of party got the better of the love of country, and the Liberals, as the Royalists had done before them, instead of rejoicing, deplored a success which threatened to postpone, perhaps destroy, their hopes of overturning the Government.¹

The King and Ministers, however, were no ways deterred by the untoward result of the general election. It was evident from the returns that it was hopeless to look for a majority, or even an equality, of voices in the Chamber; and as the Opposition was so determined that a refusal of supplies might be looked for, no resource remained but a *Cour d'Etat*, and forcible change of the Constitution. Long and earnest debates went on in the Cabinet on the course which should be pursued, and an able and interesting memorial was addressed to the King by his Ministers. After much and anxious deliberation, it was agreed that M. Royer-Collard should be consulted as to the temper and probable course of action of the new Chambers, and Charles X. accordingly asked him, "Do you believe that, if the budget were presented to the Chamber, it would reject it?"—"Possibly it might not," answered the President; "but in any event, the discussions to which the law on the finances would lead, would shake the mon-

¹ Ann. Hist. 115, 116, 117; Lac. iv. 434, 435; Lam. viii. 220, 221.

archy to its foundation. This answer strongly influenced the King's mind, and he openly expressed the opinion that a *coup d'état* had become unavoidable. "Gentlemen," said he to his Ministers, "I will inform you in a few words of the course which I mean to pursue, and which I have already frequently explained. My firm resolution is to maintain the Charter. I will not depart from it on any point, but I will not permit others to do so. I hope the new Chamber will be composed of wise men, who will respond to my intentions. Should it unhappily prove otherwise, I shall know, without departing from the course marked out by the constitution, to cause my rights to be respected, which I regard as the only guarantee for the public tranquillity and happiness of France. Such are my intentions; it is for you to second them."

¹ Lam. viii. in the part of the Administration 244; Cap. x. intrusted to each of you in particular.²¹

It was on the 29th June that the *coup d'état* was first seriously discussed in the Cabinet, and on July 7th the subject was resumed; and it was finally agreed to, though under the strongest resolution of secrecy ere it was adopted. This resolution proceeded on a speech of M. de Chantelauze, who placed the following alternatives before the Council: "Either to suspend entirely the constitutional régime, and govern in an arbitrary manner on strong principles, or to declare null the whole elections of those who had voted with the 221, or to dissolve the new Chamber as soon as the new elections were terminated, and convoke a new one on an electoral system established on an ordonnance framed on such principles as might secure a majority to the Crown—and in either case to precede the declaration by a vast display of civil and military force, by placing twenty or thirty thousand men in each of the towns of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Rouen, and declaring these cities in a state of siege." After a long discussion, it was agreed to recur to the 14th article of the Charter, which seemed to confer, in extreme cases, a dictatorial power on the King,* and, 1st, To suspend the liberty of the press; 2d, Dissolve the new Chamber of Deputies; and, 3d, Establish a new electoral system which might be in harmony with the rights of the Crown. The project met with the cordial approbation of the King, who said, "It is not the Ministry, be assured; it is the Crown itself which is attacked; it is the cause of the throne against revolution which is now at issue. One or other must succumb. I have lived longer than you, gentlemen; your age does not permit you to recollect, as I do, how revolutions and the revolutionists proceed. I have over you the unenvied advantage of years. I recollect what occurred in 1789. The first step which my unhappy brother made in retreat before them was the signal of his ruin. They too made protestations of their fidelity to the

Crown; they too limited their open demand to the dismissal of its ministers. He yielded, and all was lost. They pretend now to aim at nothing but your dismissal. Their language to me is, 'Dismiss your Ministers, and we shall soon come to an understanding.' Gentlemen, I will not dismiss you—in the first place, because I am attached to, and have confidence in you; in the next, because, if I dismissed you, they would end by treating you as they have done my son and myself, and us all, and as they have treated my brother. No! Let them conduct us, if they please, to the scaffold; but let us fight for our rights, and if we are to fall, fall sword in hand. I would rather be led to execution on horseback than in a cart."¹

On the 24th July, M. de Chantelauze presented to the King an elaborate and eloquent report, which may be regarded as the preamble of the ordinances, and the statement of the grounds on which they were rested for all future times. "Sire!" said he, "your Ministers would be unworthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honors them, if they hesitated any longer to place before your eyes a picture of our internal circumstances, and to point out, for the consideration of your wisdom, the dangers which menace us. At no period, during the last fifteen years, have the dangers presented themselves under an aspect more grave and afflicting. Despite an amount of material prosperity to which our annals can offer no parallel, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves in all points of the kingdom. A malevolence, active, ardent, and indefatigable, labors to sap the foundation of order, and to ravish from France all the happiness it has enjoyed under the sceptre of its king. Skillful in working out all discontents, and in exciting all hatreds, it fomented among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility toward power, and seeks to sow every where the seeds of trouble and of civil war. It is by the violent and ceaseless action of the press that can be alone explained the frequent changes and interior violence of the country. It has not permitted France to establish a regular or stable government, nor to turn its attention to the numerous reforms called for in its internal administration. Every ministry formed since 1814 has been the object, and soon has become the victim, of these incessant and often groundless attacks. The press has thus succeeded in sowing the seeds of disorder in the strongest minds, shaking the firmest convictions, and producing, in the midst of a prosperous society, a confusion of principles which is ready for the most desperate attempts. It is by anarchy in opinions that the way is prepared for anarchy in the state."

"It is impossible to qualify in too strong terms the conduct of Opposition in recent circumstances. After having themselves provoked an address derogatory to the honor and destructive of the rights of the Crown, they have not scrupled to proclaim it as a sacred principle, that the 221 who voted that address should be re-elected, and their offensive principles forced upon the

* The 14th article of the Charter was in these terms: "Le Roi est le chef suprême de l'état, commande les forces de terre et de mer, déclare la guerre; fait les traites de paix, d'alliance, et de commerce; nomme à tous les emplois d'administration publique, et fait les réglemens et les ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois et la sûreté de l'état."—Charte, art. 14.

¹ Lam. viii. 225, 226; Cap. x. 381, 385; Lac. iv. 436, 438.

^{54.} Report on the ordinance by M. de Chantelauze. July 24.

^{55.} Continued.

Crown. When your Majesty repelled that address as offensive, and declared your resolution to maintain the just rights of the Crown, so openly compromised, the periodical press has not only made no attempt to soften, but it has renewed and aggravated the offense. With a not less envenomed spirit it has persecuted alike religion and its ministers. It would, were it possible, extirpate to the last drop the religious sentiment of the people. Can it be doubted that, in attacking the foundations of the faith, in drying up the fountains of public morality, and turning into ridicule the ministers at the altars, the object is to overturn the throne? Listen, Sire! to the cry of indignation and terror which arises from all parts of the kingdom, from all persons of property, intelligence, and wisdom. All implore you to preserve them from a return to the calamities which their fathers or themselves have had so much cause to lament. These alarms are too real not to be attended to, too legitimate not to command attention. We must not deceive ourselves: we are no longer in the ordinary circumstances of a representative government. The foundations on which it is rested have been destroyed. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated into the sanctuary of the laws, strives to substitute itself in place of the legitimate powers. It disposes of the majority of elections by means of journals and election committees. It has paralyzed so far as it could the exercise of legitimate authority, by denying it the prerogative of dissolving the Chamber. By that very attempt the constitution has been shaken; by the next it will be overturned. Your Majesty has alone the power to prevent such a catastrophe, and place authority on its legal and just foundations.

"The Charter has provided the only remedy against such calamities. The 14th article has invested your Majesty with the power, not, without doubt, to change our institutions, but to consolidate and render them immovable. Imperious necessity forbids any further delay in the exercise of that supreme power. The moment has arrived in which it is necessary to have recourse to the measures which may restore the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the reach of all ordinary resources, and in the vain pursuit of which they have all been exhausted. These measures, Sire! your Ministers do not hesitate to recommend to you, deeply convinced that they are those which power owes to justice."¹

"It must be admitted," says an eloquent historian of the Liberal school, "that the grievances recounted in this eloquent preamble were too well founded in truth. The abuses of the press and the violence of public opinion were real evils. The new impulse which the press and freedom of discussion had given to thought and liberty, had often led it astray, as it will often do before it assumes the regularity and equilibrium of the divine mind and the power of self-direction, like all other passions abandoned to themselves, under the guidance only of morality."² There can be no doubt

that this observation of Lamartine is well founded. In truth, matters had come to such a pass that royalty and the democracy could not coexist in France: no aristocracy, as in England, existed to preserve a balance between them; they stood face to face, each armed for the strife, ready in the lists, and one or other of them must be destroyed.

The famous ordonnances, which were the immediate cause of the overthrow of the Crown, and the ruin of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, were six in number, but the three first only were of material importance. The first suspended the liberty of the periodical press, and prohibited the publication but of such journals as were authorized by the Government. The license was to be in force only for three months, and might be recalled at any time. It applied to all pamphlets below twenty leaves. The second dissolved the new Chamber, on the allegation of the arts which had been used to deceive the electors as to the real intentions of the Government. The third, on the preamble of the necessity of reforming the Electoral Law according to the principles of the constitution, and to remedy the evils which experience had brought to light, and of the powers applicable to such cases vested in the King by the 14th article of the Charter, reduced the number of deputies to 258, being the number fixed by the 36th article of the Charter: the colleges of departments were to elect an equal number of representatives with those of arrondissements; and the electoral franchise was reduced to the possession of property paying the requisite amount of direct taxes by the exclusion of the suffrage founded on patents; the duration of the Chamber of Deputies was fixed at five years; and the colleges of departments, composed of the fourth of the electors paying the highest amount of direct taxes, were to choose at least a half in the general list of candidates proposed for the colleges of arrondissements. The prefects were re-invested with all the powers with which they had been invested prior to the act of 1828. Neither the intervention of third parties, nor an appeal to the ordinary courts of law, were permitted to interfere with the prefects in the preparation of the electoral lists.¹

The King and Ministers met at St. Cloud on the morning of the 25th July to sign the ordonnances. The vast interests at stake, the crown of France about to be put in peril, its liberties, which seemed to be menaced, had caused many to pass a sleepless night, and impressed all with the solemnity of the occasion. The Baron de Vitrolles, who, albeit not in the secrets of the Cabinet, had a suspicion of what was going forward, had entreated the Minister of Public Instruction the day before to pause before it was too late, for Paris was in a state of extreme agitation. The prefect of the police, however, gave the most satisfactory assurances on the state of the capital, concluding with the words, "Advance boldly: I will answer with my head for the immobility of Paris." Notwithstanding these statements, however,

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 119, 120; Lam. viii. 230, 234.

² Lamartine on this report.

³ Lamartine, Hist. de la Restauration, viii. 235, 236.

¹ Moniteur, July 26; Ann. Hist. xiii. 120, 121; Ordonnances, July 25, 1830.

^{59.} Signing of the ordonnances. July 25.

the Ministers were deeply impressed with the step which was about to be taken; every countenance was grave and serious; reflection had added to their anxiety, but not taken away from their courage. Prince Polignac, after reading the preamble and the ordonnances, presented them to the King to sign. Charles turned pale: he hesitated some time before taking the irrevocable step; and at length, after casting his eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, "The more I think of it, the more I am convinced that it is impossible to do otherwise than I do;" and with these words he signed the ordonnances. The Ministers all counter-signed them in silence; despair was painted on every visage; none really hoped any thing from the step, but all felt it was a duty to take it. They did so with the resignation of martyrs, not the spirit of conquerors.¹

¹ Lam. viii. 239, 240.

Whatever opinion may be formed of these ordonnances—which were the death-
60. Reflections warrant of the French monarchy—on the ordonnances. one thing is perfectly clear, that however adverse to the passion for self-government which had sprung up with the mild government and freedom of the Restoration, they were noways at variance either with the letter or spirit of the constitution, as settled by the Charter, or with subsequent practice as approved by the Liberal party themselves. The most important change they effected was on the electoral system, the cornerstone of all representative government, and they brought it back, both as to the numbers of the Chambers and the qualification of the electors, to what had been fixed by the Charter. This was done, no doubt, by an ordonnance, not an act of the legislature; but the alteration on the constitution which it abrogated had itself been introduced by an ordonnance alone (14th July, 1815); and the change on the Electoral Law, on 5th September, 1816, which gave such additional weight to the Liberal party, was effected by a royal ordonnance alone, not only without the opposition, but with the cordial approbation of the whole Liberal party in
2 Ante, c. France.² What an ordonnance had
iii. §§ 15, done, an ordonnance could compe-
132. tently undo. All the subsequent changes on the electoral system, with the exception of the one passed by the Chambers in July, 1820, had been effected by ordonnances alone, in virtue of the powers conferred on the King by the 14th article of the Charter, and not a whisper had ever been heard that he had exceeded his powers in introducing them. And although, without doubt, the restrictions on the press were of so violent a kind that they were inconsistent, if long continued, with the existence of freedom, or the free action of the people on the Government, and could not have co-existed long with a real representative constitution; yet, considered as a mere temporary restriction, to enable the Government to surmount a passing difficulty, they were not beyond the powers vested in the King by the 14th article of the Charter, like those conferred on the consuls by the senate in arduous times—"Caveant consules ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat." And subsequent experience has abundantly proved that a severe restriction on the liberty

of the press was absolutely indispensable in France; for every government that has since arisen, whatever its origin had been, has been obliged to commence a war to the knife with the press, and that which supplanted Charles X. has itself been overturned by it.

But whatever opinion may be formed on this point, upon which men, according to
61. Total want of preparation for the coup d'état on the part of Ministers. their previous prepossessions, will probably be divided to the end of the world, one thing is perfectly clear, and will admit of no doubt, that the *coup d'état* was determined on by the French government with a want of preparation to meet its consequences, which was not only highly reprehensible, but absolutely inconceivable. The preamble of the *coup d'état* proves that the Ministry were fully aware how strongly the current of public opinion was running in favor of Liberal opinions, how strong was the passion for self-government, and that the most violent resistance might be expected to any regulation tending to abridge these dispositions. By the ordonnances the Government drew the sword, and threw away the scabbard, and periled the Crown and constitution of France upon the doubtful issue of arms. Prince Polignac was at once Prime Minister and Minister at War in the absence of Marshal Bourmont; and he had assured the Cabinet, in reply to a question as to the means of resisting any insurrection in the capital, that "no popular movement was to be apprehended, and at all events Paris was sufficiently garrisoned to crush any rebellion, and guarantee the public tranquillity." What, then, were the forces with which Prince Polignac proposed to coerce Paris, when in the most violent state of effervescence, and when supported by a large and powerful party in every town of France? They consisted in all of 11,550 men, and twelve pieces of cannon, with six rounds of grape-shot to each gun! Of this diminutive force only the Royal Guard, 4600 strong, could be relied on in a contest with the people, or, in fact, did its duty in that which immediately succeeded. This was the more reprehensible, as fifteen battalions and thirty-four squadrons of the Guard were at towns at no great distance from Paris, who might easily have been brought up before the conflict commenced, but were too far off to take a part in it when it actually arose. Such were the forces with which Prince Polignac proposed to combat a city containing two hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, of whom at least a half had actually borne them in the line or the civil service; forty thousand discontented National Guards *who still had their arms*, and one-third of which male population consisted of natural sons, without either known parents, children, or property, ready to engage in or second any rebellion, however desperate, which promised them elevation or plunder. And to make the thing complete, the command of this little garrison was given to Marshal Marmont, an able and experienced officer, but extremely
1 Capcfigue, Hist. de Louis Philippe, i. 397; Lam. viii. 241. unpopular with the army, on account of the share he had in the capitulation of Paris in 1814;¹ and he was kept entirely in the dark as to the *coup d'état*, or the necessi-

ty which existed for previous preparation or vigorous measures.*

The ordonnances agreed to by the Cabinet and the King, and signed on the 25th, were secretly printed on the night of that day, and appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*, and affixed to the walls of Paris on the morning of the 26th. The first effect was such as in appearance to justify the assertions of Prince Polignac and the Minister of Police, that the public peace would not be disturbed, and that no reason for apprehension existed. Though a *coup d'état* had long been predicted by the Opposition journals, and was generally looked for at no distant period, it was not expected at that particular time; and the Parisians, in full enjoyment of the most magnificent weather, rose on the morning of that day, expecting only to inhale the enjoyments of summer in their highest perfection. The appearance of the ordonnances, which were instantly repeated from mouth to mouth, excited at first surprise and stupor rather than indignation. Men knew not what to think of such an audacious step. Crowds, not of rioters, but of anxious and agitated persons, were formed at the doors of the offices of the public journals, and in some of the most frequented parts of the city. Some applauded, many blamed, none were indifferent to the step which had been taken. The day, however, passed over without any alarming demonstrations having taken place, although in the universal anxiety which prevailed the experienced eye might discern the symptoms of an approaching storm. The truth was, the people had no leaders as yet prepared for such an emergency; and though it was known that the leading Opposition barristers, M. Odillon Barrot, Dupin aîné, Mauguin, Barthé, and Merithon, had met with the leading editors of journals and writers on the Liberal side, and consulted on what was to be done, nothing had transpired as to the result of their deliberation, and the day passed over without any disturbance.¹

¹ Capefigue, Hist. de Louis Philippe, i. 402, 403; Ann. Hist. xiii. 123, 124; Lam. viii. 246, 247.

* The garrison of Paris, when the conflict commenced, consisted of—

ROYAL GUARD.		INFANTRY.		CAVALRY.	
	Batt.	Men.		Squad.	Men.
Infantry	8	3,800			
Cavalry	—	—	8	800	
Artillery, 12 pieces	—	150	—	—	
		3,950		800	
LINE.					
Infantry	11	4,400	—	—	
Fusileers, 14 companies ..	—	1,100	—	—	
Gendarmerie	—	700	—	600	
		6,200		600	
		3,950		800	
Total		10,150		1400	

Theremainder of the Guard, fully 18,000 strong, was thus stationed—

INFANTRY.		CAVALRY.	
	Batt.		Squad.
Caen	3	Compiègne	1
Rouen	3	Meaux	6
Versailles	5	Melun	1
St. Denis	2	Fontainebleau	6
Vincennes	1	Corbeil	6
Orleans	3	Versailles	12
	—	Sevres	2
	17		—
(In all, 15,000 men.)		(In all, 3400 men)	34

—*Etats Militaires*, given in CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, i. 397, and *Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 112.

Appearances, however, rapidly changed on the morning of the 27th. The editors and proprietors of the Opposition journals, deeming, according to the opinion of these celebrated lawyers, the ordonnances illegal, had resolved on resisting them; and a solemn protest had been agreed upon, in which they were denounced as unconstitutional, and resistance was openly threatened. "The Government," said these courageous men, "has lost the character of legality which commands obedience; *we resist it* in so far as we are concerned: it is for France to determine how far resistance should extend." Forty-four proprietors, contributors to, and editors of journals, met in the office of the *National*, and signed the memorable protest, which became in a manner a patent of nobility in after times. M. de Laborde was the president of that meeting, and, among others of lesser note, the protest bore the signatures of M. Thiers and M. Correl, M. Corte, the editor of the *Temps*, and M. Baude. And however much we, who have been instructed by the event, may lament the consequences of this decisive step, which first hoisted the standard of insurrection against the ordonnances, it is impossible to refuse a tribute of admiration to the gallant men who, inspired by the love of freedom and their country, hazarded their heads in open resistance to what they deemed illegal acts on the part of the Government.¹

^{63.} Commencement of the insurrection. Signing of the protest. July 27.

¹ Capefigue, Hist. de Louis Philippe, i. 407, 408; Ann. Hist. xiii. 125, 127; Lam. viii. 248, 249.

Matters were brought to a crisis by an event which occurred on the forenoon of the 27th. The majority of the journals, and all the Royalist ones, had yielded to the ordonnances, and taken out the requisite licenses from the Government. The latter were loud in their praise of the *coup d'état*, and maintained it was imperatively called for by the circumstances of the country. But the editors of a few of the ultra-Liberal journals were determined to make no such concession, and conceiving, perhaps with justice, than an act of the legislature could alone deprive them of their legal rights, resolved on resistance. Their journals accordingly appeared without the requisite license, and with the protest of the Opposition journals in their columns. This open defiance of Government was immediately followed by an order issued to seize the refractory journals, and close their printing-offices, and places of sale; and a commissary of police, accompanied by two gendarmes, repaired to the offices of the *National* and the *Temps*, situated in the Rue de Richelieu and Boulevard des Italiens, to enforce the order. The editors and proprietors of these journals, however, opposed the most resolute resistance to the police. When summoned to submit in the name of the Government, they called on the police to abstain in the name of the law. A blacksmith, who was sent for to force open the door of the hotel occupied by the *Temps*, declined to act in obedience to the orders of the police; a second was sent for, and the mob took his tools from him; and the doors were at length only forced open, and seals put on the printing-presses, by a workman who was said to have been

^{64.} The first disturbance. July 27.

employed in making the fetters for the convicts in the galleys. These proceedings, which occurred in the most populous and frequented parts of Paris, excited the most vehement agitation. A vast crowd assembled in the streets where the seizures had been effected, whose language and gestures bespoke the extreme passions with which they were animated. The general ferment was worked up to a perfect frenzy by a judgment of the Tribunal of Commerce, a court in the first instance at Paris, which ordained a printer in the employment of the *Courrier Français*, who had refused to print that journal without a license, for fear of contravening the ordonnance, to do so within twenty-four hours, on pain of imprisonment, seeing

¹ Ann. Hist. 126, 127; Lam. viii. 258, 259, Cap. iv. 417, 418, Moniteur, July 28, on the citizens whose rights it infringed.²¹

The King and Ministers, who had been overjoyed at the success with which the ordonnances had been received on the 26th, were not awakened from their delusion by the events of the 27th. On the first of these days, so little had any serious resistance been anticipated, that the King had gone on a hunting party to Rambouillet; and even on the day following, the Court remained at St. Cloud, which, for the service of the palace, deducted twelve hundred men from the few battalions of the Guard, the only ones who could be relied on for the defense of Paris. Reports were received from all the police-offices; but though they in general spoke of crowds in the streets, a general suspension of business, and great agitation in the public mind, yet, with an infatuation that now appears inconceivable, no efficient steps were taken to guard against the approach of danger. None of the Liberal leaders were arrested; no additional troops were brought into Paris, though eighteen thousand of the Royal Guard were quartered in the towns in the vicinity; and no instructions were sent to the prefects in the departments to take any extraordinary precautions, or how to act at all in the critical circumstances which were approaching. By a negligence still more reprehensible, no provision whatever was made for furnishing rations or water, or extra ammunition, to the troops on active service; and during the conflicts of the succeeding days, when they were under arms almost without intermission night and day, under a burning sun, they remained without any regular supplies, and were for the most part indebted for food to the humanity or policy of their enemies.²

When, on the morning of the 27th, Marmont commenced the active duties of the command of the garrison of Paris, with which he had been invested by the King, he was petrified at its small amount; for after deducting the non-effective and the Guard on service at St. Cloud, it did not exceed ten thousand men, of whom not more than four thousand were of the Guard, upon whom reliance could be placed in a conflict with the people. He immediately made his

dispositions; but before his orders could reach the troops, the agitation had assumed the most threatening appearance, and it was evident that a most serious conflict was approaching. The people every where descended into the streets, and collected in immense multitudes in and around the principal points in the city. The Rue de Richelieu, the avenues of the Palais Royal, and the neighborhood of the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, where the council of Ministers sat, were soon beset by vast crowds. The Rue St. Honoré and the boulevards, the whole way from the Place de la Bastille to the Place de la Madeleine, were filled with multitudes, as yet unarmed, but whose looks and gestures told that they were prepared for any enterprise, however audacious. "Cries of—*Vive la Charte!—à bas les Ministres!*" were heard from the crowd. So threatening did the aspect of things soon become, that orders were given to close the gates of the Palais Royal, and some detachments of gendarmerie and troops of the line were stationed around it to enforce the order. Soon the ominous cry was heard in the crowd, "*Vive la ligne!—vivent les frères et enfants du peuple!*" The grievous mistake was committed of leaving the troops, under arms but inactive, close to the people, and in communication with them. Soon their sympathy with the multitude appeared by their opening their ranks, and letting the human torrent flow through without resistance, amidst loud cheers from the people. The only symptom of collision which appeared was in front of the palace of the Duke of Orleans, where the troops were fired upon from the windows of a house. They answered by a general discharge at the windows, by which several persons were killed, among whom was an American, who had fired the first shot, and struck one of the soldiers.¹

Meanwhile an assembly of the leaders of the Liberal party had taken place at the house of M. Laborde, in the Rue d'Artois, on the evening of the 26th, and another, more numerous attended, at the hotel of M. Casimir Perrier. Thirty persons, nearly all members of the Chamber of Deputies, were there assembled. Their names, many since known in the rolls of fame, prove how large a part of the intellectual strength of France was already arrayed against the Government.* Opinions, as might have been expected in an assembly of men of such information and intelligence, were much divided as to the course which should be pursued. All agreed in condemning the ordonnances, and holding them illegal, and a violation of the Charter; but as they had been promulgated by authority, and were obviously to be enforced by power, it was not so clear what course should be pursued by the friends of liberty and order. The young and courageous were clear for instantly taking up arms; the

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 127; Lam. viii. 259, 260; Cap. i. 417, 419.

^{66.} Rapid progress of the insurrection. July 28.

¹ Lam. viii. 259, 261; Ann. Hist. xiii. 129, 130; Cap. i. 416, 417.

^{67.} Meeting of the Liberal chiefs at Casimir Perrier's.

* They were MM. Mauguin, Bavoux, Chardel, de Lobau, Voisin de Gartempe, Persil, Louis, Dupin aîné, Charles Dupin, Berard, Mechin, Camille Perier, Odier, Lefebvre, Vassal, Andry de Puyraveau, Sebastiani, Gerard, Villemain, Guizot, Auguste St. Aignan, Labbey de Pompières, Baillot, Bertin de Vaux, Delessert, Maréchal Duchaffant, Milleret, Mathieu Dumas, Salvère, De Schonen.—*Tribune*, 28 July, 1830. *Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 130.

more reflecting and prudent hesitated at openly resisting the Government, and hazarding the new-born liberty of France on the perilous issue of the sword. The discussions were still going on, when a deputation arrived, professing to come from the electors of Paris, which cut the Gordian knot, by declaring that, as the ordinances had evidently and openly violated the constitution, and the Government were preparing to support them by force, nothing remained but to have recourse to INSURRECTION; that many of the master-manufacturers had already thrown their workmen into the streets, and that they were prepared in a body to support them with their whole moral and physical strength. Deputations from various bodies of young men succeeded, who, with the courage and rashness of youth, declared that they were ready instantly to take up arms, and praying the deputies to place themselves at their head. The discussion, which now became very animated, was still going on, when the sound of discharges of musketry in the streets, and the clank of charges of cavalry on the pavement, interrupted the deliberations; and the persons assembled separated,

without having come to any other resolution but that of meeting on the following day at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau, in the Faubourg Poissonnière.¹

Marmont's plan of operations was based, like that of Napoleon in repelling the attack of the sections in 1795, on the defense of the Tuileries, Louvre, and Carrousel, as a vast fortress in the centre of the city. Three battalions of the Guard were stationed in the Place Carrousel and in the Palais Royal, two battalions of the Guard with two guns in the Place Louis XV.; three battalions of the line on the boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Place of the Bastille; and a battalion of the Guard in the Rue des Capucins, in front of the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères where the Ministers were assembled. Unlike Napoleon, however, he resolved to send out detachments in various directions into the interior of the city, to disperse assemblages and overturn BARRICADES, which were already beginning to be formed in its most narrow and crowded districts. The first barricade which was met with was across the Rue St. Honoré, where it passed the Palais Royal. After a volley in the air, which had not the effect of intimidating its defenders, the troops fired a point-blank discharge, which killed one old man and wounded several. The barricade was immediately carried, but the combatants succeeded in carrying off the dead body, which they paraded through the streets in the centre of the town, to excite the ardor of the people. The other detachments which were sent out succeeded in passing all the barricades, and restoring a certain degree of order in the crowded centre of the city; but the effervescence, so far from being diminished, was hourly on the increase; dropping shots, heard in several directions, kept alive the excitement, and the frequent cries of "*Vive la Ligne!*" wherever the troops of the line were stationed, proved with how much reluctance that portion of the military found themselves in the conflict, and how confidently the people trusted to their be-

ing faithless to their duty, and joining their cause. Meanwhile several armorers' shops were broken open in the centre of the city, and the most vigorous preparations were made to prepare for the conflict which was approaching on the succeeding day. The only measure of defense adopted on the other side was to declare Paris in a state of siege, which was done by an ordonnance signed by the King at St. Cloud, at eleven at night—a step which, without adding to the military strength at the disposal of the marshal, tended only still further to inflame the public mind.¹

The night of the 27th passed over without disturbance, but it was the calm which precedes the tornado. Early on the morning of the 28th, the populace appeared in the streets in the Faubourg St. Antoine and St. Marceau, so well known in the worst days of the Revolution, in great numbers, armed with muskets, pistols, swords, bayonets, axes, and pickaxes. "Furor arma ministrat." This huge and disorderly multitude, which swelled as it advanced, rolled onward to the Rue St. Denis, and, passing that thoroughfare, began to approach the position occupied by the military. The people were every where to be seen unparing the streets, felling trees on the boulevards, overturning omnibuses, dragging furniture out of houses, and fastening together carts to form barricades. The small detachments of troops who could alone be spared from the central position around the Tuileries could not be every where. In most places these operations went on without opposition of any sort, and with an order and rapidity which was inconceivable. Nor did the multitude remain long unarmed behind their intrenchments. With equal rapidity they betook themselves to all the places where arms were to be found; the whole gunsmiths' shops in the central parts of the city were soon broken open and pillaged of their contents; many of the police stations and guard-houses were forced, and the arms they contained taken out and distributed among the people. Soon the arsenal, the powder-manufacture des Deux Moulins, and the dépôt of artillery of St. Thomas Aquinas, were broken into, and every thing they contained distributed among the people. Nearly the whole arms belonging to the National Guard, above forty thousand, were now put in requisition, and not a few of their uniforms were to be seen in the streets. Encouraged by these cheering appearances, the people surrounded the Hôtel de Ville; its slender garrison of sixteen men withdrew without opposition, and that important post fell into the hands of the insurgents. Instantly they ascended to the top of the building, sounded the tocsin, and displayed a huge tricolor flag from its roof. The well-known symbol excited universal enthusiasm, the gates of Notre Dame were soon broken open, another tricolor flag waved from its summit, and the dismal clang of its tocsin recalled to the few survivors who had witnessed it the appalling commencement of the 10th August, 1792.²

All this, which was so important in its results, that, literally speaking, it amounted to a rev-

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 130, 131; Lam. viii. 259, 262; Cap. i. 3, 5.

Marmont's plan of operations, and commencement of the conflict.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 129, 130; Lam. viii. 263, 265; Cap. ii. 3, 5; Lac. iv. 458, 459.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 134, 135; Lam. viii. 265, 266; Cap. i. 7, 8; Lac. iv. 462, 463.

olution, passed under the eyes of the constituted authorities without any serious resistance having been anywhere attempted. Four-fifths of Paris were already in the hands of the insurgents, the tricolor flag was displayed from twenty churches, a hundred

barricades were erected in the streets, a hundred thousand men in arms, without anything more having been attempted to resist the movement than a few charges of gendarmarie in the streets, a few shots from the foot soldiers, and a few guard-houses resolutely defended by the troops intrusted with their defense. These events, succeeding each other with stunning rapidity, at length roused the Government to vigorous measures, and Marshal Marmont received orders to act offensively against the insurgents. The few troops at his disposal were rapidly concentrated around the Tuileries; five battalions of the Guard arrived in the Place of the Carrousel; two Swiss battalions were posted in the Place Louis XV.; three squadrons of lancers and eight guns were placed in the Carrousel, beside the former, being the only ones employed that day—for the four howitzers which completed the battery were, from motives of humanity, left in the Hôtel des Invalides, and never used at all. These eight guns had only four rounds of grape-shot! Five hundred men arrived at eleven o'clock from Vincennes, and three squadrons of *grenadiers-à-cheval* from Versailles, which raised the force intrusted with the defense of that central point to three thousand infantry and six hundred horse, all tried men of the Guard. The foot-soldiers had twenty rounds of ball-cartridge each, but no provisions or water, though the sun of the dogdays shone with extraordinary severity. There was no persuading the Government that any thing more than a military promenade would take place. Three regiments of the line occupied the boulevards from the Place Vendôme to the Bastille, and extended to the cuirassiers of the Guard, who were in the barracks of the Celestins. ¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 136, 137; Cap. ii. 9, 10; The 15th light infantry was dispatched to occupy the Pantheon and the Palais de Justice, but these were in the hands of the insurgents before it arrived at them.¹

Encouraged by this addition to the slender military force at his disposal, Marmont resolved on offensive operations. With this view, he formed three movable columns, with orders to penetrate into the centre of the city, now wholly in the hands of the insurgents. The first was to march by the quays to the Hôtel de Ville, the second by the boulevards to the Place of the Bastille, and the two were to unite at the entrance of the Rue St. Antoine, and bar the exit from that revolutionary district; while the third, consisting of two battalions of the Guard, was to march through the heart of the city to the Marché des Innocens, after occupying which, it was to debouche on the Rue St. Denis, and by occupying that important thoroughfare separate its eastern from its western portions. Success in the first instance attended these operations. The first column, under the orders of General Talon, a bold and experienced officer,

advanced, preceded by two pieces of cannon, along the quays, and, opening their fire at the entrance of the Place de Grève, which was crowded with insurgents, by a few discharges cleared the square, and regained possession of the Hôtel de Ville. This important success might have been rendered decisive had there been an adequate number of troops at hand to occupy the post in force, and pursue the ulterior operations which had been directed. But at this critical moment the treachery of the troops of the line paralyzed all the successes of the Guard. The 15th regiment refused to support the Guard at the Hôtel de Ville; the officers broke their swords, the soldiers drew their cartridges in presence of the people. The insurgents, headed by the scholars of the Polytechnic School, who now lent to the cause of insurrection the fire of their enthusiasm and the assistance of their skill, filled the quay opposite the Place de Grève, from whence they opened a heavy fire on the battalion of the Guard in possession of the place; while the 15th regiment, which had got under shelter, quietly beheld the destruction of their comrades, now surrounded in their conquests. Encouraged by this defection, some of these gallant youths rushed across the bridge, and fell under the balls of the Guard. One of ¹ Lam. viii. 268, 271; the foremost, who bore a tricolor flag, Ann. Hist. xiii. 137; exclaimed, with his last breath, "My friends, recollect that my name is Cap. ii. 9. 11. d'Arcola."¹

The second column, which was to advance by the boulevards to the Place of the Bastille, encountered no serious opposition till it arrived at the Porte St. Denis, when it was met by the huge multitude which was proceeding to the eastward from the Faubourg St. Antoine. After a few discharges the insurgents gave way; but it was only to take refuge in the lateral streets which extend into the boulevards, where, under shelter of the barricades, they kept up a vigorous fire on the flanks of the advancing troops. They continued to move forward, however, and reached the Place of the Bastille; but there the fire was so violent from the windows and loopholed houses with which it was environed, that they were unable to keep their ground, and moved on, following the line of the boulevards to the bridge of Austerlitz, which they crossed, intending to regain the centre of the city by the left bank of the Seine. A detachment, which proceeded up the Faubourg St. Antoine, stormed in gallant style six barricades in that revolutionary quarter; but they were at length obliged to retire from the incessant fire which was opened upon them from the windows of the houses along the street. Retiring, they accidentally met a squadron of cuirassiers in the Place de la Bastille; and the two together succeeded in making their way across the centre of Paris to the Place de Grève. When they arrived there, they found General Talon gallantly defending, with the Guard, the Hôtel de Ville, which he had won; but, instead of assisting him in his heroic resistance, the 50th regiment took refuge in the interior court of the building,² and the soldiers composing that corps gave up their car-

70. Measures of the Government and Marshal Marmont.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 136, 137; Cap. ii. 9, 10; The 15th light infantry was dispatched to occupy the Pantheon and the Palais de Justice, but these were in the hands of the insurgents before it arrived at them.¹

71. Marmont's offensive measures, and their temporary success.

¹ Lam. viii. 268, 271; Ann. Hist. xiii. 137; Cap. ii. 9. 11.

72. Operations of the second column.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 142, 144; Lam. viii. 271, 272; Cap. ii. 10, 12.

bridges to General Talon, whose firmness nothing could shake, and who, with his faithful Guards, prolonged a now hopeless defense.

The third column, which was composed almost entirely of the Swiss Guard, had a still more difficult duty to discharge, for it was destined to advance by the Rue St. Honoré to the Marché des Innocens, through the densest part of the city, where the narrowness of the streets and the height of the houses exposed the soldiers, almost in single file, to the murderous fire which issued from the windows. It succeeded in storming all the barricades erected across the Rue St. Honoré; but on arriving in the Marché des Innocens, the fire from the windows on all sides was so violent and well directed that great numbers of the troops fell. General Quinsonnas, however, who commanded them, at length succeeded in establishing himself in the square, and the sustained fire of the Swiss silenced that from the windows. Quinsonnas took advantage of that success to send a battalion, with two pieces of artillery, to clear the Rue St. Denis; but though it succeeded in doing that, and reaching the Porte St. Denis, it sustained a very severe loss, and the colonel himself was severely wounded. After remaining some hours at the Porte St. Denis, expecting the 5th and 53d regiments, which were to have come by the boulevards, but had gone on, as already mentioned, to the Bridge of Austerlitz, the commander, finding himself surrounded by insurgents, resolved to retire; but as the Rue St. Denis was again closed by barricades, he could only do this by the boulevards, where the feeling of trees and construction of similar barriers was already begun; and it was with great difficulty and considerable loss that he succeeded in making his way back to the Place Vendôme. Meanwhile the situation of Quinsonnas, left with his battalion in the Marché des Innocens, became every moment more critical. After four hours' incessant firing, the ammunition of the men was found to be exhausted; and the communication with the Tuileries was so completely cut off that it was only by disguising one of his officers that he was able to inform Marmont of his perilous situation. The marshal had only one battalion at his disposal, but that he instantly dispatched to his relief; and the two together succeeded, after great difficulty, and storming several barricades, in forcing their way to the Seine, from whence they effected their retreat to the central position around the palace. Meanwhile the brave defenders of the Hôtel de Ville sustained with courage the not less valiant assaults of the numerous bodies of insurgents with which it was surrounded; and it was still in the hands of the Guard, when orders arrived at nightfall for its evacuation, and the concentration of the troops from all quarters around the Tuileries. This was effected under cover of the darkness without serious loss.¹

While these bloody combats were taking place, so much to the disadvantage of the royal cause, in the streets of Paris, a sort of Provisional Government had become established on the side of the insurgents. At the meeting agreed on the preceding day at the hotel

of M. Audry de Puyraveau, a much larger number of influential persons was assembled: a gaining cause seldom lacks adherents. M. Lafitte and General Lafayette were there, the latter having arrived in haste the preceding night on the first intelligence of the disturbance in Paris. His appearance, and the weight of his name, so well known in the most stormy days of the first Revolution, determined the deputies: the violent party, headed by M. Mauguin, M. Audry de Puyraveau, and M. Lafitte, obtained the ascendancy over that of M. Guizot, Villemain, and Thiers, who were desirous to withstand the ordonnances as long as possible only by legal means. The latter, disapproving of insurrection, had withdrawn to the country. "Legal means," observed Lafayette, "have been cut short by the ordonnances in the *Moniteur*, and the discharges of artillery you hear in the streets. Victory can alone now decide the question." But although resistance was thus resolved on, it was not so easy to agree upon the appointment of a provisional government. Already the cry was heard in the streets, amidst "Vive la Charte!" and "Vive la Ligne!" "*Des Chefs et l'Hôtel de Ville!*" The necessity of a government, the first and greatest want of mankind, was already felt among those who were arrayed against it; and the street leaders had nominated General Lafayette, General Gérard, and the Duke de Choiseul, as a provisional authority. A proclamation, without their knowledge, but signed with their names, was placarded on the walls of Paris on the 28th. But as there was some doubt of their accepting the perilous office of dictators, it was conferred on General Delonny, who on the night of the 28th, after its evacuation by the Royal Guard, took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and issued three edicts in the name of the Provisional Government, for the preservation of the public monuments, the care of the wounded, and the appointment of municipal authorities. But the only body really entitled to appoint such a provisional government had not yet taken a decided resolution; the deputies assembled at M. de Peyraveau's separated at midnight on the 28th, without having determined on any thing except a meeting on the following day at the hôtel of M. Lafitte.^{1*}

Meanwhile the alarm had spread to St. Cloud, and the court had fallen into a state of consternation great in proportion to the ill-founded confidence of the preceding days. The repeated discharges of artillery heard during the whole day, and which increased in so alarming a manner toward night, spread a mournful panic and sad presentiments over the palace, and already defection, that woeful precursor of revolutions, was to be seen among the courtiers. Persons with telescopes placed on the heights above the palace descried the tricolor flag flying on the summits of Notre Dame and St. Sulpice; and a dispatch from Marmont, dated 4 P.M., announced the alarming

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 145, 151; Lam. viii. 271, 273; Lac. iv. 463, 464.

^{73.} Disaster of the third column.

^{74.} Proceedings of the Liberal chiefs. July 28.

¹ Cap. ii. 23, 25; Lam. viii. 273, 276; Lac. iv. 464, 465; An. Hist. xiii. 152, 153.

^{75.} State of affairs at St. Cloud, and firmness of the King. July 28.

* Their names were MM. Mauguin, Lafitte, Audry de Puyraveau, Bavoux, Lafayette, Gérard, Sebastiani, Villemain, Casimir Perier, Lobau, Maréchal de Laborde, Vassal, Duchaffant, Guizot, Charrel, Méchin, Bertin de Vaux. — *Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 152, 153, notes.

state of matters in the metropolis, and the necessity of instant orders how to act. In this extremity the King alone preserved the calmness called for in such a crisis. He sent orders to "Marmont to concentrate his troops and act in masses," and dispatched directions to Polignac to recall the regiments of the Guard from the towns in which they were in garrison around Paris, and to the camps at St. Omer and Juniville, to break up and move the troops they contained with all haste to the capital—a wise precaution, which, taken earlier, might have altered the issue of the conflict, but which was now taken too late to have any sensible influence upon it. The Duchess d'Angoulême was absent; the Duke was at St. Cloud, but did nothing but abuse Prince Polignac; the Duchess de Berri, with the ardent enthusiasm of her character, had thrown herself, heart and soul, into the cause of the Ministers, and anticipated the speedy defeat of the insurgents; while her two children, the one ten, the other nine years of age, in the simplicity of childhood, played at a game founded on the events going on in the metropolis, Mademoiselle heading the rebels, and the Duke de Bordeaux at the head of the Royal Guard repulsing them. The council of Ministers sat in permanence at the Tuileries, but there was no persuading Prince Polignac that there was any serious danger. He persisted in maintaining that putting Paris in a state of siege was all that was required. Even when informed by Marmont on the evening of the 28th that the troops of the line had passed over to the people, and that the Guard alone was to be relied on, he said with the most astonishing *sang-froid*, "Well, if the troops have gone over to the insurgents, we must fire upon the troops."¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 151, 152; Lam. viii. 282, 283; Cap. ii. 35, 36, 39.

The night which followed was a melancholy one in Paris, and not less so to the insurgent leaders than the royal troops. The excitement of the contest was suspended; but the silence and the darkness brought with them what was yet more terrible, for with them came the memory of the past and the anticipation of the future. That the Government would be overthrown there could be little doubt, now that the troops of the line had for the most part deserted its defense, and passed over to the people; but what was to succeed it? Was a republic to be installed, with its massacres, its executions, its Marats and Robespierres? and was a second inundation of the Cossacks, perhaps never to retire, to cross the Rhine and overspread the fields of France? No one could tell what a day would bring forth; and great as had been the indignation excited by the appearance of the ordonnances, it was now as nothing compared to the terror excited by the probable success of those who opposed them. The unwounded combatants alone, wearied with a conflict which had now continued almost without intermission for forty hours, sunk into sleep, and reposed peaceably, stretched on the pavement or behind their barricades; but numbers passed a melancholy night. Food there was none for the soldiers; scarce a drop of water was to be had to assuage their burning thirst; the wounded, weltering in their

blood, lay stretched on the stones, for nothing to remove them had been provided; and even the bravest felt that the contest was hopeless, now that the troops of the line had deserted them, and that nothing remained but to fall with honor amidst the ruins of the monarchy.¹

On the morning of the 29th, fifteen hundred infantry and six hundred horse of the Guard arrived at the Tuileries; but they did little more than compensate the losses of the preceding day in killed and wounded, and nothing at all to make up the huge gap in the defenses of the monarchy which the general defection of the troops of the line had occasioned. Fifteen thousand men and fifty guns would have been barely sufficient to defend the position of the Tuileries against a hundred thousand combatants, the most of them well armed and disciplined, who surrounded it; and Marmont had not more than five thousand effective men and eight guns to repel the assailants. His little army was thus disposed: two Swiss battalions occupied the Louvre; two other battalions of the Guard were stationed in the streets around the Carrousel, the Rue St. Honoré, and the Rue de Rivoli; the Rue Castiglione, the Place Vendôme, and the Rue de la Paix, were occupied by two battalions of the line, who were yet faithful to their oaths; a Swiss battalion, which had arrived the evening before from Reuil, occupied the Place de Carrousel; three battalions of the Guard and a regiment of the *chasseurs-à-cheval* were placed in the garden of the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées. The ground on which they stood was all of Paris that remained to the King; all the rest was in the hands of the insurgents, who with loud shouts pressed in on every side, and kept up an incessant dropping fire on the Royalist outposts who surrounded the palace.²

^{77.} Forces on the opposite sides on the morning of the 29th.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 155, 156; Cap. ii. 43, 44; Lam. viii. 281, 282.

The deputies who met at Lafitte's in the morning resolved on one more pacific effort before they openly hoisted the standard of insurrection. Already M. Lafitte, who was, in secret, entirely in the Orleans interest, had dispatched a confidential messenger to Neuilly, to inform the Duke verbally of what was going on; and he had returned with the ominous words, "*I thank you.*"* But it was necessary to be cautious, and avoid any step which might seem to unnecessarily precipitate hostilities. For this purpose they dispatched M. Arago, the celebrated philosopher, who was an intimate friend of the marshal, to confer with Marmont. They met in the middle of the Carrousel, where Marmont was on horseback, surrounded by his staff, while the ceaseless roar of musketry on all sides announced how near the danger had approached. Arago, in the first instance, proposed to the marshal that, like the troops of the line,

* "Le plan de M. Lafitte était arrêté. Il s'approche de M. Dudart: 'Hier je vous ai prié de vous rendre à Neuilly. A l'avertissement, que je lui faisais donner, le Prince a répondu, "*Je vous remercie.*" Veuillez retourner auprès de lui, *Entre une Couronne et un Passeport qu'il choisisse.* Si je réussis, je ne lui ferai point payer ma commission de banque; si j'échoue, il me désavouera.'"—Louis BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, i. 272.

he should pass over, and unite his arms to those of the people. "No!" replied he instantly; "propose nothing which would dishonor me." Arago next implored him to lay down the command, and retire to St. Cloud, offering his sword to the King for his personal defense, but withdrawing from the contest occasioned by the faults of his Ministers. "You know well," said Marmont, "whether or not I approve those fatal and odious measures: but I am a soldier; I am in the post which has been intrusted to me. To abandon that post under fire of sedition, to desert my troops, to be wanting to my prince, would be desertion, flight, ignominy. My fate is frightful, but it is the *arrêt* of destiny, and I must go through with it." Arago still insisted, and the conference was still going on, when officers, covered with dust and blood, came to request reinforcements for the outposts most warmly engaged. "I have none to send them," replied the general, in despair; "they must defend themselves." After a long and melancholy conference, Arago withdrew, having in vain endeavored to induce Marmont to desert his duty, but leaving him not the less convinced that further resistance was hopeless, and that the last hour of the monarchy had struck.¹

¹ Cap. ii. 44, 45; Lam. viii. 280, 282; An. Hist. xiii. 154, 156; Louis Blanc, i. 272.

The deputies assembled at the hôtel of M. Lafitte now no longer hesitated. A deputation they had sent the preceding day, to have a conference with Polignac and the Ministers, had been refused admittance at the Tuileries. It was determined to appear no longer as mediators but as principals in the fight, to hoist the tricolor flag, put themselves at the head of the movement, and close the door against all reconciliation, by declaring the King and his Ministers public enemies. This decisive resolution was taken at six in the morning of the 29th, at the hôtel of M. Lafitte. General Sebastiani alone protested against a resolution which amounted to a dethronement of the sovereign. M. Guizot remained silent and pensive; Lafayette was overjoyed at seeing the wishes which he had formed during forty years so nearly approaching their accomplishment. Orders were immediately sent to the Hôtel de Ville to make arrangements for the reception of provisional authorities, and to the insurgents to prepare for the offensive, and a general attack on the position of the Tuileries on all sides. Meanwhile the Royalist outposts which surrounded it, sensible of their weakness, drew back in all directions; and soon the uniforms of the Guard were to be seen only in the close vicinity of the Louvre and the palace. Though the successor to the monarchy, or the form of government, was not yet divulged to the people, they were not the less resolved on by the leaders of the insurrection. Early in the morning, M. Audry de Puyraveau had been dispatched to request General Lafayette to come to Lafitte's. In going there, Audry de Puyraveau met in the Rue d'Artois a number of people in a violent state of excitement, to whom M. Mignet exclaimed, "Be quiet, my friends; this evening you will have the Duke of Orleans for your King." Lafayette, however, had other views; he had visions of a dic-

tatorship for himself. After he had come to Lafitte's, a deputation from the Republicans came to offer the military command of Paris to Lafayette and General Gérard. The second answered in an evasive manner; the first accepted the proffered honor with puerile eagerness. "Gentlemen," said he to the persons assembled at Lafitte's, "I am pressed to take the command of Paris." "If we can not now find M. Bailly, the virtuous mayor of 1789," cried M. Bertin de Vaux, "let us at least congratulate ourselves that we have found the illustrious chief of the National Guard." Lafayette accepted, and proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, the head-quarters of the insurgents, accompanied by an immense concourse of Republicans. For a day he had the destinies of France in his hands.¹

During the night the information they received from all quarters of Paris as to the defeat of the Royalist forces, and the report of Marshal Marmont as to the impossibility of his maintaining his position at the Tuileries with the small force at his disposal, opened the eyes of Ministers to their real situation. Orders were dispatched with the utmost expedition to the regiments of the Guard stationed at Orleans, Rouen, Beauvais, and other places, to move instantly on Paris; but this resolution, which, adopted earlier, might have altered the whole course of events, was now too late: before the directions could even reach the troops, all was decided. The Ministers were on the point of setting out for St. Cloud to lay the state of matters before the King, and, if necessary, tender their resignations, when a deputation of four members of the House of Peers made their appearance at the gates of the Tuileries, and in virtue of their privilege as peers demanded an audience. They were M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, M. de Vitrolles, and M. de Girardin, who had been at St. Cloud with the King the evening before, and came fortified with his last resolutions. They were admitted, accordingly, and painted in the strongest colors, and without either circumlocution or disguise, the frightful state of the metropolis—the entire population in insurrection, the troops of the line joined to the insurgents, and the Royal Guard, the last resource of the monarchy, hemmed in on all sides, and all but made prisoners in the ancient palace of its kings. Prince Polignac answered, "The question at issue is the authority of the King and his prerogative; in my opinion, the monarchy is lost the moment a concession is made." These representations, however, which were too obviously supported by facts to permit their truth being seriously doubted, had such weight with the Ministers that they consented to take M. de Semonville and M. d'Argout with them to St. Cloud. Before setting out they called in Marmont to hear his opinions as to the means of defense which yet remained to them. "You may tell the King," said the marshal, "that come what may, and though the entire population of Paris should rise up against me, I can hold this position for fifteen days without further reinforcements. This position is impregnable." When the party arrived at St. Cloud

¹ Lam. viii. 290, 291; Cap. ii. 47, 48; An. Hist. xiii. 154, 155; Louis Blanc, i. 273, 276.
80.
Interview with M. de Semonville and M. d'Argout.

at nine o'clock, the whole state of affairs was laid before the King; but, trusting to this representation of Marmont, he remained immovable. "Sire!" said M. de Semonville, on taking his leave, "if in an hour the ordonnances are not revoked, there is no longer either a King or a monarchy." "You will surely allow me two hours," replied the King, with polite irony. M. de Semonville upon this threw himself on his knees, and exclaimed, "The Dauphin, sire! think of the Dauphin!" But even this appeal to the sensibility and early recollections of the King failed, and the deputation withdrew without having effected any accommodation. Prince Polignac, in entering the royal cabinet, met M. de Semonville coming out. "You have been demanding my head," said he, making, while smiling, the sign of decapitation. "It matters not; I was determined the Kings should hear my accuser."¹

But while these events were in progress at St. Cloud, matters were so precipitated at Paris that an accommodation was no longer possible. One by one the whole barracks there, stripped of their defenders, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents; the Hôtel de Ville, where General Dubourg had assumed a fleeting dictatorship, had become their headquarters, where General Lafayette was established; the whole left bank of the Seine opposite the Tuileries was in their hands; and dense masses of them, headed by the scholars of the Polytechnic School, had come close to the artillery of the Guard in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Louvre. Already a sort of parley had taken place between them; and the officer in command, fearful of taking so strong a step on his own responsibility, had sent to Marmont to say his pieces were charged with grape, and asking if he might fire? He was forbidden to do so, and immediately the guns fell into the hands of the insurgents. At the same time, the regiment of the Seine, stationed in the Place Vendôme, opened its ranks to let them into the garden of the Tuileries. Informed of this shameful treachery, Marmont ordered M. de Salis, who commanded the two battalions of the Swiss Guard in the Carrousel, to send one of them to occupy the important position of the Place Vendôme, which barred the great entrance by the Rue de la Paix from the boulevards, which were crowded with insurgents. M. de Salis, desirous to relieve the battalions which had combated since daybreak in the colonnade of the Louvre, with the insurgents in and around the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois opposite, gave orders for them to retire, with a view to their being sent to the Place Vendôme, and another in the Carrousel to take their place. During the transposition the fire from the colonnade ceased for a few minutes, and the insurgents opposite, thinking it was a permanent retreat, rushed with the utmost vehemence across the Place St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and stormed the building. In an instant the windows were broken through, the gates forced open, the stairs mounted, the inner court of the Louvre carried; and the bravest of the insurgents, forcing their way through the interior doors and communications, penetrated into the gallery of the Mu-

seum, from the inner windows of which they opened a plunging fire upon the Swiss, who still remained in the Place of the Carrousel. Upon this, seeing themselves assailed both in front and flank, a sudden panic seized the troops there, and they fled in wild disorder under the arch of the palace into the garden of the Tuileries. By a strange coincidence they passed over the same spot where their predecessors had gloriously fallen on the 10th August, 1792. Marmont, regaining his resolution with the approach of danger, hastened to the rear, which was retiring before the insurgents, did every thing that courage and conduct could suggest to arrest the disorder, and succeeded in restoring some degree of order, withdrawing the troops in tolerable array into the Champs Elysées. He was the last man who left the garden of the Tuileries.¹

This success proved decisive, as a similar advantage had invariably done through all the phases of the former Revolution. Since the bones and sinews of France had been broken by the Constituent Assembly, by the destruction of the nobility, the church, and the incorporations, no power has existed in France capable of withstanding any party in possession of the capital, its treasury, post-office, and telegraph. They were all soon entirely in the hands of the insurgents. The only posts of importance still occupied by the royal troops—the Invalides and barracks of Babylone, where the Swiss were located—were evacuated, the latter after a severe conflict, in which great numbers of the gallant defenders perished, and the troops in them rejoined their comrades in the Champs Elysées. One melancholy event alone darkened the universal triumph, and cast a tragic yet heroic air over the fall of the monarchy. A hundred Swiss, placed in a house at the junction of the Rue de Richelieu and the Rue St. Honoré, who, in the confusion of the retreat, had been forgotten, defended themselves to the last, and perished, like their predecessors on the 10th of August, to the last man. Several Swiss, betrayed by their uniform, were pursued and massacred by the people; but with these exceptions, which happily were not numerous, the insurgents made a noble use of their victory. They broke, indeed, into the Tuileries, the Louvre, and the palace of the Archbishop of Paris, traversed their stately galleries and splendid halls, and evinced their hatred of royalty by firing at several of the pictures, piercing them with their bayonets, and tearing in pieces the gorgeous furniture and decorations of the princesses' apartments. The archbishop's palace was sacked, and the cellars of the Tuileries emptied of their contents. But, with these exceptions, they abstained from acts of pillage; they disdained to sully the victory of the people by the exhibition of vulgar vices; and the municipal authorities at the Hôtel de Ville took the most vigorous measures to arrest the disorder, and preserve the public monuments from injury.² Meanwhile the Royal Guard, sad and dejected, pursued their way under the triumphal arch at the barrier of Neuilly, erected to commemorate the glo-

¹ Lam. viii. 294, 297; Cap. ii. 52, 55, 66; An. Hist. xiii. 158, 161.

^{81.} The Louvre is carried by the insurgents.

¹ Lam. viii. 298, 300; Cap. ii. 67, 70; An. Hist. xiii. 162, 165; Lac. iv. 492, 495.

^{82.} Decisive effect. Since the bones and sinews of France had been broken by the Constituent Assembly, by the destruction of the nobility, the church, and the incorporations, no power has existed in France capable of withstanding any party in possession of the capital, its treasury, post-office, and telegraph.

² An. Hist. xiii. 164, 167; Lam. viii. 301, 304; Cap. ii. 69, 71; Lac. iv. 495, 497.

ries of their predecessors in the Grand Army; and the regiments of the line, which had joined the insurgents, withdrew to their barracks, amidst external applause and secret shame.

Meanwhile Marmont, having stationed his troops in the Bois de Boulogne, where Marmont's first interview with Charles X. at St. Cloud, July 29.

83. all pursued and hostilities ceased, galloped across the wood to St. Cloud, to lay the account of his disasters before the King. "Sire!" said he on arriving, "it is my painful duty to announce to your majesty, that I have not been able to maintain your authority in Paris. The Swiss, to whom I intrusted the defense of the Louvre, seized with a sudden panic, have abandoned that important post; carried away myself by the torrent of fugitives, I was unable to rally the troops till they arrived at the arch of the Etoile; and I have ordered them to continue their retreat to St. Cloud. A ball, directed at me, has killed the horse of my aide-camp by my side. I regret it did not pass through my head; death would be nothing to me compared to the sad spectacle which I have witnessed." The King, without addressing a word of reproach to the marshal, raised his eyes to heaven; he recognized the fortune of his race. Then he desired Marmont to take his orders from the Duke d'Angoulême, whom he had appointed generalissimo of his armies. He then directed the Ministers to be called in; and before they could enter, intelligence arrived of the final evacuation of Paris, and retreat of the troops toward St. Cloud.¹

The final interview of the King with his Ministers was not of long duration. Events had crowded on one another with such rapidity that there was scarcely any room for doubt or hesitation. The metropolis had been lost, the government changed, the monarchy overthrown, in a single day. Waterloo itself had not been more decisive. The monarch opened the conference by detailing the disastrous news communicated by Marmont, and the concessions pressed upon him by M. de Semonville and M. d'Argout, which were such a capitulation as amounted to a practical abdication of the crown. Struck with consternation, the majority of the Council thought nothing remained but to yield to a force which they had not the means of resisting. M. Guérnon de Ranville, though he had counseled an accommodation the evening before, when the victory was still undecided, now, like a true soldier, strongly supported the opposite side.

84. Deliberation in the Council. "The throne is overturned, we are told," said he; "the evil is great; but I believe it is exaggerated. I can not believe that the monarchy is to fall without a combat. We must recollect that the deplorable fighting in the streets, which we have witnessed during the last two days, though it has unfortunately caused much blood to flow, does not constitute the energetic resistance which we are entitled to expect from the best troops in Europe. Happen what may, Paris is not France; the masses may be for a moment deluded by the promises of Liberalism, but they do not desire revolution. The Chambers desire it still less; the majority of the army is still faithful; the Guard, shaken a moment, will soon resume its fitting attitude; if the

Crown does not abandon itself, with such support it will triumph over this fresh revolutionary attempt. If, however, the Genius of Evil is again to prove triumphant, if the legitimate throne is again to fall, let it fall with honor; shame alone has no future. It is indispensable to recall some of the ordonnances, not to satisfy the insurgents, but because it is just to do so—because the interests of the Crown require such a concession. The government of the King was in the legal path when it dissolved the Chamber, for it had a right to do so; his Majesty will be all-powerful against the revolutionists when he is supported by the Chamber. Should this line be adopted, it will be necessary to postpone, by a few days, the opening of the Chamber, which is fixed for the 3d August; and, above all, to appoint another place of assembly than Paris, which is expressly permitted by the Charter."¹

These courageous sentiments were strongly supported by the Duke d'Angoulême. "I regret," said he, "that the majority of the Council does not go into these ideas. If we are reduced to the terrible necessity of prolonging the strife, we shall find numerous auxiliaries in the fidelity of the provinces; but even if we are abandoned by all—if this sun is to be the last which shines on the monarchy, let us at least dignify our fall by perishing with arms in our hands." Had the King gone into these sentiments he might have preserved the throne, for the insurgents in Paris were powerless out of its streets, and twenty thousand of the Royal Guard, who might speedily have been assembled, would have enabled the Royalists to keep the field till the remainder of the army and the provinces had declared themselves. But, like Louis XVI., he had the resignation of a martyr, not the spirit of a hero. He had the moral courage requisite to undertake bold designs, but not the physical energy necessary for their execution. He discerned, as he thought, the stroke of fate, and prepared to submit with patience to its infliction. Turning to the majority of the Council, who recommended submission, he said, "Do what you think best, my cause is conquered." Upon this the final resolution was taken, and the King signed an ordonnance, revoking the former ordonnances, dismissing the Ministers, and appointing M. de Montemart President of the Council, M. Casimir Perier to the Interior, and General Gérard Minister at War. It was an attempt at capitulation for the monarchy. The Duke d'Angoulême, silent, but quivering with indignation, paced round the table where the signing of the ordonnance was going on. The Ministers for the last time left the council chamber, with tears in their eyes and despair in their hearts.²

It belongs to a succeeding volume to recount the important events which at this period took place in Paris, and which prepared the ascent of the Duke of Orleans, so well known afterward as LOUIS PHILIPPE, to the throne. A few pages will suffice to narrate in this the melancholy story of the elder

¹ Lam. viii. 308, 311; Cap. ii. 70, 71; Ann. Hist. xiii. 109, 111.

² 85. The King submits, dismisses his Ministers, and sends for M. de Montemart.

² Lam. viii. 311, 312; Cap. ii. 70, 71; Lac. iv. 504, 505.

86. Ineffectual attempt to make a Ministry under M. de Montemart.

branch of the Bourbons, till they left as exiles their native land. Every hour brought intelligence of fresh defections, of the immense agitation in Paris, the insurrection of Versailles and the other towns in the vicinity, of the treachery of new regiments of the line. The Guard alone remained faithful, a glorious example of fidelity and honor amidst the general defection of their companions in arms. M. de Montemart was a nobleman of ancient family, vast possessions, and honorable character, trained to arms, and as brave as steel; but he wanted the political skill and moral resolution to conduct the affairs of the monarchy in the desperate circumstances in which it was now placed. But this was immaterial; had he possessed the talents of Sully, the energy of Henry IV., and the firmness of Cardinal Richelieu, the result would have been the same. The fiat of the Almighty had gone out against the monarchy; nothing remained but to survive the shipwreck. M. de Montemart accepted the perilous mission with the utmost reluctance, and only in obedience to the earnest request and positive mandate of the sovereign. But his mission entirely failed of success. In vain were new ordonnances of a liberal character prepared in haste by the new Minister and sent to the Hôtel de Ville, to negotiate with the Provisional Government there established, of which Lafayette was President. "*It is too late,*" said M. de Schonen, a dependant and intimate friend of Lafayette; "the throne of Charles X. has melted away in blood." In vain the command of the National Guard was offered to Marshal Maison. General Lafayette had already accepted it, and the whole force was by this time arrayed against the monarchy. In vain M. Lafitte, M. Bertin de Vaux, and M. Guizot, and some others, who had become fearful of the rapid progress of the revolution, strove to obtain a hearing for the envoys of the King, and suggested the possibility of still coming to an accommodation. Their voices were drowned by vehement cries from all parts of the hall. "*IL EST TROP TARD!—plus de trans-*"

¹ Lam. viii. actions, plus de Bourbons!" broke forth on all sides; and M. de Vitrolles and M. d'Argout, who had come on the mission, returned to St. Cloud with the conviction that the cause of the monarchy was lost.¹

Convinced that it was no longer possible to resist, Charles, on the return of the envoys, signed an unqualified revocation of the ordonnances, and ordered Prince Polignac, whose presence at the court was a continual object of jealousy to the revolutionists, to retire from St. Cloud. He had already, in secret, made up his mind that a resignation of the crown had become unavoidable, and he sought time only to be able to fall with dignity and decorum. He abhorred the idea of civil war; he could resign his crown or his life for his people, and what he conceived to be his duty, but he could not be instrumental in shedding their blood. Prince Polignac entirely shared these dispositions. When parting from M. de Montemart at St. Cloud, he pressed his hand, and said, "What a misfortune that my sword has broken in my hand! I would have

secured the Charter on an indestructible foundation."* It was in the spirit of the Charter, and to secure it in future times, by founding it on the basis of property and religion, that he intended for the time to abrogate it. Meanwhile the popular party at the Hôtel de Ville, amidst cries of "*A bas les Bourbons!*" "*Plus de Bourbons!*" published a proclamation, signed by Count Lobau, M. Audry de Puyraveau, M. Mauguin, and M. de Schonen, the sentence of death to the monarchy—Charles X. "has ceased to reign in France." But even this did not satisfy the extreme Liberals, who, as usual in such convulsions, had got the ascendancy. "*Nous sommes trahis: on veut nous imposer Henri V.; ce n'est pas pour Henri V. que nous nous sommes battus!*" was the general cry.¹

M. de Montemart made a last effort to open negotiations with the revolutionary authorities at the Hôtel de Ville. Alone, in a peasant's dress, with his coat over his arm, as if overcome with the heat, he set out on foot from St. Cloud, passed with difficulty the outposts of the two armies, and succeeded in getting into Paris through a breach made in the wall that surrounds it. But he soon saw there that his mission was fruitless. The tricolor flag floated on the summit of every steeple, every tower, every public edifice; the arms of the King, the ensigns of royalty, were nearly all effaced; no one ventured to mention the name of the Bourbons but as an object of horror and derision; death awaited any man rash enough to propose their restoration. Worn out with fatigue, covered with dust and sweat, M. de Montemart yet feared that he would be recognized, and refused admittance at the Hôtel de Ville, and he gave the revocation of the ordonnances to his friend M. Collin de Sussy, who consequently carried them to that centre of the insurrection. They were received only with contempt and derision; and M. de Montemart returned to St. Cloud, convinced by the evidence of his own senses that the cause of royalty was lost.²

The return of the Duke of Orleans to Paris, which took place on the following day, and the lead which he immediately acquired among the revolutionists, induced Charles X. to make a last effort to raise the Crown from the dust. Every thing promised success to such an attempt. The Duke had been overwhelmed with acts of kindness from the royal family; he had him-

* In the estimation of Prince Polignac, the contest in which he had engaged the monarchy was a holy war for the support of religion. In his secret meditations he said, "*Avec quelle douleur l'examen de certains dispositions de la Charte, nous a-t-il démontré que la foi de nos pères, que la religion Chrétienne, s'y trouve blessée dans des points sensibles et importants! Tous les cultes également autorisés et protégés peuvent offrir, dans l'état du Roi très-Christien, le spectacle d'outrages continus dirigés contre l'autel du vrai Dieu.*" With truth does Lamartine observe on this passage, "*La est tout le secret du règne de Charles X. et des ordonnances.*" It was the ambitious intolerant spirit of the Romish faith was the moving spring of the whole.—See LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, viii. 329, note.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 174, 176; Lam. viii. 328, 331; Cap. ii. 77, 81; Lac. iv. 510, 512.

² Lam. viii. 330, 332; Cap. ii. 96, 104; Ann. Hist. xiii. 180, 184.

⁸⁷. Completion of the Revolution at Paris. July 30.

⁸⁹. The Duke of Orleans refuses the lieutenantancy-general of the kingdom. July 31.

self owed the final restoration of his immense possessions to Charles X., and he always professed the most unbounded gratitude for the gift.¹ Every thing conspired to recommend to him an alliance with the royal family. Their common descent from Louis XIII.; the cause of the throne, to which, failing Henry V., he was the next heir; the noble feeling of disinterested loyalty; the selfish principle of individual interest—all tended to recommend it. Charles X. offered him the lieutenancy-general of the kingdom, in order to guard the Crown during his minority for the Duke de Bordeaux, in whose favor the King and the Duke d'Angoulême offered to renounce it. Had he accepted the mission, his descendants would in all probability have sat upon the throne of France, for the Duke de Bordeaux to this day has no heirs, and the Orleans family has ever since been the first in the order of succession. The simple course of honor and of duty would have secured for himself, in the first instance, the substantial power and importance of royalty; for his children, the inheritance of the crown of France. But he refused the offer; he yielded to the whisperings of ambition; he swerved from the cause of duty under the attractions of a diadem, and he was elevated to greatness only to be punished by losing it. He lost the crown for his rightful sovereign, but he lost its reversion also for his descendants; he died discrowned in a foreign land, and his children, now exiles, and destitute, having lost their property, their honors, their inheritance, remain a lasting monument,

not of the mutability of fortune,² but of the immutability of the laws of justice in the Divine administration.^{2*}

The failure of the attempt to enlist the Duke of Orleans among the supporters of the royal cause, and the increasing pressure of the revolutionary forces, induced Marmont to enter into a sort of capitulation for the royal troops, in virtue of which hostilities were immediately to cease between them,

90.
Violent scene between the Duke d'Angoulême and Marmont.

* In making these observations, the Author is well aware of the many extenuating circumstances which may be pleaded in favor of the Duke of Orleans' defection from the throne; and it will appear in the next volume, when his accession comes to be narrated, that full weight is given to them. But he can admit no paltering with honor and duty; treason is not the less treason though it may be less condemned because it succeeds. If the maxim be true, "Noblesse oblige," under what obligation did he lie, who, the second in descent of the noblest family in Europe, was at the same time the first subject in France, and the largest recipient of the royal munificence? The readiness with which the French in every age have rallied round the standard of success, renders it probable that, even in the first instance, a cordial union of the Royal and Orleans branches of the house of Bourbon would have secured the throne for both. But even had it been otherwise, what would have been the result in the end of an adherence to the path of honor and duty? Suppose that the torrent of republicanism had been so violent, that in the first instance it was irresistible, and that the Duke of Orleans joined the royal cause only to share its fall, what would have succeeded? A republic so oppressive, so absurd, so ruinous, that it would have run the course of madness, extravagance, and detestation, as quickly as it did when erected on the ruins of the Orleans dynasty in 1818. And when the inevitable hour of its fall came, in what a different situation would the *united Royalist and Orleans parties*, the cause of the white flag, then *sans peur et sans reproche*, have been from what it now is—disunited, at variance, discredited, supplanted by the Imperial party, the common enemy of both!

and a proclamation to that effect was issued by him. This step, which was in a manner a surrender of the royal cause, excited the most violent indignation in the breast of the Duke d'Angoulême, who, so far from thinking of submitting, was forming plans for the defense of the strong position of St. Cloud, where he proposed to rally the whole Royal Guard, call upon the troops from the camps of St. Omer and Nancy, and with their united force, eight-and-thirty thousand strong, march again upon Paris, and restore the royal authority in the capital. Such was the indignation of the prince at what he conceived to be the treachery of the marshal that he openly called him a traitor, and in attempting to snatch from him his sword, wounded himself in the hand. Marmont was immediately put under arrest; but the King, trained to endure suffering, and more master of his passions, soon after ordered him to be set at liberty, and restored his sword to him. This violent scene, however, and the near approach of the revolutionary forces, which were now close to St. Cloud, induced the monarch to withdraw himself to Trianon, where he assembled a council of his former Ministers, as M. de Montemart had not yet returned from Paris, and had not been heard of for four-and-twenty hours. But while they were still in deliberation, and discussing the formation of a powerful *corps d'armée* at St. Cloud, composed of the Guard and such of the regiments of the line as were still faithful, the Duke d'Angoulême, who had been left in command of the rear-guard at St. Cloud, arrived with the disheartening intelligence that the regiments of the line posted at the bridge had refused to fire upon the insurgents, who had, in consequence, passed the bridge, occupied St. Cloud, and were preparing to march on Trianon. On receipt of this intelligence, it was resolved to fall back at all points on Rambouillet, where the court arrived with the Royal Guard, still twelve thousand strong, at midnight, in the deepest state of depression.¹

Charles arrived at Rambouillet fully determined to abdicate for himself in favor of his grandson; he preferred any thing to the horrors and chances of a civil war. He recognized in his reverses the chastising hand of Providence, and he determined to submit in silence and resignation to the infliction of its punishment. The Duke d'Angoulême was strongly of an opposite opinion, and preferred the chances of a conflict, but, submissive in all things to the will of his father, he waived his opposition. On the following morning, accordingly, the king assembled his family around him, and announced his intention of abdicating in favor of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux, as his son, the Duke d'Angoulême, shared his sentiments, and renounced his right of succession to the throne. He intimated this resolution in a letter* to the

"RAMBOUILLET, 2 *Aout*, 1830.

* "Je suis trop profondément peiné de maux qui affligent ou qui pourraient menacer mes peuples pour n'avoir pas cherché un moyen de les prévenir. J'ai donc pris la résolution d'abdiquer la couronne en faveur de mon petit-fils; le Dauphin, qui partage mes sentimens, renonce aussi à ses droits en faveur de son neveu. Vous aurez donc, en votre qualité de Lieutenant-Général du Royaume, à faire proclamer l'avènement de Henri V. à la couronne. Vous prendrez d'ailleurs toutes les mesures qui vous concernent

¹ Lam. viii.
368, 379; Cap.
ii. 201, 205;
An. Hist. xiii.
186, 187.

91.
Abdication of Charles X.
August 1.

Duke of Orleans, requiring him, in the character of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, conferred on him by the revolutionary authorities at Paris, and confirmed by the King by royal appointment, to proclaim the accession of Henry V. to the throne, authorizing him at the same time to administer the government during his minority. Here, then, again the path of honor and duty was opened to the Duke of Orleans; but he again declined to follow it, and, instead of obeying the royal mandate, and issuing the proclamation required of him, he made every preparation for resistance. At the same time, however, with detestable hypocrisy, he wrote a letter to Charles X. in answer, so respectful and affectionate that it entirely disarmed the suspicions of the falling monarch.* An army, composed of twelve or fifteen thousand men, hastily got together and half-armed, was directed to march out of Paris on Rambouillet, and Messieurs Schonen and Odillon Barrott and Marshal Maison were sent forward as a deputation to impress upon the King the necessity of an immediate and unqualified resignation for himself and his descendants, and every preparation was made to compel his embarkation for England.¹

The cortège of the revolutionary forces set out from Paris on the 3d August; it was deemed at the time no slight stroke of policy, on the part of the revolutionary chiefs, that they succeeded, on this pretext, in getting rid of twelve or fourteen thousand unruly defenders, who, whatever they might be to their opponents, were unquestionably most formidable to their own government. Various armed with muskets, sabres, pistols, pikes, iron bars, and fowling-pieces, the motley assemblage were conveyed, for the most part in omnibuses and cabriolets toward Rambouillet.

pour régler la forme du gouvernement pendant la minorité du nouveau roi : ici je me borne à faire connaître ces dispositions ; c'est un moyen d'éviter bien des maux. Vous communiquerez mes intentions au corps diplomatique, et vous me ferez connaître le plutôt possible la proclamation par laquelle mon petit-fils sera reconnu Roi sous le nom de Henri V.—CHARLES.—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 188, 189. CAPE-FIGUE, ii. 211, note.

* “M. Dupin conseilla au Prince de faire au message de Charles X. une réponse catégorique, et propre à séparer nettement la cause de la maison d'Orléans de celle de la branche aînée. Il alla jusqu'à se charger de la rédaction de cette réponse. La lettre qu'il écrivit était rude et sans pitié. Le Duc de Orléans la lut, et dit, 'Ceci est trop grave pour que je ne consulte pas ma femme. Il passe dans une pièce voisine, et reparait quelques instants après, tenant à la main la même enveloppe, qui fut remise à l'envoyé de Charles X. La lettre, que cette enveloppe contenait, émut doucement le vieux monarque ; elle était affectueuse et pleine de témoignages de fidélité. Charles en fut si touché que, dès ce moment, toutes ses hésitations s'évanouirent. Charles X. n'avait jamais eu pour le Duc d'Orléans la même répugnance que beaucoup d'hommes de la Cour. Il en avait donné récemment une preuve éclatante en ordonnant au Général Trogof de confisquer tous les exemplaires des *Mémoires de Maria Stella*, libelle dirigé contre le Duc d'Orléans, et que les courtisans faisaient circuler à Saint-Cloud avec une joie maligne. Il fut donc charmé de trouver dans ce Prince le Protecteur de son petit-fils ; et convaincu que la loyauté du Duc d'Orléans était la meilleure garantie de l'avenir royal destiné au Duc de Bordeaux, il réalisa sans retard un projet qu'il n'avait encore conçu que vaguement. Non content d'abdiquer la Couronne, il usa de l'empire absolu qu'il exerçait sur le Dauphin pour le faire consentir lui aussi à une abdication, et il crut au salut de sa dynastie.'—LOUIS BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, i. 374, 375.

The whole royal carriages had been pressed into the service, and conveyed a considerable number. The advanced guard, consisting of veterans and National Guards, which alone preserved the appearance or order of soldiers, was under the orders of General Excelmans. General Pajol, who commanded the whole, and who was too experienced a soldier not to know the value of such a disorderly rabble in the open field, trembled at every step lest the opening of a masked battery, or a charge of cavalry of the Guard, should throw the whole into confusion, and drive it headlong back to Paris. Careless of the future, the strange multitude proceeded gayly on their way, in great part still blackened by the smoke, and animated by the spirit of the barricades, singing the *Marseillaise* and other revolutionary songs ; while the frequent discharges of muskets from the ranks told the commanders but too clearly how unskillful their followers were in the use of arms, or how little inured to military discipline. Several persons in the staff were wounded by these stray shots, and General Pajol himself feared for his life at the hands of his own troops.¹

When the three commissioners who preceded this revolutionary rabble were introduced to the King at Rambouillet, he asked them with the voice of authority—“What do you wish with me? I have arranged every thing with the Duke of Orleans, my lieutenant-general of the kingdom.” So thoroughly was the unfortunate monarch, who judged of others by what he felt in himself, persuaded of the loyalty and good faith of that prince, that that very morning he had made the Duke of Luxembourg, who commanded the Guard, publish an address to that body, in which he assured them of the same situations and rank in the service of that sovereign which they had enjoyed in his own. Odillon Barrot upon this took up the word, and impressed upon the King the necessity of submitting, in the interest of the Duke de Bordeaux, whose name had not as yet been implicated in the debates, to a necessity which could no longer be avoided, and of the extreme inexpedience of founding his throne in blood. The King was calm and decided ; he was still undetermined whether or not to try the fate of arms. “If the King,” said he, “would avoid involving the kingdom in unheard-of calamities, and a useless effusion of blood, it is indispensable that his Majesty and his family should instantly leave France. There are *eighty thousand men* who have issued from Paris, ready to fall on the royal forces.” The King upon this took Marshal Maison into the embrasure of a window, and said, “Marshal Maison, you are a soldier and a man of honor ; tell me, on *your word of honor*, is the army which has marched out of Paris against me really eighty thousand strong?” And a French soldier and marshal answered, “Sire! I can not give you the number exactly, but it is very numerous, and may amount to *that force*.” “Enough!” replied the King ; “I believe you, and I consent to every thing, to spare the blood of my Guard.”* With that he gave

* M. Louis Blanc's account of this important interview is substantially the same. “M. Odillon Barrot prit la parole

¹ Lac. iv. 521, 522 ; Lam. viii. 387, 388 ; Cap. ii. 220, 221 ; Louis Blanc, i. 377, 379.

orders for the departure of the court for Cherbourg, to embark for England, the common refuge for the unfortunate of all ranks and parties and countries. Marshal Maison had not long before been placed by Charles X. at the head of the army which he had sent to Greece, as has been already narrated in the history of that

country. France and its army were far from the day when the dying Chevalier Bayard said to the pursuing and conquering Constable de Bourbon, "Pity not me; pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."¹

The die being now cast, and the final resolution taken, the King gave orders for the journey to Cherbourg on the following day. The intelligence of this determination caused the few regiments of the

line which still adhered to his standard to take their departure. But nothing could shake the fidelity of the Guard, which, in undiminished strength, though with sad hearts and mournful visages, followed the long cortège of carriages which was conveying their sovereign and the royal family into exile. They halted the first night at Maintenon, the splendid seat of the family of Noailles, built by Louis XIV. for his favorite queen, where they were received with noble generosity by its illustrious owners; and there, on the following morning, the King bade adieu to the greater part of the Guard, reserving only for his escort to the coast the *Gardes-du-corps* and *Gendarmerie d'Elite*, with six pieces of cannon, under the command of Marmont, on whom he had generously bestowed it, to show he retained no rancor for the events at Paris and St. Cloud. The whole Guard was drawn up in the park and on the road as the royal cortège passed them, and they presented arms for the last time to their sovereign. No words can express the emotion which was felt on both sides. His faults, his imprudences, were forgotten in the magnitude of his fall; they saw only their monarch in misfortune, and the last of a long race of sovereigns, with his whole family, driven into exile by his own subjects. Grief swelled every heart; few dry eyes were seen in the vast and noble array. The counte-

avec assurance. Il parla des horreurs de la guerre civile, du danger de braver des passions encore incandescentes. Et comme Charles X. insistait sur les droits du Duc de Bordeaux formellement réservés par l'Acte d'Abdication, l'orateur lui représenta, d'une voix caressante, que ce n'était pas dans le sang qu'il fallait placer le trône de Henri V. 'Et soixante mille hommes menacent Rambouillet' ajouta le Maréchal Maison. A ces mots le Roi, qui marchait à grands pas, s'arrêta et fait signe au Maréchal Maison qu'il désire l'entretenir en particulier. Après quelques moments d'hésitation le Maréchal y consent. Alors le regardant fixement, 'Monsieur,' lui dit le Roi 'je crois à votre loyauté — je suis prêt à me fier à votre parole; est-il vrai que l'armée Parisienne qui s'avance soit composée de soixante mille hommes?' — 'OUI, SIRE,' Charles X. n'hésita plus. Le Duc de Luxembourg publia un Ordre du Jour, pour apprendre aux Gardes, que leur position sous Henri V. serait la même que sous Charles X.: tant le vieux Monarque avait de peine à se persuader qu'il eût un successeur dans le Lieutenant-Général. Il le croyait si peu qu'il chargea M. Alexandre de Girardin d'aller prendre à Paris 600,000 francs sur le trésor; et comme il était revenu qu'on craignait qu'il n'emportât les diamants de la Couronne, il repoussa cette supposition avec beaucoup de véhémence et de dignité. Pourquoi d'ailleurs aurait-il emporté des diamants qu'il savait faire partie de l'héritage de son petit-fils. — LOUIS BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, i. 400, 401.

nance of the King was sad, but calm; conscious of the purity of his intentions, he submitted to the chastisement of Providence with the resignation of a martyr. The Duchess d'Angoulême, inured to suffering, appeared to rise in dignity and heroism, amidst all the disasters which surrounded her. The Duchess de Berri, in male attire, and with her children in her hand, seemed scarce able to comprehend more than they the magnitude of the stroke which had deprived them of their inheritance. The King at length was melted into tears, and not a dry eye remained in the ranks when the royal infants were, for the last time, presented to their aching eyes.¹

The journey to Cherbourg lasted twelve days — a prolonged period of agony, during which the discrowned King and his unhappy family tasted, drop by drop, the cup of humiliation, suffering, and exile. The route was made to avoid the great towns, so that the King had never the mortification of seeing the royal arms supplanted by those of the Duke of Orleans, who had been proclaimed King on the 6th August. The peasantry in the villages through which they traveled, and where they passed the night, were silent and respectful; they neither received them with acclamations nor with scoffs. There is something in great reverses which, in all but the most savage bosoms, melts to pity, or overawes into silence. Marmont, during the whole journey, rode on horseback at the right of the King's carriage, and many of the greatest nobles of France added to the lustre of their historic names by their fidelity to misfortune. The Duke of Luxembourg was there, and the Duke de Guiche; the Duke de Levis and the Duke de Polignac; Auguste de la Rochejaquelein—a name which sustained itself with honor amidst every reverse of the monarchy—and the Prince of Croz; the Count de Mesnard, the Count de Brissac, Baron Dumas, preceptor of the Duke de Bordeaux, and Madame Gontaut, governess of his young sister. Madame de St. Maure, the Countess de Bouillé, and several other ladies of distinction, were there also, and added to the dignity of their rank by the display of the fidelity by which it is ennobled. Great apprehensions were entertained of some disturbances in Normandy on their passage through, as there had been many acts of incendiarism during the preceding convulsions, but every thing passed over in peace. The fall of the monarchy had hushed into silence every lesser passion. No tricolor flag or ensign of revolution met his eye. At Carentan only he received, in the *Moniteur*, the account of the successful usurpation of Louis Philippe. He read it in silence, and laid down the paper without uttering a word of reproach. The only act of treason which he heard of during the journey was by his first subject.²

The exiles remained two days at Valognes, to give time for the vessels which were expected to come round to Cherbourg; and as the districts where danger had been apprehended were now passed, Charles took the opportunity to dismiss the remains of his faithful Guard. He assembled around him the officers and six of the oldest privates of the

94. Journey to Maintenon, and farewell to the Guard. Aug. 4.

¹ Lam. viii. 391, 393; Cap. ii. 377, 379; Lac. iv. 526, 529.

² Lam. viii. 391, 393; Cap. ii. 377, 379; Lac. iv. 526, 529.

96. Adieu to the last of the Guard at Valognes. August 9.

companies and squadrons which yet composed his escort. The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, the Duchess de Berri, and the royal infants, were by his side. The King received from them the standards on which their fidelity had shed so much lustre, and thanked them for their devotion in words interrupted by sobs. "I receive," said he, "these standards, and this child will one day restore them to you. The names of each of you, inscribed on your muster-rolls, and preserved by my grandson, will remain registered in the archives of the royal family, to attest forever my misfortunes, and the consolation I have received from your fidelity." Sobs here choked his voice; the whole royal family which surrounded him, all the circle around, were melted into tears. The King and royal family then put off all the ensigns of royalty, and assumed the garb of exiles, suited to their destiny and their misfortunes.¹

From Valognes Charles wrote two letters, one to the King of England, and another to the Emperor of Austria, recounting his dethronement, and requesting an asylum in their dominions. As he received the requisite permission from the English Government first, he set out for Cherbourg on the 11th. Before setting out, he ordered Prince Polignac to leave him. He did not, like Charles I., offer his Minister as a holocaust to appease the wrath of his people. "Set off," said he; "I order it. I recollect only your courage; I do not impute to you our misfortunes. Our cause was that of God, of the throne, and the people. Providence often proves its servants by suffering, and defeats the best designs, for reasons superior to what our limited faculties can discern; but it never deceives upright consciences. Nothing is yet lost for our house. I go to combat with one hand, and to negotiate with the other. Retire behind the Loire, where you will find an asylum from the vengeance of the people in the midst of my army, which has orders to assemble at Chartres." Profoundly moved, the Prince kissed the King's hand and retired. His arrest, trial, and imprisonment, will form an interesting episode in a subsequent volume of this History.²

From the summit of the hill which overlooks Cherbourg, the King first beheld the sea on which he was about to embark. It was thought an attempt would be made on his life on going through the streets. The Duchess d'Angoulême no sooner heard this than she mounted the chariot with him, determined to share his dangers. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred. The streets were crowded as the exiles passed along, but no seditious cries or murmurs assailed their ears in the last city of their country which was impressed by their footsteps. The tricolor flags were removed from the windows as they moved along, to spare the vanquished monarch the sight of his humiliation. The carriages did not stop in the town, but passed on at once to the place of embarkation, from which the crowd were excluded by barricades. On descending from the carriage, at the place of embarkation, the whole royal

family burst into tears; the infants even, unconscious as yet what they were losing, wept bitterly. Such was the emotion of the Duchess d'Angoulême that she sank into a swoon. M. de la Rochejaquelein aided her to step on board, and leave her country forever. At least, the last arm on which she rested was that of one of the noblest of its sons. M. de Charette, another Vendean officer, whose name was a presage alike of heroism and misfortune, conducted the Duchess de Berri. Charles himself, who alone retained his self-possession, was the last who stepped on board—like the captain who, on a shipwreck, sees all the crew out of the vessel before he leaves it himself. The few faithful officers who yet attended him then kissed his hand, which they bathed with their tears. The disrowned sovereign then shut himself up in his cabin to conceal his emotion. The *Great Britain* packet-boat had the honor of conveying the illustrious exiles. Not a gun was fired as the last of the long line of sovereigns left his country. In silence the vessel plowed through the melancholy main, and steered for Scotland, where the cold courtesy of the English Government had for the second time offered them an asylum in the ancient palace of Holyrood: very different from what Louis XIV. had given, in his misfortunes, to James II. They there rested at last in the scene of the sorrows of Queen Mary, and of the transient gleams of prosperity which illuminated, ere they were shrouded in darkness, the fortunes of Charles Edward.¹

Thus fell the dynasty of the Restoration—and fell, to all appearance, never, as a hereditary house, to be restored. The main object of the first Revolution having been the abolition of hereditary privileges, and the extinction of hereditary descent, it was scarcely to be expected that the highest rank and station in the country was to be exempted from its influence. To throw open all objects and situations to all, to open to all alike the career of ambition, was the end to which the nation so passionately aspired; and was it to be supposed that the highest prize in the lottery was not to be placed in the wheel? This, accordingly, is exactly what has happened. With the exception of the fifteen years of the Restoration, during which the ancient race, imposed upon them with difficulty, bore the weight of a crown of thorns, every monarch since 1789 has been elected, as in ancient Rome, by the people and the army. Napoleon, Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon, have been successively chosen from different families amidst general transports, and the two first precipitated from the throne amidst universal obloquy. Fickle in every thing else, the French have been faithful to one thing only—their love of change. But we are not to ascribe this to any peculiar inconstancy of character in the French nation from which other races are exempt. All people under similar circumstances would do the same. The destruction of a hereditary aristocracy renders the maintenance of a hereditary throne impossible. One successful revolt, which overturns a throne, leaves the nation which has effected it no al-

¹ Lam. viii. 394, 396; Cap. ii. 387, 390; Lac. iv. 527, 528.

^{97.} Last interview of the King and Prince Polignac.

² Cap. ii. 390, 391; Lam. viii. 399, 400; Ann. Hist. xiii. 248, 249.

^{98.} His embarkation at Cherbourg. Aug. 16.

¹ Lam. viii. 439, 440; Cap. ii. 393, 396; Ann. Hist. iii. 251, 255; Montieur, Aug. 20, 1830.

^{99.} Reflections on the fall of the Restoration.

ternative but a repetition of similar violent changes. It was so in ancient Rome, when the fervor of the Gracchi and the civil wars of Marius terminated in the elective military despotism of the Cæsars. Even that family could not long keep the throne. The great name of the Dictator could not secure it for his successors. It passed into other hands, and became the prize of the most popular citizen, the most fortunate soldier. An elective military despotism is the natural, and perhaps inevitable, compromise between the popular passion, which, having once tasted of the sweets of choosing a master, will never after forego the gratification, and the state necessity, which renders it indispensable that the power, when once conferred, should be of the most despotic description.

It is evident that the fall of Charles X. was immediately brought about by his refusal to submit to the first principle of a representative government, that of taking his Ministers from the majority of the popular branch of the legislature. There can be no doubt that it is often very galling to a sovereign to be obliged to do so; and that it seems very like depriving him of the liberty in choosing his confidential servants, which is accorded to the meanest of his subjects. Still it is the fundamental principle of a constitutional monarchy; and if a sovereign accepts such a throne, he is bound to conform to its conditions. The point at issue between Charles and the Chamber of Deputies was, whether he was to maintain, contrary to their wishes, the ultra-Royalist Administration he had chosen; and although not absolutely bound to defer to their wishes in the first instance, yet, having tried the last resort of a dissolution, and received from the nation a legislature equally determined on the subject, it was his undoubted duty, as a constitutional monarch, to obey. Chateaubriand has recorded his opinion that if he had done so, and given office to five or six Liberal leaders, who were dying to be ministers, he would have weathered the storm, and transmitted a peaceful and honored throne to his descendants.

In justice, however, to Charles X. and his last Administration, it must be observed, that the question of a change of ministers presented itself under a very different aspect to them from that which it wears in this country. With us, for above a century past, the rivalry of dynasties has ceased; no one but a few heated Radicals dreams of an entire change in the form of government. Immense efforts are frequently made by one party to displace another, but it is with no intention of altering the constitution, but only of dislodging their political opponents, and placing themselves at the head of government. But the case was very different in France. There the contest of dynasties and of forms of government not only continued, but was in full force. The Orleans family still in secret nourished their pretensions to the throne, and not a few of the leading men in Paris were in their interest; the Napoleonists openly conspired to overthrow the Bourbons, and restore Napoleon II. and the tricolor flag; the Republicans held the threads of a vast conspiracy, which extended over the whole

country, embraced a considerable part of the army, and even some of the Guard, and was headed by men of the greatest talent and most revered names in France.

It is now known by the best of all evidence—the admission, *after success*, of their ablest and best-informed partisans—that during the whole Restoration the Liberal party were engaged in one vast conspiracy for the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, that their parliamentary leaders were at its head, and, that veiled under ceaseless protestations of inviolable respect for the royal family was a secret design to extirpate them by all possible means, not even excepting the dagger of the assassin and the torch of the incendiary. With shame must history confess that the most renowned leaders of the Assembly, General Lafayette, M. Benjamin Constant, M. Manuel, M. Audry de Puyraveau, M. d'Argenson, and, in fact, all the chiefs of the Opposition, were the heads of the secret conspiracy, which had for its object to accomplish this end by these detestable means, and by the aid of this detestable hypocrisy.* In these circumstances it was a very different thing for Charles X. to take his ministers from among these sworn and secret enemies, from what it would have been for George IV. to send for Earl Grey instead of Lord Liverpool. It was more analogous to the situation of Queen Anne, with whom a change of ministry from Marlborough and Godolphin to Bolingbroke and Harley was equivalent to, and the first step toward, a change of succession from the Hanoverian to the Stuart family; and the risk of such a substitution was probably not less than it would have been, in the days when Cicero risked his life in defense of the constitution of his country, for the Roman people

* "La Charbonnerie s'étendit en fort peu de temps dans tous les quartiers de la capitale. Elle envahit toutes les écoles. Je ne sais quel feu pénétrant circula dans les veines de la jeunesse. Chacun gardait le secret, chacun se montrait dévoué. Les devoirs des Charbonniers étaient d'avoir un fusil et cinquante cartouches, d'être prêts à se dévouer, d'obéir aveuglément aux ordres de chefs inconnus. . . . Il existait alors un comité parlementaire dont M. de Lafayette faisait partie. Lafayette, averti du secret de leurs efforts, consentit à entrer dans la Charbonnerie. Il entra dans la Haute Vente, et parmi ses collègues de la Chambre les plus hardis le suivirent. Les choses en vinrent au point que, dans les derniers jours de l'année 1821, tout était prêt pour un soulèvement à la Rochelle, à Poitiers, à Niort, à Colmar, à Neuf-Brisach, à Nantes, à Belfort, à Bordeaux, à Toulouse. Des Ventes avaient été créées dans un grand nombre de régiments, et les changemens même de garnison étaient, pour la Charbonnerie, un rapide moyen de propagande. Le comité supérieur, chargé de tous les préparatifs du combat, déploya une activité extraordinaire. Trente-six jeunes gens reçurent l'ordre de partir pour Belfort, où devait être donné le signal de l'insurrection. Ils partirent sans hésitation, quoique convaincus qu'ils marchaient à la mort. Les bases de la constitution de l'An III. étaient adoptées, et les cinq directeurs du Gouvernement Provisoire furent MM. de Lafayette, Corcelles père, Koechlin, d'Argenson, Dupont de l'Eure: c'est-à-dire, un homme d'épée, un représentant de la Garde Nationale, un manufacturier, un administrateur, un magistrat. Manuel usa de son influence sur quelques-uns d'entre eux, et notamment sur M. de Lafayette, pour les dissuader du voyage de Belfort; toutefois il partit, et le 1er Janvier 1822, à quelques lieues de Belfort, la chaise de poste qui transportait le Général et son fils fut rencontrée par une voiture où se trouvaient MM. Corcelles fils et Bayard. 'Eh bien! quelles nouvelles?'—'Tout est fini, tout est perdu, Général.' Lafayette, désespéré, changea de route et retourna à Lagrange, sa maison de campagne."—LOUIS BLANC *Histoire des Deux Ans du Règne de Louis Philippe*, i. 96, 99.

to have chosen their consuls from among the companions of Catiline.

But admitting all this—conceding that the Liberal party were irrevocably alienated from the Bourbons, and leagued together in secret, by every means, legal or illegal, to effect their overthrow—still it is not the

less apparent that the King committed a signal and fatal mistake in inducing the conflict on the ground which he actually assumed. He took his stand upon his prerogative; he insisted upon his right to choose his ministers without control, as Charles I. had done upon his right to appoint officers to the militia without the concurrence of Parliament. In form, and according to the letter of the constitution, he was entitled to do so; in substance and reality he was not. Even if there had been no doubt on the subject, it would have been wise to have tried the experiment of dividing the Liberal party, by taking their leaders into office, before periling all upon the irrevocable issue of the sword. Great is often the effect of such a transposition upon the ideas of men. Power is a very different thing when wielded by ourselves, and when exercised over us by others. Many who go to church to scoff, remain to pray. Even supposing that the republican tendency of the Liberal party was unchangeable, and that their leaders would have dethroned the King by acts of parliament as effectually as they did by the erection of barricades, still it was to the last degree unwise for Government to take its stand on a doubtful ground, and still more to maintain it by unlawful means. Every thing in such a conflict depends on external appearances and the first acts; the vast majority of men are entirely governed by them. It is of the utmost importance to let the first illegal step be taken by your adversaries. The clearest knowledge obtained of an intention on the part of a body of men to commit high treason, will not justify the arrest of their leaders before some overt act demonstrating that intent has been committed: a party will always deny illegal intentions till they have been irrevocably manifested by deeds, and they will be believed by all who sympathize with them in opinion, till the contrary is forced upon them by incontrovertible evidence.

Still more deserving of reprobation was the conduct of the Polignac Administration in the preparations which they made to support the Crown when the conflict was once engaged. They were well aware that the ordinances would provoke resistance; it was not to be supposed that a party which had been conspiring for fifteen years to overthrow them would abandon the contest without a struggle, especially when they had gained the immense advantage of beginning the conflict on legal grounds, and to resist what was in appearance at least an invasion of the constitution. The Ministers had themselves been the first to draw the sword, and must have made up their minds to abide its issue. What preparations, then, had they made to meet a conflict on which the salvation of the dynasty, and with it the liberty of France, depended, in a city which could turn out a hundred thousand

combatants, of whom nearly a half were old soldiers or national guards, who *still had their arms?* They had collected eleven thousand men, of whom only one-half were Guards, upon whom reliance could be placed, eight guns, and four rounds of grape-shot for each gun! Magazines of provisions, carriages for the wounded, stores of any kind, there were none. Not a loaf of bread was to be had by men who had been eighteen hours under arms; not a drop of water to assuage the thirst produced by the sun of the dog-days, then darting his rays with unwonted intensity. Prince Polignac, calm and serene, not because he had provided against danger, but because he shut his eyes to it, flattered himself that he had forty thousand men at his disposal, because there were that number quartered within a circuit of twenty-five miles round Paris; forgetting the rapidity with which events succeed each other when the conflict once begins in the streets of a city, and that it was of little moment what number of men were at Versailles, St. Cloud, or Courbevoie, if the insurgents were in possession of the Hôtel de Ville, the Tuileries, and the telegraph. When Marshal Soult suppressed the insurrection at the cloister of St. Meri, in the following year, he assembled eighty thousand men and a hundred pieces of cannon—a force as great as that which fought at Austerlitz. With truth did Metternich say, when the proceedings at Paris were reported to him, “I would be less alarmed if Polignac was more so.” Talleyrand was well aware of the vital importance of maintaining the Tuileries, on the part of any who would retain the Government of France. When informed, on the 29th, that they had been evacuated, he walked to the time-piece on the mantel-piece, and observing the hour, said, “Mark it well for future time, that to-day, at ten minutes past twelve, the elder branch of the Bourbons ceased to reign in France.”¹ Blanc. i. 165, 259.

Equally marked by incapacity was the conduct of Government in not at once, when the insurrection began, arresting its known leaders, and all those who, from their position in the Chambers or in society, were likely to be at its head. During the whole time it continued, those leaders were in consultation at the hotel of M. Lafitte, without any escort; Louis Philippe, who supplanted Charles X. on the throne, was at Neuilly, without guard or protection of any sort. A squadron of gendarmes could have arrested all who, when the crisis was at its height, either disposed of or accepted the crown. Yet nothing of the kind was thought of until the morning of the 29th, when a warrant to arrest the Liberal leaders was put into the hands of Marmont, who was persuaded by Arago not to execute it. Such infatuation appears almost inconceivable; but its ruinous consequences are put in the clearest light by the decisive effects which, on a similar crisis, attended the opposite course pursued by Prince Louis Napoleon. On the night of 1st December, 1852, on the eve of his *coup d'état*, the whole chiefs of the Liberal party and two-thirds of the National Assembly in Paris were arrested, and quietly lodged in Vincennes, or the other

103.
Great error of the King in the ground he took for resistance.

104.
Extraordinary want of preparation on the part of the Government.

105.
Great fault of Government in not at once arresting the leaders of the Liberals.

forts adjacent. The consequence was, that next day, when the insurrection broke out, it speedily died away from want of leaders; and the astonished Parisians, who never fail to range themselves on the side of success when it is once decisive, instead of attempting to avenge the insult on the majesty of the legislature, amused themselves with anecdotes of the consternation evinced by some of its members when roused from their slumbers at midnight by the gendarmes.

Notwithstanding, however, these immense faults in preparation and conduct, which sufficiently proved that the Royalist Ministry were wholly unequal to the crisis which they themselves had induced, it is more than probable that, if the troops had all remained steady, and done their duty, the insurrection would have been suppressed, and the monarchy, and with it the liberties of France, preserved. It was the defection of the troops of the line, who constituted the half of the whole disposable force, which ruined every thing. At the decisive moment, it was the treachery of the regiment of the line stationed in the Place Vendôme, which, by rendering the removal of the battalion of Swiss from the façade of the Louvre necessary, occasioned the loss of that important post, and with it the fall of the monarchy. When it is recollected that the whole weight of the contest, during the three days, fell on the Royal Guard, not five thousand strong, which with heroic fidelity performed its duty, while the regiments of the line were worse than useless, because they betrayed important posts confided to them, it is evident that the conflict might have had a very different issue had the whole garrison of Paris, small as it was, remained faithful to its oaths. Here, as in the commencement of the first French Revolution, and afterward in that of Spain, it was the shameful defection of the troops of the line which rendered the insurrection in the first instance successful, and in the end utterly subversive of the cause of freedom, for which its disgrace was incurred.

What has been the final result to the liberties of France, and with them the cause of freedom throughout the whole world, of this desertion by the French soldiers of the first of military duties, that of fidelity to their King? Has it been to confirm those liberties, and extend that freedom? Has it not, on the contrary, been to destroy the first and check the growth of the last? Historians of all parties now refer to the fifteen years of the Restoration as the only one in which real freedom prevailed in France; in which individual liberty was safe, public discussion unrestrained, the authority of the Crown tempered by the weight of the legislature, general prosperity established on the firm basis of universal security. Is there any one who will refer to the reign of Louis Philippe, the National Assembly, or Louis Napoleon, as exhibiting similar features? What is to be expected from the insurrection of soldiers—or, what is the same thing, the desertion of their duty in presence of insurrection—but the establishment of the empire of the sword?—and was the fair superstructure of freedom ever erected on such a

foundation? Which proved most difficult for the Republicans to deal with—Prince Jérôme and his priests, or Marshal Soult and his cuirassiers? Who induced the iron rule of the last, instead of the feeble administration of the first? Who but the soldiers who forgot their oaths amidst the cheers of the multitude, and forever ruined the cause of freedom in their country by establishing it on the basis of treachery and treason? There was no danger to liberty from the ordonnances of July, even had they been carried into full execution; Polignac and his feeble Cabinet could never have withstood the united resistance, exerted in a legal channel, of a whole nation. But the case was very different with Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon, who were supported by the bayonets of four hundred thousand men, directed by the vigor and capacity of the empire. A nation may well despair of freedom which, after half a century of conflicts, in which victory has always remained to the strongest, finds itself in presence of such an armed multitude.

In justice to the soldiers who were guilty of this disgraceful tergiversation, however, it must be observed that the Government and military authorities committed a signal mistake in leaving the troops as they did, for days together, in presence of the mob, without either food to support their strength or action to invigorate their spirits. Marshal Victor had long ago pointed out the danger of such measures. "Soldiers," said he, in a Cabinet Council, "are easily seduced from their duty, when long kept in presence of the multitude in a state of inactivity; when in action or movement the military spirit revives, and they may be fully relied on."¹ The Duke of Wellington evinced his thorough appreciation of this important truth, when on the memorable 10th April, 1848, he kept the powerful array of troops which he had collected to guard the avenues to the capital *entirely out of sight*, but with orders to turn out and act with the utmost vigor the moment they were directed to do so. The troops, during the three days that the contest lasted in Paris, were kept constantly standing in the open street close to the insurgents, generally in conversation, and often provided with food and water by them. It was thus that they heard the words which soon circulated with fatal rapidity through their ranks: "The nation promises a marshal's baton to the first colonel who joins the cause of the people."²

The treachery of the troops, however, which beyond all question was the immediate cause of the fall of the monarchy, though in some degree owing to this imprudent disposition, must in the last resort be ascribed to a different and more powerful cause. It is in the composition of the army, and especially of the officers, that the real cause of the disaster is to be found. Louis XVIII. meant well, but he signed the death-warrant of the monarchy when he affixed his name to the regulations, at the time so popular, which provided for the progressive rise of the *privates* to the rank of officers.³ The effect of this system, coupled with the general destruc-

106.
Ruinous
effects of
the treach-
ery of the
troops.

107.
Ruinousef-
fects of this
military
treachery
onthecause
of freedom
in France.

108.
Great error
of the mili-
tary com-
manders on
this occa-
sion.

¹ Ante, c.
xii. § 25.

² Louis
Blanc, i.
269.

109.
Cause of this
in the compo-
sition of the
French army.

³ Ante, c.
vi. § 54.

tion of the class of gentry in the country by the first Revolution, was that, as already mentioned, the Minister at War assured Charles X. that there were not three hundred officers in the whole army who had 1000 francs (£40) a year independent of their "pay."¹ The great majority of the officers had originally been privates; they still associated, even messed with them; were little superior either in station or circumstances to their former comrades, and were thoroughly imbued with their ideas and wishes. The class was entirely wanting, so well known in Britain, of gentlemen for the most part connected with the landed aristocracy, whose younger sons generally, from choice or necessity, entered the army as a profession, and who, when there, still were influenced by the feelings and guided by the honorable habits of their ancestors. The French army, until the fatal era of the Revolution, when the nobility were so largely imbued with the liberal delusions of the times, and in many cases took the lead in revolt, was perfectly faithful through all changes to their oaths. The uniform steadiness and fidelity of the English army to its duty under all circumstances, to which under Providence our happy exemption from the horrors of revolution is mainly to be ascribed, is beyond all question the result of its officers being drawn from a particular class of men. When that class is changed, its fidelity will no longer be beyond the risk of temptation. The purchase of commissions is the great security for the continued fidelity of those intrusted with the sword, for it confines their acquisition to the class which is influenced by the sentiments of honor.

Experience, on occasion of the Revolution of July, had not as yet taught military men the mode of combating an urban insurrection, or enabled discipline and skill to assert their superiority in street fighting and the storming of barricades, as it has since done. The force, too, at the disposal of Marmont, was, after the defection of the troops of the line, so utterly inadequate to the defense of the principal posts in the capital, especially from the small amount of artillery, that it would be unfair to ascribe any fault to that gallant but ill-fated commander on that account. Napoleon with five thousand regular troops and fifty guns defended the position of the Carrousel in 1795, against the assault of thirty thousand national guards; and if Marmont had possessed an equal number of guns, he would probably have done the same. But with eight pieces of cannon, and four rounds of grape-shot to each gun, the thing was impossible. Still, without ascribing any fault to him, it must be observed, for the instruction of military men on similar crises in future, that with the limited means at his disposal his dispositions were eminently hazardous. To send three columns of troops, not mustering more than eighteen hundred combatants each, into the heart of a city in a state of insurrection, and when fifty thousand old soldiers or national guards were to be combated, was to expose them to certain destruction. The long columns approaching through the narrow streets were exposed as they advanced to an incessant dropping fire from the houses; and when they halted in a square or open place, every avenue to

it was of course closed with barricades, and the troops, isolated from each other and from the general-in-chief, were besieged in the position they had won. Dreadful loss, discouragement, and disaster were inevitable under such circumstances. What Marmont should have done with his little force was what Napoleon did in 1795—viz., concentrated all his troops in the Place of the Carrousel and around the Tuileries, and not attempted offensive operations in the heart of the city till the arrival of reinforcements from the adjacent towns had quadrupled his tiny array.

The way of combating an urban insurrection, as now ascertained by experience, is this: If the general in command has only a small and inadequate force at his disposal, let him concentrate it in the strongest position he can get, and defend himself there till reinforcements enable him to resume the offensive. When he is in a condition to do so, he should make no attempt to storm the barricades at first, but advance with two guns and a howitzer in front toward the nearest, and fire as rapidly as possible at the barricade with round shot, while the howitzer, with *small charges* of powder, throws bombs over it among the crowd behind. In nine cases out of ten a few rounds of this sort will shake the barricade, unless it is of stone and great strength, so as to render it passable, and disperse its defenders. Meanwhile a file of foot-soldiers should advance before the guns, on each side of the street, close to the wall, with orders to fire instantly into every window from which a shot issues. As each of these files can only be exposed to the fire from the windows *opposite*, or from the barricade, they will sustain much less loss than if they moved forward in close column in the middle of the street, exposed to a plunging fire on both sides. If the barricade still holds out, a few sappers and miners, who should be with each of such columns, or soldiers armed and equipped as such, should be sent into the houses adjoining it, with orders to work their way through the partitions, till they come into the rear of the barricade, when a plunging fire from the windows will speedily render the position no longer tenable.

The great cause of the unpopularity of the Government of the Restoration, during its later years, was the influence which the *Parti-prêtre* had acquired in the Cabinet, and the efforts which they were visibly making to acquire the direction of the education of the young, and with it of the entire country. This influence was much less, so far as Charles X. was concerned, than was generally supposed; for though strongly impressed in his later years with religious ideas, that monarch was far from being the slave of the priests, and went into their measures rather from the belief that it was by them alone that a counterpoise to the influence of the revolutionary passions could be obtained, than from a blind submission to their authority. But the ruin which those measures brought on the monarchy affords a memorable proof of the extreme danger of surrendering the national councils to the direction of such a party, especially when they belong to the Roman Catholic religion. Often highly estimable in

¹ Antic. c. xvi. § 90.

110. Military errors committed on the occasion.

111. Mode of combating an urban insurrection.

112. Dangerous influence of the *Parti-prêtre* on the Government.

private life, invaluable when their labors are confined to their proper sphere, works of religion, instruction, and charity, ecclesiastics are in general the most dangerous of all councilors in affairs of state. They are so, precisely on account of the very qualities which in their own sphere render them so valuable. They regard the furthering of the tenets of their faith, and the extension of their political influence, as a matter of conscience—a sacred duty, which at all hazards must be fulfilled. Thus they acquire the habit of looking only to the tendency of measures, and disregarding altogether all considerations connected with their practicability, or the consequences which, under existing circumstances, they are calculated to have. Such a disposition may be a suitable preparation for the crown of martyrdom, but it is the one of all others most calculated to cast temporal crowns to the ground; and if a monarch, in an age of advancing intelligence, desires to lose his throne, he can not take any means more effectually to attain his object, than by surrendering himself to the direction of such a party.

Even, however, after giving full weight to this consideration, there is something very strange, and almost inexplicable, in the violent opposition which the Government of the Restoration experienced in France. It had given the inhabitants of that country the whole objects for which they contended in the first Revolution, and which they had so passionately endeavored to attain through such oceans of blood. They enjoyed in the highest degree the great elements of liberty, freedom of conscience, universal and unrestrained discussion on public affairs, trial by jury, representative institutions; and in addition to this, the race of their ancient monarchs had given them, what they had proved incapable of earning for themselves, internal prosperity and external peace. Such had been the blessings which these circumstances had induced, that they had not only given the people unexampled general prosperity, but entirely restored the national finances, and all but healed the wounds which, in the chase of more popular institutions, the nation had inflicted upon itself. Writers of all parties now concur in these sentiments; they all contrast the mild government and general freedom of the Restoration, with the stormy dissensions, corrupt influences, and iron rule which have alternately prevailed since its fall.

If the constituency was small, and the franchise high, subsequent experience gives no countenance to the idea that either could have been established on a more popular basis, with any advantage to the cause of freedom. Universal suffrage, by an overwhelming majority, placed the imperial crown, with absolute power, on the head of Louis Napoleon. It is difficult to imagine the freedom of the press more fully established than it was in a country where it proved itself adequate to overturn a dynasty; and even the few extracts from the parliamentary debates contained in these pages will demonstrate how thoroughly the independence of the tribune was established. Yet with all these advantages,

alike social and political, with which it was attended, the Government of the Restoration, from first to last, was the object of the most impassioned and persevering hostility in France: the leading members of the Opposition, in and out of Parliament, were engaged in a ceaseless conspiracy to overturn it by all means, legal or illegal; and though, in the final struggle, it appeared as the aggressor, yet it was so in form, and not in reality. The crown was driven to the desperate expedient of a *coup d'état*, because the parliamentary opposition had brought matters to such a pass that the government could no longer be carried on without an entire abandonment of the prerogative—just as the weaker state is often forced to be the first to commence hostilities, from the ceaseless pacific encroachments of the stronger.

Without doubt this general and long-continued hostility is in some degree to be ascribed to the disastrous circumstances which had preceded the return of the ancient kings. Though the Bourbons were in no degree implicated in the wars of the Revolution, and, on the contrary, had done their utmost to avert them, yet they were never able to get over the obloquy cast upon them, in common estimation, of having succeeded to the throne in consequence of the greatest external calamities France had ever known. It was notorious that they had approached Paris in the rear of the allied armies; that, but for the overthrow of the national arms, they would never have ascended the throne. Indescribable was the mischief which this unfortunate circumstance did to the royal cause. "*Post hoc ergo propter hoc*" is a rule of thought sufficiently common with mankind under any circumstances; and when the events which fortune had placed in close juxtaposition, were the double capture of Paris and the replacing of the ancient dynasty on the throne, it was no wonder that they were generally considered to be cause and effect. In vain did the Royalist writers observe that the Bourbons were not responsible for the wars of the Empire; that they were undertaken by a usurper, in opposition to their interest and against their will; that they were not brought in contact with them till the defeats had been experienced, and then interfered only to mitigate their effects, and obtain better terms for the vanquished than they otherwise could have gained. All this, how true and just soever, was as nothing in assuaging the soreness of the public mind: the Count d'Artois had first appeared with Schwartzemberg's army; Louis XVIII. had entered Paris the day after Blücher and Wellington; his ministers had signed the treaties abandoning the frontier of the Rhine—and that was enough.

The national disasters which preceded the fall of Napoleon, however, might in the progress of time have come to be forgotten, had the Government of the Restoration been able to continue the system of universal conquest, and of making war maintain war, which he so successfully pursued. But, unfortunately for them, though fortunately for the world, this had become impossible. The memory of the

115.
Obloquy thrown on the Bourbons from their having succeeded after the national disasters.

116.
Effect of the continuance of peace in France.

double capture of Paris operated as a continual restraint, if not upon the wishes of the people, at least on the measures of Government; the Germanic Confederation stood ready with four hundred thousand men to check any attempt to cross the Rhine. So far from pursuing schemes of foreign conquest, the wisest and most far-seeing governments, after 1815, were employed with anxious schemes to avert a *third* capture of the capital, by surrounding Paris with a girdle of detached forts. As much as this prudential awe was a blessing to the other states of Europe, by averting the scourge of war, which had so often been let loose upon them from behind the iron frontier of France, did it augment the difficulty of governing and retaining in subjection its gallant and aspiring inhabitants. For the first time, for two centuries, the French were kept in a state of compulsory peace. This was not only the utmost violence to the warlike propensities which in every age have been their great characteristic, but in an especial manner imposed a barrier to the passions which brought about and were fostered by the Revolution.

The grand object and moving power in that convulsion was individual ambition. Their cry was not for liberty, but equality: their object was not that every man should be left in peace to enjoy the fruits of his toil in his own sphere of life, but that every man should be elevated into a sphere above that in which he had been born and bred. Hence the animosity against the aristocracy, whether of rank or talent, by which it was characterized through all its phases, and the outcry for an equal division of property, which was gratified by the Revolutionary law of succession. Napoleon, well aware of the strength of this passion, and the extent to which it had been fanned by the marvelous glory won and fortunes made by plebeian ability during the Revolution, contrived to avoid the difficulty, and avert the tempest from his own head, by turning it upon those of his neighbors; and hence his constant affirmation that conquest was to him the condition of existence, and that the moment he ceased to advance he would begin to decline. So great was the difficulty of governing revolutionary France without the aid of foreign war to drain off the national passions, that it is more than doubtful whether the vast genius and iron hand of Napoleon would have been equal to the task. Certain it is that he shrunk from undertaking it. To the Bourbons, with inferior ability, and without the prestige of his name, was left the difficult duty of governing France when in a state of compulsory peace, and coercing the strength of the Revolution without any gratification to its passions. It is not surprising that they failed in the attempt.

Chateaubriand was so well aware of the difficulty of it, that he undertook the Spanish war mainly to avoid it, by reviving the passion for war in France, and contemplated breaking through the treaties of Vienna, and establishing Bourbon monarchies in South America, to afford a vent to the ardent desires of his countrymen.

So great was the effect of the Duke d'Angoulême's expedition upon the feelings of the French, that it had well-nigh established the elder branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne: followed by the regaining the frontier of the Rhine, it would unquestionably have done so. The expedition to Algiers was undertaken with the same view; and it was to have been followed by an attempt at a coalition of the Continental powers against England, which was to have been stripped of Hanover, out of which Holland and Prussia were to have been indemnified for the loss of Belgium and the Rhenish provinces. Had this project been adopted, and proved successful, it is more than probable that Henry V. would have been on the throne of France at this moment, and all its subsequent convulsions would have been prevented.

That such a breach of the treaties of Vienna would have been a flagrant violation of national faith, and a most ungrateful return for the aid given to the house of Bourbon during the war, is sufficiently evident.

But, considered in reference to the mere interests of the Bourbon dynasty, it must be regarded in a different light. It promised stability to that dynasty, if stability can ever be acquired by acts obviously based on injustice. Before we absolutely condemn Chateaubriand and Polignac for entertaining such projects, we must recollect the situation in which they were placed, and the country they had to govern, when placed at the helm of affairs after the Revolution. Passionately thirsting for military glory, and looking back with idolatrous veneration to the recent period when so much of it had been acquired, the French suddenly found themselves stripped of, and without the means of regaining it. Universally desirous of individual elevation, the great majority of them were destitute of the means of obtaining it: panting for wealth, they were without commerce; sighing for territorial distinction, they were without land; colonies they had next to none, for they had lost them all during the war, and regained few on the peace; foreign commerce, domestic industry, were only beginning slowly to recover under the tutelary arms of the Bourbons from the disasters of the Revolution. The soil of France, almost entirely divided among four millions of separate proprietors, could afford scarce the means of the most wretched subsistence to any of its owners. Thus the ambition and necessities of thirty millions of men were thrown back upon the Government; and even the thirty thousand commissions in the army, and hundred and thirty thousand civil situations at the disposal of the Government in the Tuileries, were as nothing among such a multitude. Each place given away made one ungrateful and three discontented. Thus a change of dynasty came to be desired in France, after the Restoration had existed a few years, from the same reason which invariably, after a similar period, renders an administration unpopular in Great Britain, viz., the multitude of expectants who are kept out of place. And this pressure was much more strongly felt in France than it has ever yet been in Great Britain, from the want of the invaluable

117.
Which thwarted the strongest passions of the Revolution.

118.
Which was the reason why the expeditions to Spain and Algiers were undertaken.

119.
Political reasons on which these projects were founded.

able vent which extensive colonies and an immense foreign commerce have so long afforded to the ceaseless energy of the inhabitants of the latter country. France, with a weak and discredited Government, was left, without commerce or colonies, in presence of the most formidable of all domestic foes—a mass of revolutionary energy and educated indigence.

Had the aristocracy survived in France, as it did in England, the storms of the Revolution, it would perhaps have been possible for the Government to have withstood these difficulties, because the press, and with it public opinion, would have been divided, and then a counterpoise to the excesses of one party might have been found in the determination of the other. But as the aristocracy had to all practical purposes been destroyed during the Revolution, and the House of Peers was little more than an assembly of titled placemen, this important element in national stability was wanting in France. The vast majority of the press was on one side, and hostile to the Government, simply because the vast majority of its readers were, from the causes which have been mentioned, leagued together for its overthrow. So far from being a preservative against error, the journals had become the greatest possible propagators of it, for they incessantly re-echoed its delusions, and gave additional publicity to its misrepresentations. Pleading in open court is an admirable thing, if both sides are heard; but if one side only is allowed to speak, justice will be better administered if it is left to the charge of the judge. In France one side only was allowed to speak, for there was no party to fee the other side. The Royalist journals, though conducted with great energy and ability, and often adorned by the genius of the greatest men in France, could not produce any lasting impression on the nation, simply because they had so few readers—because the classes were so limited in number, and so impoverished in fortune, whose interests or feelings led them to take in their effusions. Whoever will reflect on this circumstance, and observe how entirely in Great Britain the balance of parties is preserved by that free discussion on all sides which results from the existence of great and opposite nearly balanced parties in the state, will readily perceive what important effects must have resulted in France from the concentration of nearly all the argument and all the declamation on one side.

In these circumstances the only bond of union left which could have united the higher and lower orders was that of a common Religion, and its precepts were the only effective restraint which could have been imposed on the national passions. But as if every thing had conspired to render impossible the establishment of freedom in France, the influence of this mighty agent was not only lost to its cause, but turned over to the other side. Revolutions are often the consequence of a diseased state of the public mind, and they occur at times and under circumstances when there are no real grievances either to justify or explain them. The malady in France was mainly owing, in the first instance, to the intolerant domination of

the Roman Catholics; the movement in 1789 was more against the altar than the throne. Voltaire was its apostle rather than Rousseau. Freedom of thought, intellectual liberty, the birthright of man and the chief spring of human improvement, was their great aspiration. So strong was this feeling that it survived all the changes of the Revolution: the Jesuits were the objects of antiquated dread, when they should have been perhaps rather an object of pity; and the Church was regarded as the worst enemy of freedom, even when, stripped of their property, cast down from their station, its members had become state pensioners, nineteen-twentieths of whom were “passing rich on forty pounds a year.” By the concurrent voice of all the annalists and historians of the time, the unpopularity of Charles X., and the combination of parties against him, which ultimately produced the *coup d'état* of July, 1830, was mainly owing to the advances which the priests made during his reign, and the belief that their influence in secret ruled the determinations of Government. Incalculable were the effects of this jealousy of the sacerdotal power, this divorce of the cause of order from that of religion. “God and the King” was no longer the cry of the French monarchy; the throne and the altar were severed in general thought. The example of Great Britain, where the union of these great principles has in every age produced such important effects in upholding the cause of freedom and order, is sufficient to prove what must have resulted from their entire separation in France.

In addition to all this, there was another circumstance also, a consequence of the disruption of all moral principles at the Revolution, which had throughout the whole Restoration an important effect in rendering the populace of towns ungovernable during pacific periods, and which, when the conflict commenced, operated with decisive and fatal effect against the Government. This was the multitude of *natural children* who had come to form part of the population of the metropolis, and all the other great towns in the country. From the statistical tables, published by authority of the French government in that magnificent work, the *Statistique de la France*, it appears that in them all the proportion was about two legitimate to one illegitimate; in other words, the natural children formed a *third* of the entire population.*

* LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN THE THREE PRINCIPAL CITIES IN FRANCE, FROM 1825 TO 1831.

YEARS.	PARIS.		LYONS.		BORDEAUX.	
	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.	Legit.	Illegit.	Legit.	Illegit.
1825	19,214	10,039	3354	1965	2375	1170
1826	19,408	10,502	3637	2022	2563	1214
1827	19,414	10,392	3547	2093	2508	1164
1828	19,126	10,475	3712	1966	2520	1283
1829	18,568	9,953	3548	1980	2488	1156
1830	18,580	10,007	3361	1836	2594	1229
1831	19,152	10,378	3550	1940	2441	1270

—*Statistique de la France*—Population, p. 421, 460.

Foundlings over all France, 1831 to 1835. 618,849

Total births in same period 4,874,778

Or somewhat more than 1 to 8. It is in the great towns the natural children are so numerous; in the country they are comparatively rare.—*Statistique de la France*—Administration Publique, p. 89, 143, 227.

Accordingly, M. Dupin says that "every third child you see in the streets of Paris is a bastard." In London the proportion is one in thirty-six—the effect, it is to be feared, of the immense mass of promiscuous concubinage which there prevails, under circumstances where a law of nature renders an increase of the population from that source impossible. Social and political writers have hitherto considered the state of things chiefly in reference to the index it affords to the state of public morality; but the example of France proves that it is also attended with most important effects in a political point of view.¹

¹ Dupin, Force Commerciale de la France, i. 272.

Foundlings and natural children do not always remain children; they grow up to be men and women. When they do so, in what state do they find themselves? For the most part ignorant of their parents, and bred up in infancy at a distance from the place of their birth, and without the education of the parental roof, they are at the age of puberty thrown into society without any of the safeguards which under other circumstances afford a barrier against the indulgence of the passions, whether political or personal. In the female portion it is easy to foresee the result: a *soubrette* speedily finds herself a mother, and gets quit of her offspring by depositing it in the basket of the foundling hospital, in the same way in which she herself had been deposited. But what comes of the boys? The answer is obvious. An "enfant trouvé de Paris" at a certain age turns into a "gamin de Paris," just as naturally, and almost as necessarily, as a chrysalis after a certain time becomes a butterfly. It is impossible it can be otherwise. Without known parents or relations, uneducated in infancy, destitute of property, incapable of succession, he is liberated from all the restraints which in the case of other men act as a restraint on the passions. Paternity even, that powerful moulder of the feelings, has little effect on him; the foundling hospital relieves him at once from the burden and affections of a father. The effect of a third of the entire population in great towns being composed of persons of this unsteady and dangerous description can not be over-estimated, and has never yet received due consideration.

There were in 1830 about a million of persons in Paris, and the villages in its immediate vicinity. A third of this number, or three hundred and thirty thousand persons, were bastards, without either property, relations, domestic education, or hopes of succession. A fourth of these, or eighty thousand men, were capable of bearing arms. Here, then, was constantly in Paris a mass of eighty thousand combatants, utterly destitute of all the restraints which in the case of other men affect the passions, and ready at any time to join in any tumult which promised to overturn the Government, and open to them the agreeable prospect of immediate plunder and ultimate command of the country. Truly the sins of the Revolution had come home to roost; Paris had become ungovernable, from the effect of the very license of manners which the Revolution had introduced. And it was in such a city,

and in presence of such a force, that Prince Polignac thought he was quite safe in hazarding a *coup d'état* with eleven thousand men, one-half of whom could alone be trusted, eight pieces of cannon, and four rounds of grape-shot to each!

In truth, the evils arising from this prodigious accumulation of natural children in a densely-peopled and corrupted metropolis were so great, that they would have worked out their natural result in overturning a free, and establishing in its stead a despotic government, were it not for a very curious circumstance, which in a considerable degree counteracted their pernicious tendency. This was, that the foundlings were for the most part not brought up at Paris. The directors of the foundling hospitals wisely sent the greater number to the country to be nursed; and so great was the number of children which there required to be provided for, that wet-nurses came up to Paris from the whole country round, to the distance of a hundred and fifty and two hundred miles, got the children away with them, and were soon to be seen walking on the roads from Paris with the little innocents on their backs. Arrived at home, the foundling was almost always carefully tended: the allowance from the hospital was sufficiently large to form a considerable addition to the earnings of the family; natural affection soon came to the aid of interested motives; the little stranger was bred up with his foster brothers and sisters; when he grew up, he sat at the same board, played at the same games, attended the same school, and shared the same bed; and so strong was the attachment which thus sprung up among the playmates, that the recall of the little strangers by the hospital was regarded as the most dreadful misfortune by the whole family. So keenly do the foster-mothers feel the severance, that they have been seen running for days together beside the caravan which carried away their little ones, entreating with piteous cries to get them back, and offering to keep them for nothing.* It is estimated that ten thousand children are in this way annually sent out of Paris to be nursed in the country, and out of the corruption of cities is poured a pure stream of life into the country. Yet is this alleviation of the evil greater in appearance than reality; for the foundlings, when they grow up, even though trained to rural labor, find they can

125.
Curious circumstance which mitigated these evils.

124.
It produced 80,000 bastard combatants in Paris.

* M. de Lamartine made a most interesting speech on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, on 30th April, 1838. "Demandez à votre propre cœur, demandez-le à ces convois presque funèbres de ces enfants expatriés, que nous rencontrons par longues files sur nos routes—le front pâli, les yeux mouillés, les visages mornes, et qui semblent interroger les passants du regard et demander à quel supplice on les mène. Demandez-le (j'ai été vingt fois témoin moi-même de ces lamentables exécutions)—demandez-le à cet enfant que votre gendarmerie vient enlever de force à celle qui a été jusque-là sa mère, et qui se cramponne à la porte de la chaumière, dont on vient l'arracher pour jamais! Demandez-le à ces pauvres mères qui courent de chez elles chez le Maire, de chez le Maire à la préfecture, pour faire révoquer l'ordre inflexible; qui, ne pouvant se décider à le voir partir, prennent l'engagement de le nourrir gratuitement; qui le livrent quelquefois au conducteur du convoi, puis, se repentant, courent à pied jusqu'à vingt ou trente lieues après lui, pour le redemander et le rapporter dans leurs bras."—Œuvres de LAMARTINE—Tribune et Politique, i. 149, 150.

not, from the want of considerable proprietors, find employment in the country; they have no little freehold of one or two acres, like their foster brothers and sisters, whereon to exert their hands; the destitution of their situation at length breaks upon them, and they in general are driven to take refuge in the crowd of cities, to conceal their descent and procure subsistence.

In justice to the people of Paris, however, it must be observed that their distress had, toward the latter years of the Restoration, come to be such, that a convulsion of some sort was almost unavoidable. The decline of the material comforts of the working classes, from the effects of the Revolution, had been incessant, and had now reached an alarming height. The prosperity which existed was confined entirely to the bourgeois or trading classes. Between 1789 and 1840, the supply of animal food for the metropolis had not materially increased, although, during the same period, the number of inhabitants had doubled, having advanced from 500,000 to 1,000,000; in other words, the share falling, on an average, to each inhabitant, had sunk to a half of its former amount.* The annual consumption of beef, by each inhabitant of Paris, was in 1830 little more than *half* of what it was before the Revolution broke out in 1789: in the former period it was 24 kilogrammes, in the latter it was 47. Even including the richest rural districts of France, the consumption in Paris of animal food had sensibly declined during the Restoration: in 1816, though a year of uncommon distress, it was 62 kilogrammes per head; in 1833 it was only 55.[†] Compared with the situation of the working classes in England, the condition of those in France is miserable in the extreme. The animal food consumed on an average by each Frenchman is not a *third* of what is eaten by an Englishman: in the former country it is 20 kilogrammes in a year; in the latter, 68. Each Frenchman consumes on an average *sixteen* ounces of wheaten bread a day, each Englishman *thirty-two*; the former one ounce and two-thirds of meat, the latter six

1 Mounier, ounces.¹ The difference would be ii. 32, 34, incredible, were it not substantiated 40.

down to the minutest particulars by the admirable statistical returns obtained by the French government, and arranged with consummate skill, in that magnificent work, the *Statistique de la France*, published at Paris

* POPULATION AND CONSUMPTION OF ANIMAL FOOD IN PARIS DURING THE FOLLOWING YEARS:

Years.	Population.	Oxen.	Cows.	Calves.	Sheep.
1789	524,186	70,000	18,000	120,000	350,000
1812	622,636	72,268	6,929	76,154	347,568
1830	855,558	71,034	16,439	73,947	364,875
1840	1,000,000	71,718	20,684	73,113	437,359

—*Rapport par la Commission Royale*, Aug. 31, 1841; and MOUNIER, *Stat. de la France*, ii. 175, 201.

† CONSUMPTION OF ANIMAL FOOD IN THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENTS.

Years.	Population of northern Department.	Kilogrammes consumed.	Proportion per head.
1816	1,193,000	74,896,871	62.78
1820	1,184,000	77,630,907	60.28
1833	1,534,783	85,630,686	55.86

—*Stat. de la France* (Archives Stat.), 203, 219.

during the reign of Louis Philippe, a work which speaks as much for the powers of administration and research possessed by the French people, and the public spirit of their Government, as its contents do as to the widespread disasters occasioned by the Revolution.

It appears, at first sight, no easy matter to account for this rapid deterioration in the condition of the working classes in France, and especially in its capital, when it is recollected that by far the greatest part of the landed property of the country was divided among them during the Revolution, and that since the Restoration the country had been constantly at peace, and its imports and exports had both increased nearly a half. But a little consideration must be sufficient to show that this very division of the land was the very thing which had reduced the working classes, especially in towns, to such a deplorable condition. The great trade in every country, as Adam Smith long ago observed, is that between the town and the country; in Great Britain, even with its comparatively narrow territory and gigantic commerce, the home trade is double that of all the branches of foreign trade put together. When the landed aristocracy was destroyed in France, the church hierarchy confiscated, and two-thirds of the property of the fundholders swept away, by far the greatest part of the home market for the industry of towns was annihilated. Scarce any purchasers of the luxuries of the metropolis, the silks of Lyons, or the finer cotton goods of Rouen, were to be found but in the employes of Government, the diplomatic body, and strangers whom the splendor of Paris had attracted within its walls! The five or six millions of landed proprietors among whom the territory of France had come to be divided, the majority of whom had not *five pounds a year of annual income*, while only 6684 had an income above £400 a year, could not by possibility furnish any market for the luxuries or manufactures of the great cities. The utmost which the vast majority of them could do, was to maintain themselves in the most economical and miserable manner.*

This extraordinary and unparalleled division of land in France, the result in the first instance of the confiscation, and next of the equal law of succession established at the Revolution, operated to the prejudice of the industry of towns

* The separate properties contained in the Tax-office books in France were, in

1815	10,083,751
1826	10,299,693
1835	10,593,526

But as several properties in different places often belong to one owner, the Government authorities calculated in 1835 that there were 5,446,763 separate landed proprietors in France. There are 43,000,000 hectares (107,500,000 acres) of cultivable land in France: being about 20 acres on an average to each proprietor. They are thus distributed:

2,602,705	have an income of 50 francs, or £2 a year.
875,997	" " 100 " 4 "
757,126	" " 200 " 8 "
369,603	" " 300 " 12 "
342,082	" " 500 " 20 "
276,615	" " 1000 " 40 "
170,579	" " 2000 " 80 "
23,777	" " 5000 " 200 "
16,598	" " 10,000 " 400 "
6,684	" above 10,000 above 400 "

—*Statistique de la France—Agriculture*, p. 179; MOUNIER and RUBICHON, *Statistique de la France*, i. 101.

in two ways. In the first place, it deprived the artisans and producers of all the finer or more costly fabrics of the vast market for their produce, which they should, and, but for these confiscations, would have found in the surplus produce of the labor of the country, and in the wants of its laborers. It was all eaten up at home, and scarce any was left for them. In the next place, by extinguishing the class of employers of rural labor in the country, and vesting the land in hands so miserably indigent that they could hardly support themselves, far less give employment to others, it necessarily threw a crowd of laborers from the country into the great towns in quest of employment. How could the 3,500,000 proprietors having from £2 to £4 each a year from their properties, find money to employ laborers on their little patches of ground? or employment on them, if they had the money? The thing is obviously out of the question; and so vast and universal was the effect of this circumstance during the Restoration, that it appears from a report of the Minister of the Interior in 1829, that the average produce of grain crops was under two quarters an acre, there being 32,800,000 acres under cereal crops, and their entire produce 60,597,000 quarters.* In England, the average produce of grain crops is two quarters and five bushels; and in Scotland, with a much inferior climate and soil, three quarters.¹ In France, the entire profits of cultivation from 124,000,000 acres are £63,000,000 annually, or not quite ten shillings an acre; while in England, during the period from 1815 to 1831, 32,332,000 acres under cultivation yielded annually £45,753,000 of rent, being about £1 8s. an acre, besides the profit of the farmer (probably 12s more)—in all, £2; being just FOUR TIMES that yielded by a

similar space under cultivation in France! And so far has this wretched system gone in destroying the class of respectable farmers in France, that the great military monarchy which in 1812 sent 100,000 horses into Russia, and in 1815, from its own resources alone, produced the 18,000 splendid cavalry which, at Waterloo, all but replaced Napoleon on the imperial throne, was, at the close of the Restoration, obliged to import annually from 37,000 to 40,000 horses to mount the cavalry, at an expense of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds.¹†

Small as is the produce of the soil, under the present system of cultivation and division of property in France, in proportion to the extent of arable land in the country, the proportion of that produce which is really enjoyed by the owners and cultivators of the soil is still smaller. Such is the weight of the direct taxes, in that country rendered unavoidable by the known impossibility of levying an adequate revenue by the indirect, and such the magnitude of the burdens attaching to the soil in the shape of government burdens, interest of mortgages, expenses of conveyances and judicial sales, and law charges consequent on its division among such a prodigious multitude of separate proprietors, that not a third of the entire produce of the land remains at the disposal of the proprietors. The land-tax is about 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000) annually. The mortgages on the land amount to the enormous sum of 11,000,000,000 francs, or £440,000,000; the interest of which, with the relative charges, is 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000. The law expenses connected with the judicial sales and transfers of landed property cost annually 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000) more.† This leaves

* AVERAGE ANNUAL PRODUCE OF FRANCE IN GRAIN CROPS, ETC., AND AREAS ON WHICH GROWN.

Cereal Crops.	PRODUCE.		AREAS.	
	Hectolitres.	Or Quarters.	Hectares.	Or Acres.
Wheat.....	69,154,463	23,051,484	6,546,809	14,000,000
Barley.....	16,444,030	5,481,316	1,164,632	3,032,000
Oats.....	48,899,652	16,277,884	3,000,623	7,514,262
Rye.....	27,772,613	9,257,534	2,573,100	7,560,000
Maize.....	7,610,280	2,543,423	631,194	1,534,231
Meslin.....	11,824,914	3,941,304	910,426	2,342,000
Spelt.....	132,055	44,015	4,733	9,781
Total in Cereal crops.....	181,842,079	60,597,954	13,831,877	32,800,000
“ Potatoes.....	96,180,714	32,060,240	920,689	2,280,000
“ Buckwheat.....	576,321	1,439,122	651,235	1,564,000

—*Statistique de la France—Agriculture*, p. 187, 241; and MOUNIER, i. 309–313.
† In ten years, from 1831 to 1840, there were imported into France, 346,181 horses—or annual average.. 38,164
Exported, 71,973—or annually..... 7,997
Cavalry horses bought abroad in 1831..... 37,038
Which cost 17,808,343, francs, or £712,000.
Cavalry horses bought in 1848..... 37,643
Which cost 23,138,253 francs, or, £920,000.
—*Statistique de la France—Agriculture*, p. 127, 210; MOUNIER, ii. 110.

‡ The enormous taxes levied on succession and transfer of land in France, and the law expenses consequent on them among such an immense body of small proprietors, is one of the greatest evils bequeathed to France by the confiscations of the Revolution. In 1837 and 1838, the number of properties transferred in France by compulsory sale and succession, and the sums realized by them to the exchequer, stood as follows:

Year.	No. of Jud. Sales.	Produce of Tax.	Successions.	Produce of Tax.
1837	1,163,626	79,348,552 francs, or £3,214,000	522,221	30,764,124 francs, or £1,234,000
1838	1,176,563	85,622,449 “ 3,428,000	502,389	32,738,013 “ 1,309,000

—*Rapport du Ministre des Finances*, 1839; MOUNIER, i. 130, 131.

only 480,000,000 francs, or £19,200,000, to be enjoyed by the 5,500,000 proprietors of land, or less than FOUR POUNDS A YEAR EACH PROPRIETOR. On this miserable pittance are to be maintained 24,000,000 persons engaged in the cultivation of the soil! In these circumstances, it is not surprising that there is so little surplus produce left to be employed in encouraging the industry of the four millions of persons who inhabit thirty-nine of its principal towns, including Paris: the only thing to be wondered at is, how the rural inhabitants can exist at all. In

¹ Mounier, *Agric. de la France*, i. 170, 295, 296; ii. 81; *Stat. de la France* (*Agric.*), 270, 289. fact, they could not do so were it not that, as is the case with the ryots of Hindostan, or the fellahs of Egypt, necessity had taught them the means of supporting life upon the smallest possible amount of subsistence.^{1*}

Not only does this ruinous division of land, and consequent impoverishment of the rural population, preclude the possibility of any improvement in the cultivation of the soil, or the commencement of any undertakings which require capital to carry them on, but it operates in the most serious manner, and with overwhelming force, upon the urban population. Unable to find employment in the country, the rural inhabitants, who have not land enough to maintain them and their families, are driven by necessity to take refuge in the great towns, where alone there is any regular provision established for the poor. In the rural districts there is none. Thus the towns, and especially the capital, become burdened with an immense mass of needy persons, clamorous for bread, who have permanently left the country, and taken up their abode there, in search of employment, legal relief, or charity. This evil is felt, in a certain degree, in all the great cities of old and long-civilized communities; but it was experienced in an extraordinary degree in France, in consequence of the combination of circumstances which had deprived labor of its ordinary encouragement in the country, and driven it into the great towns. And when there, the same circumstances deprived it of the employment which it otherwise would have found in the expenditure of the nobility and wealthy landed proprietors; for their estates were all swept away, and divided among a swarm of indigent peasants, who, so far from having any surplus produce to expend on the luxuries, could barely find the means of existence in their own habitations.

Two other circumstances, of overwhelming importance, contributed in a powerful manner to the same disastrous result. The first of these was the almost entire destruction of commercial and manufacturing capital in France, from the profuse issue of assignats during the Revolution, the confiscation of two-thirds of the national debt at one

blow in 1797, and the long-continued stoppage of foreign commerce from the English blockade during the war. Such was the effect of these concurring circumstances, that almost the whole wealth existing in France in 1789 had been swept away, and the only capital which existed in the country was in the hands of a few bankers, who had made fortunes during the terrible game of hazard of the Revolution, and a great number of tradesmen, who had made money from the expenditure of the Government *employés*, the diplomatic body, and the affluence of strangers since the peace. The second circumstance which told with disastrous effect upon the national industry was the loss of nearly all their colonies, partly by the insane emancipation of the negroes, in 1790, in St. Domingo, and partly from the English conquests during the war. When it is recollected that the colony of St. Domingo was in so flourishing a state in 1789, that its exports to France were to the value of 119,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000 sterling nearly, and its imports 189,000,000 francs, or £7,567,000; and that the trade between the two countries maintained 1600 vessels and 27,000 sailors—more than double the trade of the whole West India islands to Great Britain at this time—it may be conceived how serious has been the loss to the mother country from the train of disasters which has deprived her of this invaluable vent for its surplus population.¹

The result of this disastrous combination of circumstances was an excessive, and to the poor most ruinous, degradation of situation in the laboring classes. *Excessive competition* was the grand characteristic of the period which succeeded the Revolution. It pervaded all classes, penetrated all ranks, affected all situations. In the more elevated in station or affluent in circumstances, it appeared in an unbounded and insatiable thirst for Government employments; in the burgher class, in an incessant struggle for business; in the working, in a terrific strife for employment. In all it was produced by one cause, perfectly sufficient to explain the phenomenon, and of universal application—viz., absolute inability to procure a livelihood in any other way. The middle and working classes had cast down the barriers which heretofore had guarded with unjust and jealous care the exclusive domain of the aristocracy; the portals were thrown open to all, but the multitude which rushed in at the vacant entrance encountered a still greater difficulty in the struggle with each other. Multitudes were pressed to death or trodden under foot in the strife at the doorway; those whose robust frames enabled them to make good their entrance, found themselves, when they had got in, squeezed and jostled by a clamorous crowd in as needy circumstances as themselves. There was not a single trade, profession, or employment which was not choked by multitudes threefold greater than could be provided for. To such a length did this go in beating down the wages of labor and degrading the condition of the working classes, that the earnings of workmen in Paris were not half of those enjoyed during the same

* Value of lands transferred in France from 1825 to 1835:

By inheritance	9,317,287,867 fr., or £372,000,000 nearly.
By Gift.	2,145,199,412 “ 85,800,000 “
Sale, voluntary	
and judicial. . .	11,885,799,262 “ 475,000,000 “

—*Tableau du Ministre des Finances* (M. Martin), 1837; MOUNIER, i. 111.

period in London, even when the difference in the price of provisions was taken into account; and two-thirds of the whole inhabitants of Paris died in public hospitals.¹*

The causes which have been mentioned arose from such deep-rooted sources of evil, and were so obviously the consequence and punishment of the sins of the first Revolution, that it is probable that no legislative measures of any sort could have afforded the nation any sensible relief. But in addition to all this there was a peculiar evil, felt with acute suffering by the working classes: they had not even the comfort of complaining. By the constitution of the Chamber of Deputies, as fixed at the Restoration and by the *coup d'état*, 5th September, 1816, with the cordial concurrence of the Liberal party over all France, the working classes were entirely shut out of the representation. As the franchise was confined to those paying 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes, equivalent to about £20 in Great Britain, it was of course confined to the wealthier classes; and as the landed aristocracy was almost entirely destroyed, those wealthier classes were to be found only in the burgher or trading part of the community, or the persons in the employment of Government. The *bourgeoisie*, accordingly, was alone represented, and they were under a hundred thousand in number, while the immense mass of the working class, who numbered above thirty millions, were wholly unrepresented. The Liberal press, being entirely under the direction of the burgher class, in whom power was substantially vested, afforded no vent for the sufferings of the *Proletaires*, whatever it did to the discontent of the shopkeepers; and thus society was in the most perilous of all states—with the passions of a Revolution still burning, the forms of representation in existence, but the reality of class government established.

133.

* In Paris, in 1841, there were 105,087 persons admitted into the public hospitals, of whom 15,583 died there. The total deaths in the metropolis in that year were 24,524, so that nearly two-thirds of the deaths were in public hospitals.—*Statistique de la France (Administration Publique)*, 227.

“Que de désastres ! Les gros capitaux donnant la victoire dans les guerres industrielles, comme les gros bataillons dans d'autres guerres, et le LAISSEZ-FAIRE aboutissant, de la sorte, au plus odieux monopole ; les grandes exploitations ruinant les petites ; le commerce en grand ruinant le petit ; l'usure s'emparant peu à peu du sol ; la féodalité moderne pire que l'ancienne ; la propriété foncière grevée de plus d'un milliard, les artisans qui s'appartiennent faisant place aux ouvriers qui ne s'appartiennent pas : les capitaux s'engouffrant sous l'impulsion d'une avidité honteuse : tous les intérêts armés les uns contre les autres, les propriétaires des vignes contre les propriétaires des bois, les fabricants de sucre de betteraves contre les colonies ; les provinces du Midi contre celles du Nord, Bordeaux contre Paris : ici, des marchés qui s'engorgent, désespoir du capitaliste ; là, des ateliers qui se ferment, désespoir de l'ouvrier ; le prolétaire valet d'un millionnaire, ou, en cas de crise, cherchant son pain entre la révolte et l'aumône ; le père du pauvre allant à soixante ans mourir à l'hôpital, et la fille du pauvre forcée de se prostituer à seize ans pour vivre, et le fils du pauvre réduit à respirer, à sept ans, l'air empesté des filatures pour, ajouter au salaire de la famille : le lit du journalier, imprévoyant par la misère, horriblement fécond, et le prolétariat menaçant le royaume d'une inondation de mendiants. Voilà quel tableau présentait alors la société.”—LOUIS BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, iii. 90, 91. A picture of the effects of revolution, by one of its most ardent supporters.

When so many causes tending to produce a disruption in society were in operation, and so many treacheries undetermined the Government, the merit or demerit of the final act by which the collision was induced are of comparatively little importance. Sooner or later, and probably ere long, it must have come on. It has been already stated that the Polignac Cabinet acted most unwisely in making themselves even the aggressors on the public liberties, and still more imprudently in doing so with but inadequate preparations for a contest. But if the question be put, whether the ordinances were absolutely illegal, and justified the resistance they experienced? a very different opinion must be formed. According to our ideas in England, where any invasion of established law, except by the act of the three branches of the legislature, is illegal, they unquestionably were a breach of the constitution. But that was not the constitution of France, either according to the letter of the charter or the interpretation put upon it by the united voice of the whole Liberal party in France. The 14th article of that deed expressly recognized an overruling power to alter the constitution as residing in the sovereign, to be exercised when the safety of the state imperatively required it. Thenceforward it was only a question of circumstances whether the existing state of affairs called for or warranted the exercise of that dictatorial power; and it had repeatedly been exercised, under circumstances less critical than those in which Charles X. was at last placed, not only without any opposition from, but with the cordial and loud approbation of, the whole Liberal party in France.

When Napoleon fell, after the Hundred Days, and a new legislature required to be convoked, the deputies existing when he landed at Cannes were not summoned, but a royal ordinance was issued on 13th July establishing the representation on an entirely new basis;¹ and on that footing the Chamber assembled, and all the subsequent acts were rested. On 5th September, 1816, a royal ordinance was again issued, establishing the representation in many respects on a basis so essentially different that it at once altered the character of the legislation, and brought the Liberal party at length into a majority, and changed all the subsequent measures of Government.² When a vote of the House of Peers condemned this great innovation, the Executive again interposed, and by the creation of sixty-three peers gave the Liberals the same majority in the Upper House which the previous *coup d'état* had given them in the Commons.³ All these stretches of the Executive, being in favor of the Liberal party, were not only nowise opposed, but lauded to the skies, by their leaders both in the legislature and the press, as not only dictated by consummate wisdom, but entirely constitutional. When the reaction took place in consequence of the Spanish War, and a new *coup d'état* on the Royalist side was deemed necessary in the House of Peers, it was effected by the royal ordinance of 1827, which created seventy-six new peers; and though this

134.

Were the ordinances illegal?

135.

Previous instances of royal ordinances not objected to.

¹ Ante, c. iii. § 15.

² Ante, c. iii. § 132.

³ Ante, c. vi. § 96.

stretch was condemned as unwise, it was never stigmatized as unconstitutional by the Liberal party.¹ When the undefined powers vested in the Crown by the 14th article of the Charter had been thus explained and understood by the subsequent practice of all parties, and especially the Liberal, on so many occasions, it is impossible to say that the ordinances which induced no greater change than the preceding ones had done were illegal. They might well be condemned by the Liberals as unwise and inexpedient; but their own previous conduct had shut them out from the plea that they were a violation of the constitution. *Coups d'état*, how violent soever, have in truth, ever since the Revolution, been part of all French constitutions. The 14th article of the Charter only recognized a dictatorial power in the sovereign, which previous as well as subsequent experience has proved to be indispensable.

It had become so, in consequence of the magnitude of the changes effected and sins committed during the first Revolution. This is the essential point of distinction between the English and French Revolutions, and the cause of the great difference in the subsequent history of the two countries. Both the Great Rebellion and the change of dynasty in 1688 passed over England without any material change in the distribution of property, the representation of the people, or the balance of power in the state. The last convulsion, so far from being of a republican, was decidedly of an aristocratic character: it fixed the Government upon a firmer basis—that of landed and moneyed wealth—than it had ever before rested upon; it revealed, by the family it placed on the throne, and the party it seated for seventy years in power, the secret of constitutional government, which is to sway the legislature by influence, not brave it by prerogative. In France, on the other hand, this was rendered impossible, because the influence of the aristocracy on the material interests, and of the church on the moral feelings of the country, had been destroyed during the Revolution. The *third* element in constitutional monarchy—that of land-

ed property collected round the throne, and identified with its interests—was wanting; what little power was left to it, was all thrown on the other side. The only influences left in the state were those of the Executive and the *bourgeoisie*, and between them, accordingly, the contest exclusively lay; the cultivators, cast down to the rank of the fellahs of Egypt or the ryots of Hindostan, were of no weight in the political system. There being thus only two powers in the state, politics were reduced to a perpetual struggle between them; and when it became very violent, the machine of government was brought to a dead lock, and a *coup d'état* became indispensable. It will appear in the sequel whether this observation does not afford the key to the whole history of France since the Revolution. "The French Revolution," said Napoleon, "has proposed a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons.

Ill-judged at first, ill-advised during the progress of the convulsion, weak and irresolute toward its close, the conduct of Charles X. was dignified and magnanimous when the crisis was over, and Providence, as it appeared to him, had cast him down from the throne as a punishment for his sins. In this respect he was as superior to Napoleon in adversity, as he had been inferior to him in prosperity and in the previous conduct of the struggle. There was no fretting against the stroke of fate, no repining against destiny when its decree was once irrevocably pronounced. No longing after past greatness, no womanish anxiety for the retention of title when the reality of power was gone, disgraced the last days of the fallen monarch. In silence and meekness he bowed to the stroke of fate; magnanimously, but yet simply, he descended from the throne of his fathers. The discrowned heir of a long line of kings stands forth at Holyrood in bright contrast to the dethroned soldier of fortune at St. Helena—a memorable proof of the eternal truth, that it is in the heart that the real issues of life are to be found, and that the highest intellectual gifts fail in inspiring that equanimity in adversity which religion confers upon the humblest of her votaries.

136.
Reasons why *coups d'état* are necessary in France.

137.
Conduct of the King.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LITERATURE OF FRANCE DURING AND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

1. If the literature of England after the war gave proof of the animating influence of the contest in drawing forth the national talent, and giving a more lofty and dignified tone to the national thought, the same effect was conspicuous in a still more remarkable degree in the sister kingdom. The literature of France during the Restoration presents one of the most brilliant epochs of which modern Europe can boast—certainly inferior to none which have adorned the annals of that celebrated country. If it was less measured than that of Louis XIV., it was more varied; if it exhibited less of the rules of art, it had more of the originality of nature. The dreadful tragedies with which the period commenced, the unparalleled glories by which they were followed, the mournful catastrophe in which they terminated, had roused every feeling of the human heart, and called forth every power of the human mind. The principles of composition, the maxims of taste, the rules of art, which had been all-powerful in a former period, were at once broken through by the wail of nature. Her passions, roused to the very highest pitch, absolutely required vent; they burst through the conventional restraints of ancient days with the force of a deluge. Then was seen how strongly both the thought and composition of a country are impressed by the events which have agitated it, and how indelible were the traces which the *débauche* which had passed over the world had left in the human mind.

2. The great characteristic of the new school of French literature was mingled *Reaction and Romance*. The experience they had had, the sufferings they had undergone, had taught them the former; the thirst for excitement, the *besoin* of strong emotions, had rendered necessary the latter. The days had gone past when the theatre was to resound only with the pompous eloquence of Corneille, the refined tenderness of Racine; they were equally over when history could find vent in the sonorous periods of M. Fontanes, or the graceful flatteries of the Empire. The visions of Rousseau had expired, at least in all thoughtful minds, with the blood of Robespierre; the dreams of Siéyès with the despotism of Napoleon. The universal suffering which had been undergone had produced a universal reaction against the political measures, a general distrust in thoughtful minds of the principles of the Revolution. A quarter of a century in time had given centuries of experience; and the great moral lesson was not lost upon the gifted spirits of that eminently intellectual people. The multitude in towns, indeed, still blindly adhered to the doctrines of the Revolution, and execrated its sufferings without abjuring its principles; but the thinking few, who went beyond the surface of things, and sought

in delusion in thought the remote but certain cause of disaster in event, came to discover the sources of present suffering in the errors of former opinion. The passion for innovation had worn itself out; it had led to its natural results in an immense augmentation of human suffering, and produced a reaction as violent, in consequence, as the former enthusiasm in its favor. The love of novelty in men of original thought was succeeded by its direct opposite, the reverence for antiquity; and in the highest class of minds the study of the olden time came to supersede the reveries of a dreamy futurity. The ancient faith and the ancient times resumed their sway over the leaders of thought; and while Chateaubriand portrayed to an admiring world the genius and beauties of Christianity, Guizot in a philosophic spirit traced its historical blessings; and the two Thierrys investigated, with antiquarian learning and critical acuteness, the most important epochs in the dark ages.

3. But it was not unmixed good which resulted from this reaction; the usual proportion of good and evil, of truth and falsehood, appeared in the mingled streams of visionary ideas and experienced knowledge which flowed forth on the unlocking of the fountains of thought. The dreams of the Revolutionary school, the prospects of social amelioration which they had presented, were too flattering to the great body of the people, too charming to all inexperienced minds, to be relinquished without a struggle as violent in the realms of thought as had taken place in the tented field. Hence there arose opposite schools at this period in France, each of which was headed by leaders of the highest abilities, and whose works have taken a lasting place in the literature of their country and of Europe. The one supported the ancient faith and the ancient institutions, the other the modern ideas and the modern speculations. The former at this period, indeed, numbered all the greatest men in its ranks; and its doctrines were too strongly supported by recent experience to admit of their being rejected by many who had minds capable of discrimination or reflection. But no one need be told that the great majority in all ages and countries have neither the one nor the other; nor is it less certain that the bulk of those who read in every period are regulated in their opinions, not by the great of their own, but the great of the preceding age. It takes a generation or two for the light of new ideas to flow down from the elevated summits where it first strikes, to the plains and valleys below. Hence the wide gulf between the principles of the two great schools into which France was divided on the termination of the Revolution, and a degree of antagonism between the opinions of the urban masses and the ideas of the highest class of writers, fraught with melancholy presages for future times.

But while there was this wide difference between opinions on political or philosophical subjects in France in the lighter branches of literature, no such struggle was visible. The classical school was at once and universally superseded by the romantic. On the theatre, in poetry and romance, the same change was conspicuous. The stately verses of Corneille, indeed, were still the subject of general admiration; the exquisite pathos of Racine was felt as charming as in the days of the Grand Monarque. But no more Corneilles or Racines appeared. The necessity of event, the thirst for excitement, the passion for tragic incident, swept over the world with the force of a deluge. It invaded and speedily overwhelmed every department of literature, every branch of thought, every class of society. Not only no one withstood, but no one attempted to withstand it. The strongest supporters, the most devoted adherents of the ancient ideas, adopted the new system in composition even more readily, and with more effect, than their opponents: it was their boast that they would combat their enemies with their own weapons—wound them by a shaft out of their own wing. Hence the communication of a new and as yet unknown charm to compositions intended to stem the progress of innovation. The old thoughts were clothed in new language; the old doctrines arrayed in modern garb; the truths of reason decked with the charms of imagination. Instead of resting only on the precepts of the schools, the traditions of the Church, the modern writers borrowed the aid in supporting them of all that could attract the fancy or warm the heart. Abundance of materials were at hand to awaken these emotions in the romantic incidents and picturesque manners of the olden time, and the chivalrous feelings which, despite all attempts to extirpate them, still lingered in every noble heart in modern Europe. So skillful was the use made of these auxiliaries, so vast the aid which the ancient doctrines received from modern genius, that it may safely be affirmed they never have been so powerfully supported; and whoever wishes to have his conservative principles aided by all the charms of imagination, will do well to devote his days and his nights to the great authors who have risen out of the French Revolution.

But in works addressed to the imagination merely, and intended to amuse or excite the great body of readers, the pernicious influence of the overturning of all principle by the Revolution, and the incessant craving for excitement which its catastrophe had produced, was painfully conspicuous. There no reaction was to be seen against evil; on the contrary, the most unreserved obedience to its dictates was evident. The writers who strove to amuse or interest the public, whether in novels, the romance, or the drama, soon gave token of the confusion of ideas in the vast majority of readers which the Revolution had produced, and the necessity under which every author who aspired to be popular, or desired to make his labors profitable, lay, of bending to the prevailing tastes, and pandering to the

too general depravity. Not merely were the ideas and the incidents romantic, but they were too often flagitious: if one chapter interested the imagination, and another moved the heart, it too often happened that a third was calculated to inflame the senses or excite the passions. So general has this pernicious and too seductive style become, that it may be considered as the grand characteristic of the modern school of French romance; which, if it contains more knowledge, and embraces a far wider field, and is written with much greater ability than that which preceded, and in part occasioned, the Revolution, is only on that account the more dangerous, and the more calculated to corrupt and degrade the people to whom it is addressed.

But if this is true of nearly the entire school of modern French novels, what shall be said of its drama, or the numerous pieces which have appeared on the boards of the French opera and theatres? Here revolutionary confusion has appeared in its very worst aspect; and if the pieces which for the last thirty years have been popular on the Parisian stage are to be taken as an index of the general mind, it will not appear surprising that all moral influences have been extinguished among the people, and that, after trying in vain every form of freedom, no government should have been found practicable except the rude one of force. It is little to say that the unities, so long the subject of debate, have been perpetually violated; the far more important principles of morality, faith, and honor, have been systematically set at naught. To interest the feelings and excite the passions has been the universal object, not merely without any regard to the tendency of such productions, but with a decided preference for the more depraved. Murders and rapes, seductions and adulteries, incest and poisonings, succeed each other with a rapidity not only never exhibited in real life, but never before thought of in works of fiction. If the German drama is the glory, the French is the disgrace of our contemporary European literature; and whoever considers both with attention, and regards them, as they undoubtedly are, as indexes to the national mind in the two countries, will cease to wonder that the Fatherland was victorious in the strife which so long existed between them; and that to the tragedies of the former has been awarded the immortality of virtue—to the melodrama of the latter the ephemeral success of vice.

CHATEAUBRIAND is universally, and by all parties, recognized as the first writer in France during the Restoration, and second to none that ever appeared even in that intellectual land. The style of his compositions is very remarkable, and singularly descriptive of the influences which were at work in its formation. It breathes at once the spirit of the olden time and the aspirations of the Revolution: it is redolent of the piety of the Crusader not less than the ardor of the Republican. He has all the gallantry of chivalry in his heart, all the devotion of loyalty in his bosom, but not a few of the dreams of republicanism in his head. He himself said, that he was "Aristocrat du cœur, mais démocrate par pensée;" and the spirit of his writings,

not less than the tenor of his actions, prove that the combination, how unusual soever, really existed in his case. The descendant of an ancient family in Brittany, having had his earliest impressions formed by his mother, a woman of uncommon abilities, in the solitude of the family château, which was washed by the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, he was rising into manhood when he beheld his nearest relations cut down by the scythe of the Revolution, and was himself driven, bereft of every thing, in the extremity of poverty, to seek refuge in London,

¹ Chateaub., where he maintained himself for several years with great difficulty by his pen, and where his earliest composition, the *Essai Historique*, 160. was first ushered forth to the world.¹

His ardent spirit, however, longed for action, and, debarred by the Revolution from service in his own country, he sought a vent for it in the excitements and dangers of foreign travel. His imagination had been strongly excited by the hopes of discovering a northwest passage; and he set out from England, supported by borrowed money, to engage in the perilous adventure of exploring it by land. He was not so fortunate, and in truth had not the means, which have since given such celebrity to other names; but literature has no cause to regret his failure as a geographical discoverer, for his travels in Canada have given birth to many of the most brilliant images, and not the least interesting of his works—his *Travels in America*, and beautiful tale of *Atala and René*. After the accession of Napoleon to the consular throne had opened to him the theatre of his own country, he returned to Paris, and published his immortal *Génie du Christianisme*. The fame which this great work immediately acquired, attracted the notice of Napoleon, who was always on the look-out for genius in any department; and he had just accepted from him the situation of Minister in the Republic of the Valais, when the execution of the Duke d'Enghien took place; and Chateaubriand had the courage to hazard his own life, by resigning his appointment. Owing to the intercession, however, of Napoleon's sister, the Princess Eliza, he escaped that peril, and was permitted to leave France. He spent the time of his exile in a pilgrimage to Greece and the Holy Land, the fruit of which is to be seen in his charming *Itinéraire*, and brilliant romance of *Les Martyrs*, in both of which the glowing skies and deathless associations of the East are portrayed with graphic power and a poetic spirit. The wrath of Napoleon having passed away, as it generally did, after the first burst was over, he was enabled to return to Paris, where he lived in retirement, occupied with literary pursuits, till the restoration of the Bourbons, to which he powerfully contributed by his celebrated pamphlet, *Bonaparte et les Bourbons*, opened to him, after a life of toil and poverty, the reward and the promotion of political power.²

The previous events of Chateaubriand's life may be read in almost all his writings, as clearly as in the very interesting Memoirs which he has bequeathed to the world as the record of his eventful career. His great characteristic is the impassioned

and enthusiastic turn of his mind; and this, as in all other persons of a similar temperament, has not only impressed his imagination with all the varied images which have at different times been reflected on his mind's retina, but deeply affected his thoughts, by all the reflections which genius could gather or combine from the varied events or objects which have been presented to it during an eventful career. All that he has seen, or read, or heard, seems present to his mind, whatever he does, and wherever he is. Master of immense information, thoroughly imbued at once with the learning of classical and the traditions of Catholic times, gifted with a retentive memory, a poetic fancy, and a painter's eye, he brings to bear upon every subject the stores of erudition, the images of imagination, the charms of varied scenery, and the eloquence of impassioned feeling. Hence his writings display a reach and variety of imagery, a depth of light and shadow, a vigor of thought, and an extent of illustration, to which there is, perhaps, nothing comparable in any other author, ancient or modern. He illustrates the genius of Christianity by the beauties of classical conception; inhales the spirit of ancient prophecy on the shores of the Jordan; dreams on the banks of the Eurotas of the solitude of the American forests; contrasts the burning sands of the Nile with the cool waters of the Mississippi; visits the Holy Sepulchre with a mind alternately excited by the devotion of a pilgrim, the curiosity of an antiquary, and the enthusiasm of a Crusader. He combines in his romances, with the ardor of chivalrous love, the heroism of Roman virtue and the sublimity of Christian martyrdom. His writings are less a portrait of any particular age or country, than an assemblage of all that is grand or generous or elevated in human nature.

He drinks deep of inspiration at all the fountains where it has ever been poured forth to mankind, and delights us equally by the accuracy of each individual picture, and the traits of interest which he has combined from every quarter where its footsteps have trode. With the instinct of genius, he discovers at once the grand or the charming alike in every action he recounts or object he describes, and never fails to throw over the whole the glow of his own rich and impassioned mind—"Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit."* But while every page of his writings reveals in thought or expression the genius by which he was inspired, it betrays also the peculiar predilections to which he was inclined. He was a man of the olden time, stranded by fate on the storm-beaten shores of the Revolution. His sympathies were all with the feudal and Catholic, but his intercourse was with the modern and freethinking world. This tendency appears not less clearly in the character of his writings than the tenor of his thoughts. His style seems formed on the lofty strains of Isaiah, or the beautiful images of the Book of Job, more than on all the classical or modern literature with which his mind is so amply stored. He is admitted by all Frenchmen, of whatever party, to be the most perfect master of their language in the period in which he lived, and

* "Naught has he touched and not adorned."

to have imported into it beauties unknown to the age of Bossuet and Fénelon. Less polished in his periods, less sonorous in his diction, less melodious in his rhyme, than these illustrious writers, he is incomparably more varied, rapid, and energetic; the past, the present, and the future rise up under the touch of his magic hand before us, and we see how strongly the stream of genius, instead of gliding down the smooth current of ordinary life, has been broken and agitated by the cataract of Revolution.

To this writer must be ascribed the principal share in the great moral revolution which characterized France in the half-century which succeeded the Revolution—the reaction in favor of Christianity. It was in the disastrous days which succeeded the triumph of infidelity and democracy in France that he arose, and, like all great men destined by nature to be the leaders of thought, he immediately broke off from the herd of ignoble writers, who followed the stream of public opinion. Amidst a deluge of infidelity, he bent the force of his lofty mind to restore the fallen but imperishable faith of his fathers. In early youth, indeed, he was at first carried away by the fashionable scepticism of the times, and in his *Essai Historique*, which he published in London in 1792, in which the principles of virtue and natural religion are unceasingly maintained, he seems to have doubted whether the Christian faith was not crumbling with the institutions of society, and speculated what system of belief was to arise on its ruins. But misfortune, the great corrector of the errors and vices of the world, soon changed these faulty views. In the days of exile and adversity, when by the waters of Babylon he sat down and wept, he resorted to the faith of his fathers, and inhaled in the school of adversity those noble maxims of devotion and duty which have ever since regulated his conduct in life. Undaunted, though alone, he placed himself on the ruins of the Christian faith, renewed with Herculean strength a contest which the talents and vices of half a century had to all appearance rendered hopeless, and, speaking to the hearts of men, now purified by suffering and cleansed by the agonizing ordeal of revolution, scattered far and wide the seeds of consolation in the resources of religion. Other writers have followed in the same noble career; Guizot, Barante, and Amadée Thierry, have traced with historic truth the beneficial effects of Christianity on modern society, and deduced from revolutionary disaster the last conclusions as to the adaptation of its doctrines to the wants of humanity; but it is the glory of Chateaubriand to have come forth alone, the foremost in the fight, to have planted himself on the breach, when it was strewn only with the dead and the dying, and, strong in the consciousness of gigantic power, stood undismayed against a nation in arms.

The peculiarity of the contest in which this great man was thus involved, both explains the object he had in view in his writings, and the new style of language and species of imagery which he introduced into religious composition. The days were gone past, and he knew it, when Rome could speak, at least to

the highly-educated portion of mankind, in the voice of authority, or in which a submissive world would receive on its knees whatever pontifical pride or priestly cupidity might prescribe for belief. It was the assumption of these powers, the spreading and drawing close of these chains, he well knew, which had occasioned the general revolt against the Romish Church. Equally in vain would it be to address a world heated by the passions and roused by the sufferings of the Revolution, in the calm and argumentative strain in which the Protestant divines taught their contented and prosperous flocks the doctrines of the Reformation. For the new times a new style was required. To effect his purpose, therefore, of reopening in the hearts of his readers the all but extinguished fountains of religious feeling, he summoned to his aid all that learning, or traveling, or poetry, or fancy could supply; he called in the charm of imagination to aid the force of reason, and scrupled not to make use of his powers as a novelist, a historian, a descriptive traveler, and a poet, to forward the great work of Christian renovation. Nor was he mistaken in his estimate of the effect which these new weapons in the contest would produce. It is by persuasion, not constraint, that all great revolutions in opinion in ages of intelligence are effected. It is the indifference, not the scepticism, of men that is chiefly to be dreaded; the danger to be apprehended is, not that they will say there is no God, but that they will live altogether without God in the world. It is therefore of incalculable importance that some writings should exist which lead men imperceptibly into the ways of truth, which should insinuate themselves into the tastes and blend with the refinements of ordinary life, and perpetually recur to the cultivated mind, with all that it admires, or loves, or venerates in the world.

If with these many brilliant and noble qualities Chateaubriand had united an equal amount of strength of mind and solidity of judgment, he would have been one of the most remarkable men that modern Europe ever produced, and equally eminent in the cabinet as a statesman, as in the fields of literature as an author. But this was very far from being the case: indeed, till the fleetness of the racer is found combined with the strength of the charger, such a combination may be regarded as hopeless. The very circumstance which constitutes the greatness of the leaders of thought—clearness and originality of conception—disqualifies them, in the general case, from being successful as practical statesman, or even renders them dangerous if they attempt it. They strive to carry their ideas into execution too early, and when the people are not prepared to adopt them; they forget how slowly original thought descends from the higher to the inferior strata of society; that the bulk of mankind are governed by the illustrious few among their grandfathers, not themselves. In addition to this, they are in general distinguished by an unbending disposition, and not unfrequently irritability of temper, the accompaniments or the failings of strong mental powers and profound internal conviction, but the qualities of all others least

11.
His influence in re-
viving the
spirit of
Christian-
ity.

13.
His defects.

12.
Peculiarity
of his style
on religious
subjects,
and its
apology.

calculated to command esteem or conciliate affection among the majority of their countrymen. In addition to these defects, which Chateaubriand had in no small degree, he was consumed by a thirst for applause, and an inordinate vanity, wholly unworthy of his genius, and which in a manner disqualified him for the lead in the practical concerns of men. His *Mémoires d'outre Tombe*, amidst many brilliant ideas and much eloquent writing, contain pitiable proofs of weakness in this respect. The same propensity led him on many occasions to sacrifice his usefulness to his love of approbation, and rather to sink down in gloomy apathy at the progress of changes which he foresaw would prove ruinous, even to those who introduced them, than to exert his great powers in a manly spirit in the endeavor to counteract them.

Contemporary with Chateaubriand, and, like him, moulded both in sentiment and opinion by the events of the Revolution, was another writer, of the other sex, but at the very head of all that female genius has ever effected in the works of imagination—**MADAME DE STAËL**. The daughter of M. Necker, and bred up in an amiable but exaggerated idea of his greatness as a statesman, she was, as a matter of necessity, early imbued with all those ideas of human perfectibility, and the unbounded virtue and intelligence of the middle and working classes of society, which, when practically applied, as a matter of necessity brought on the Revolution. The strength of this original bent was such that it survived all the experience of that convulsion, and consequently rendered her political writings estimable, rather from the genius they display, and the enthusiasm by which they are animated, than the judgment they evince, or the facts on which they are rested. Yet in cases where the influence of this disturbing element was less strongly felt, the native strength of her understanding made her take a just view of human institutions; and nowhere—not even in the writings of our own political philosophers are more profound views to be found on the working of the English Constitution than in the eloquent treatise on the French Revolution.

But the real greatness of Madame de Staël is to be found in her romances and critical writings: *Corinne* and *De l'Allemagne* have rendered her name immortal. Notwithstanding the strength of her understanding, her imagination was still stronger: she was a perfect woman in all her emotions; and she both felt and has portrayed the affections with a truth and beauty which, if it ever has been equaled, has assuredly never been surpassed. The tender feelings in her were heightened by all that imagination, taste, and refinement could add to the native strength of passion; and her delicacy as a woman has led her to portray them with a pathos and refinement which must command the admiration of every succeeding age. Considered merely as novels, there is much that may be objected to both in *Corinne* and *Delphine*; in both the story is, in part at least, improbable, the catastrophe painful. Unfortunate love, ever the strongest and most lasting in this world, in both occupied her thoughts. If it be true, as has been often said, that a woman's imaginary

conceptions are nothing but a picture of what has passed in her own breast, Madame de Staël had suffered much in life from the strength of her affections; and there was more reason than is ordinarily supposed in her well-known saying, that she would give all her talents to have Madame Recamier's beauty. But in the delineation of sentiment, in both these works, she has displayed a truth and knowledge of the human heart, as well as depth of feeling, which perhaps never was equaled. Her brilliant imagination and ardent genius appear not less conspicuously in the numerous disquisitions on subjects of taste, literature, and antiquity, which enrich the former. They are so skillfully introduced, that while they fascinate the mind of the reader by the justice of the sentiment, and the eloquence of the language in which they are conveyed, they all tend to enhance the interest felt in the heroine from whose impassioned life they chiefly emanate, and unfold the growth of the mutual passion from the identity of feeling in which it originated.

As a critic Madame de Staël possessed equal merits. She was distinguished by that first and greatest quality in judging of others—a vivid appreciation of their beauties, and a generous enthusiasm in discussing them. Unlike the generality of critics, who are too often envious and second-rate men, she admired greatness in others because she felt it in herself: she was so powerful that she could afford to be generous, and felt a sympathetic glow when she approached the works of genius, which she was conscious she was capable of emulating. Other critics, Schlegel and Bouterwek, may have exceeded her in the discrimination with which they have pointed out the blemishes in the great works of the German drama, but none have equaled her in the generous enthusiasm with which she appreciated its excellencies. The masterpieces of Schiller, Goethe, and Klopstock are discussed with the ardent admiration of kindred genius, but at the same time with the discriminating judgment of genuine taste. It is said in Germany that it is no wonder the criticisms on Schiller are first-rate, for he wrote them himself; but probably that is the very reason why it may with safety be concluded that they are to be ascribed to the authoress whose name they bear. No man is a good judge of his own performances; and there is nothing in the prose writings of Schiller which either approaches to the genius of his poetical compositions, or warrants the belief that he could have written the eloquent pages of *De l'Allemagne*.

As a philosophic writer, Madame de Staël can not be assigned so high a place. It is seldom that women are equal to men in that department; and nothing is more certain than that, if they were, they would lose the distinctive mark and principal charms of their sex. A philosophic woman may be the object of respect, but never by possibility of love, and there are probably few women who would willingly make the exchange. The peculiarities of Madame de Staël's mind, which rendered her so admirable in criticism, so charming in romance, made her little qualified to grapple with the evils or unfold the real principles of action in a world in which

the selfish bear so large a proportion as they do in that which surrounds us. We read her disquisitions on the French Revolution and the English Constitution with pleasure, not unmixed with admiration; but it is the admiration of a fairy tale, in which fancy is so largely mingled with reality that it is regarded, on the whole, as a work of imagination. Her ardent mind led her to indulge in the dreams of perfectibility, her enthusiastic temperament to embrace the visions of optimism. Had she been a less charming woman, she would have been a much better philosopher. A practical acquaintance with mankind in all grades, such as a man only can acquire, and an elegant woman is necessarily without, is indispensable to a right appreciation of the probable working of the human mind in the complicated relations of society; and such an acquaintance will probably lead to conclusions very different from those formed by the benevolent dreams of the philanthropist, or the ardent soul of the dramatist.

If Chateaubriand, notwithstanding the brilliancy of his genius, or in consequence 18. Guizot: his of that very brilliancy, was little early rise. qualified to act in public affairs, or to form a dispassionate opinion regarding them, the same can not be said of the next great author who rose into greatness with the Restoration—M. GUIZOT. This very eminent and accomplished man followed the King to Ghent, and contributed so powerfully to support the cause of the Bourbons during the Hundred Days by his pen, that on their second Restoration he was appointed to a situation of trust under Government. But he was not in the Cabinet; his political greatness had not yet begun. He is one of the men, few in England, but many in France, who have risen to political greatness solely from the force of their literary talents, and have been not so much selected by their sovereign for a minister, as forced upon him by the concurrent voice of their country. He is one of the few, too, who has proved himself equally qualified for both departments, who is not less eminent as a man of letters than as a practical statesman. His public career began as a lecturer on history; it ended by his playing the most important part on the theatre which forms history itself. The reason is, that in his mind, as in that of Marlborough, the intellectual and imaginative faculties are equally balanced; the judgment is not less matured than the conception is vast, and the *coup d'œil* extensive.

While this rare combination explains how it 19. has happened that he has risen to His peculiar eminence in both those generally style of consistent careers, it teaches us what thought. to expect and what not to expect in his literary compositions. He is neither imaginative nor pictorial; he neither speaks dramas to the soul, nor pictures to the eye. He seldom aims at the pathetic, and has little eloquence save what springs from the intensity of his thoughts. He is not a Livy nor a Gibbon, still less a Lamartine or a Macaulay; nature has not given him either poetical or descriptive powers. He is a man of the very highest genius, taking that word in its loftiest acceptance; but it appears not in the narrative of particular events,

but in the discovery of general causes. It is in the tracing the effects of these causes through all the mazes of human events, in developing the operations of changes in society which escape ordinary observation, in seeing whence man has come in this world, and whither he is going, that his greatness consists; and in that, the loftiest region of history, he is unrivalled. There is no writer, ancient or modern, who has traced the changes of society, and the general causes which determine the fate of nations, with such just views, and so much sagacious discrimination. He is not so much a historian as a discourses on history. If ever the spirit of the philosophy of history was embodied in a human form, it is in that of M. Guizot. Robertson and Montesquieu are the only authors who approach to him in that respect, and, being the first, their merit was perhaps the greater. But Guizot has followed out the subject with a wider glance and more varied learning than either, and he has embodied in his views a more extensive view of human affairs, and more wisdom, from the stormy period in which he himself lived.

The style of this great author is in every respect suited to his subject. He is by no 20. means destitute of pathetic powers; His style many passages in his *History of the* of writing. *English Revolution*, as well as in his literary essays, prove that he has a mind feelingly alive to the impressions both of the beautiful and the touching. But it is only when his subject absolutely requires it that he gives the reins to his disposition in this respect: in general he does not aim at the higher flights of fancy, and appears to coerce, rather than indulge, what perhaps, as in all men of genius, was the original bent of his mind. He scarce ever attempts to warm the soul or melt the feelings; he is seldom imaginative, and never descriptive, although his *Essay on the Fine Arts* proves the absence of this has not arisen from want of power to be either. But he is uniformly lucid, sagacious, and discriminating, deduces his conclusions with admirable clearness from his premises, and occasionally warms, from the innate grandeur of his thoughts, into a glow of fervent eloquence. He seems to treat of human affairs as if he viewed them from a loftier sphere than other men—as if he was elevated above the usual struggles and contests of humanity, and a superior power had withdrawn the veil which shrouds their secret causes and tendency from the gaze of sublunary beings. He cares less than most historians to dive into the secrets of cabinets; attaches little, perhaps too little, importance to individual character, but fixes his steady and piercing gaze on the great and lasting causes which in a durable manner influence human affairs.

He views them not from year to year, but from century to century; and when 21. considered in that commanding view, His mode of viewing human affairs. at a distance from the din and interest of individual action, it is surprising how much its importance disappears. It seems in the highest degree important while they live, because the men who ostensibly govern society appear at first sight to be the real authors of the changes which they introduce, or in which they bear a part. But

the lapse of time, or the succession of other actors, generally reveals their secondary agency, and brings to light the real persons who put in motion the tide, by the ebb or flow of which society has been so violently agitated. Statesmen, or even generals, scarcely ever accomplish any thing which had not been already prepared by general causes. They sail often triumphantly along the stream, and make an able use of its strength and swiftness, but it is not they who put the current in motion; they embark on the waves when they see them flowing impetuously forward, and aim only at shaping their own course according to their direction. It is the men who had previously determined this direction, who had imprinted their own on the general mind, who are the real directors of human affairs; it is the giants of thought who in the end govern the world. Kings and ministers, princes and generals, warriors and legislators, are but the ministers of their blessings or curses to mankind. But theirs is only a posthumous power; it is seldom that their dominion begins till they themselves are mouldering in their graves.

Guizot's largest undertaking is his edition of Gibbon's *Rome*; but though he has enriched the *Decline and Fall* with some notes of value, and many observations of interest, he can not be said to have added much to that wonderful History. Even his learning and industry, though they found much to subtract from, could discern little to add to the work of the immortal Englishman. He has also begun a *History of the English Revolution*, to which he had been led by his publication of a collection of memoirs relative to that convulsion, in twenty-five volumes; but this work has only got the length of four volumes, and comes to the conclusion only of the second act in that mournful tragedy. It is lucid, able, and impartial, but it wants dramatic power, and has attained no great success. It was in his lectures from the chair of history at Paris that his genius shone forth in its proper sphere and its true lustre; and there he has produced works stamped with the signet-seal of immortality. His *Civilisation en France*, in five volumes, and *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, and *Civilisation Européenne*, each in one volume, are the fruit of his labors in that chair, and in all the same profound thought, sagacious discrimination, and lucid view are conspicuous. But by far the greatest of them all is the *Civilisation Européenne*, and it throws a clearer light on the history of society in modern times, and the general progress of mankind from the exertions of its inhabitants, than any other work in existence. The accession of Guizot to the Ministry of Louis Philippe for several years put a stop to his literary labors, to which his expulsion from office and ruin of fortune by the Revolution of 1848 has given a fresh impulse. But though the same mind may be discerned in them all, it is in his earlier works that the originality of his genius and vigor of his thought are chiefly conspicuous. Experience and reading often add much to the illustration of original conception, or the facts by which it is to be supported, but they seldom extend the conception itself. Intellectual capacity often exists to a very advanced age, but

the creative power is seldom seen except in early life; and there is perhaps no man of original thought, the germ of whose ideas was not formed before he was thirty years of age.

If ever two great men stood in striking contrast to each other, it was Guizot and his victorious antagonist in the strife ^{23.} Lamartine. which overturned the throne of Louis Philippe. If the turn of their respective minds is considered, it will not appear surprising that Guizot was the conservative minister, LAMARTINE the democratic leader, on that occasion. As much as the former is distinguished by historical knowledge, patient research, and sober judgment, the latter is characterized by ardent imagination, dramatic power, and pictorial splendor. Such is the vividness of the conceptions of this charming writer, such the fervor of his eloquence, and the brilliancy of his fancy, that they have tinged truth itself with the colors of fiction, and led to much really true being discredited in his writings, merely from the glow of the language in which it was conveyed. Like Macaulay, he is at once both a poet and a historian—a strange combination, according to the ordinary idea formed of the qualities requisite for the latter, but not unlikely to lead to greatness, if the former character is in due subordination to the latter; and the opinion of Mr. Fox is well founded, that history, in the art of composition, is to be placed next to poetry and before oratory.

If Lamartine's accuracy of research, patience of investigation, and sobriety of ^{24.} judgment, had been equal to his His defects vividness of fancy, warmth of im- as a histo- agination, and fervor of eloquence, rian. he would have made the greatest and most popular historian of modern times. But, unfortunately, this is very far from being the case; and in truth, these qualities of mind are so opposite, that probably to the end of the world they never will be found united in equal proportions in the same individual. He forms his opinions from his impressions, not his impressions from his opinions; "impressionable comme une femme" is his true characteristic. Not that he wants a clear intellect or the reasoning faculty; on the contrary, he possesses both in a very high degree, as several short passages and passing reflections in all his works demonstrate. But such is the ardor of his mind and the brilliancy of his conceptions, that these qualities are kept in abeyance, or concealed amidst the lustre of the language in which they are enveloped. He thinks from what he feels, not feels from what he thinks; and the former impressions are in general so forcible that he loses all control over them by the power of the latter. Such is the power of his descriptions, and his passion for dramatic effect, that even in portraying or narrating what is strictly true, his works pass for a creation of imagination, and those who follow in his footsteps are often surprised to find how much they are founded in reality. Whoever has tracked his wanderings along the shores of the Mediterranean, must be aware that he has not so much exaggerated what he had seen in his descriptions, as seen them through a Claude Lorraine medium; and those who have followed his steps in the History of the Girondists and the Restoration, as

the author has done, must often do him the justice to say, that much of what passes with ordinary readers for fiction, is in reality only a dramatic narrative of real events.

He is a sincere and devout believer in human perfectibility, a circumstance which explains how it has happened that, though of noble birth, he is attached to democratic principles; though inspired with generous feelings, he was instrumental in establishing a sordid and vulgar republic. Nearly all of similar habits and descent, who become the partisans of such changes, are led into them by that amiable illusion. Of course it deprives his historical and political writings of all weight in the formation of rational and lasting opinion; the first requisite in all productions which are to have that effect, is a correct estimate of the average character of, and of what may reasonably be expected from, human nature. Like all fanatics, whether in religion or politics, he is wholly inaccessible to reason, and beyond the reach of facts, how clear or convincing soever. Accordingly, his belief in human perfectibility and the virtue of the masses is unshaken, although he has himself confessed, in his *History of the Revolution of 1848*, that he himself and all his followers would have been thrown by the mob into the Seine, when assaulted in the Hôtel de Ville on April 10 of that year, if they had not been protected by three battalions of the Garde Mobile.

He never on any occasion gives the authority on which any historical statement is founded—a defect which not only deprives his works of all value as books of reference, but often does great injustice to himself, by leading his readers to imagine that the whole narrative is fiction, and that he gave no authorities because he really had none to give. He is inspired, like Chateaubriand, with the most inordinate and contemptible vanity, which is in an especial manner conspicuous in the history of the important events in which he himself bore a share, and has made his beautiful episode of “Raphael,” which none who know the human heart can doubt is in the main founded in truth, to pass with the generality of readers for a mere romance, in which a vain man has recounted imaginary *bonnes fortunes*. But these, and many other weaknesses, which have proved fatal to his political weight and reputation, must be forgotten when we recollect what is really estimable in his character and elevated in his sentiments; and in particular, the admirable presence of mind and heroic courage with which he contended with the savage multitude in the Hôtel de Ville in the beginning of the Revolution of 1848, and prevented the convulsion which he himself had so large a share in producing from terminating in a second Reign of Terror.

SISMONDI, if the most valuable qualities of a historian are considered, is the greatest writer in that department which France has ever produced. He is by no means, however, the most popular, and never will become such. He has much, as a historian, which we desiderate in Lamartine; but, unfortunately, Lamartine has much which we desiderate in him. Indefatigable in research, patient

in investigation, cautious in conclusion, benevolent in feeling, he is at the same time philosophic in thought, liberal in religious, and independent in political principle. He has interspersed his lengthened narrative with general reflections, which for depth of thought and justice of observation never were surpassed. But he is neither dramatic nor pictorial, seldom kindles the imagination, and still seldomer touches the heart. Extensive research and copious information are his great characteristics, and in these respects it is impossible to consult a more valuable writer. Unlike Lamartine, he gives his authority for every material fact asserted, and has filled his pages with such a multitude of official documents, that they often rather wear the aspect of a collection of state papers than a literary composition. This patient examination of, and constant reference to authority, render his works invaluable as books of reference, and as a storehouse of authentic information; but, unfortunately, they have very much impeded their popularity. No human ability can render lengthened quotations from state papers, letters, or deeds interesting; and where the judicious system is not adopted, of throwing them into notes or an appendix, though the work may be valuable as a repertory of information, it will never be interesting as a history. This defect is so conspicuous in Sismondi, whose *Annals of the Italian Republics* have swelled to sixteen, of France to two-and-thirty volumes, that perhaps no reader has ever got through the whole of both; and he himself is so sensible of it, that he has published admirable abridgments of each, which contain nearly all the philosophic conclusions that render the larger works so valuable and have attained deserved popularity. But this very circumstance shows a great deficiency in the original works; no abridgment of histories written with pictorial ability or dramatic power, ever had any success; you might as well attempt to abridge *Waverley* as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*.

Least popular with the present generation of all his works, because most adverse to general opinion, the *Social and Political Essays* of this profound thinker and erudite scholar are perhaps the most valuable. They are entirely original, and they run directly adverse to the current of general thought; it is not surprising, therefore, that they have made very little impression on the generation among which they appeared. He himself has told us that they have had very few readers, and that he does not think they would have had one if the English parliamentary reports had not established facts which could be explained on no other principle. It by no means follows from this, however, that the doctrines he has advanced are not in themselves just, and in the highest degree important to the future happiness of mankind; present popularity in works of abstract thought is an indication of coincidence with general opinion, but by no means either of truth or ultimate success. Few physicians, and none above forty, would admit during his life Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood; ages elapsed before the Copernican system forced itself on general belief; and public opinion in Italy unanimously supported the In-

quisition, when they prosecuted Galileo for asserting that the earth moved.

Sismondi is a Protestant and a Republican; 29. he deems kings and nobles are useless. His political less excrescences upon society; and opinions.

his political *beau idéal* is a collection of republics, with no established faith, and held together, like the American Union, only by the slender bond of a federal alliance. It is from the influence, therefore, of no prepossession against the present tendency all over the civilized world to popular institutions, that he has so strongly and ably at the same time inculcated the doctrine that this tendency is fraught with the most serious evils which at present desolate, and in the end will occasion the entire ruin of Europe. These evils, according to him, do not arise from forms of government, nor are they to be ascribed to faulty legislation; they originate in the nature of things, and are the direct consequence of that state of society which is generally considered as fraught with unlimited blessings. The accumulation of capital, the increase of machinery, the spread of manufactures, the growth of large towns, the cheapening of provisions, the free circulation of labor in an old community, which are commonly regarded as the surest symptoms of general prosperity, in his view are the unmistakable indications of social disease and the prognostics of approaching ruin. In them he sees the sad effects of the undue preponderance of capital, and the desperate consequences of the principles of unlimited competition and free trade, when applied to the laboring classes of the community. Probably there is no disinterested person who contemplates the present state of society, whether in France or the British Islands, who will hesitate to admit that these views are well founded, and that the causes of decay which proved fatal to the colossal fabric of the Roman empire are even now in full activity in both countries. But they do not warrant the gloomy and desponding conclusions which Sismondi draws from them, any more than the increasing ills which accumulate round individual old age justify melancholy views in regard to the human race. The evils arising from the sway of capital and the principle of competition to the great bulk of the community are not imaginary, but they are partial, and are the means by which Providence, at the time when such a change has become necessary, checks the growth of aged communities, and provides for the dispersion of the human race. He who is not convinced of this by the simultaneous growth of the evils in the Old World and the opening of the reserve treasures of California and Australia in the New, would not be persuaded though one rose from the 1 Sismondi, *Essais Sociaux*, 3 vols. dead.¹

The two THIERRYS belong to the same school 30. as Sismondi, but they have eschewed the chief faults which have impeded the popularity of his voluminous publications. We perceive in them

the same untiring industry and patient research by which the historian of the Italian republics is distinguished, and the same combination of antiquarian lore and accuracy of fact with general views and philosophic thought, which render his works so valuable. But the method

taken of communicating this information is infinitely more skillful. Not less than he, they give the authorities for every paragraph, often for every sentence; but, unlike him, they do not swell the text with long and tedious quotations from original documents, but quote the material words relied on in a few lines, or even words, in a note. Perhaps this is sometimes carried too far, for, by giving only detached expressions or sentences from the original writers, they suggest a doubt whether the sense is truly conveyed, and whether the context, if fully given, would not in some material respects contradict it. But there can be no doubt that it is a very great improvement on the more voluminous system, for it not only renders the text much shorter, but more continuous and uniform in style, and therefore interesting, than when there is a continual interruption to make way for antiquated quotations. And the result appears in the different success of the different writers; for the *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans*, by Auguste, and of the *Princes of the Carlovingian Race*, and of *Gaul under the Romans*, by Amadée Thierry, each in three volumes, have attained very great popularity, and gone through several editions; while the forty-eight volumes of the *History of France and of the Italian Republics* slumber in respected obscurity amidst the dust of our libraries.

Although brothers, belonging to the same school of history, equally fond of antiquity and adopting the same style 31. Their opposi- of composition, the thoughts of these site principles. two very remarkable men are widely different from each other. Auguste, the author of the *Conquest of England by the Normans*, and of the *Essays on the History of France*, belongs to the Liberal school; he is almost a republican in politics, and, like others of his sect, any thing but strongly influenced by religious impressions. But he is humane and philanthropic, and not eminently dramatic, but often pathetic, in his narrative of important events. Amadée is the very reverse in thought of his brother; he is eminently Christian in his ideas, and has directed his great powers with remarkable success to the illustration from historical and antiquarian sources of the blessings which Christianity has conferred upon mankind. Upon considering his luminous writings, and comparing them with the arrogant dogmatism of the Roman Catholic writers at an earlier period, which all the eloquence of Bossuet could scarcely disguise, it is impossible to avoid seeing how much the cause of true religion has been advanced by the experience of suffering, and the wrench to general thought induced by the Revolution; and on how much more solid a basis the truth of Christianity is now erected than it was in the days of papal bulls and sacerdotal domination.

Michaud belongs to the same school, both in religious thought and historical composition, as Amadée Thierry, and he is an 32. Michaud. author of very great merit. His *History of the Crusades*, in six volumes, is by far the best narrative that has yet appeared of those memorable wars; and although it is not free from the great defect of the antiquarian school, in being somewhat overloaded with long quotations from monkish chronicles or contemporary annalists, it promises to be the most dur-

able. For its success it is mainly indebted to the remarkable combination which the author exhibits of antiquarian research, with an ardent imagination and remarkable powers of description. So enthusiastic was his disposition, that it led him to make a pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, in order to be able to describe from his own observation, and verify with his own eyes, the scenes of the exploits of his heroes. This has led to one of the most interesting books of travel which ever was written, in which, perhaps, even more than in his *History of the Crusades*, the accomplished and enthusiastic author has shown how much interesting association and historical knowledge can add to the attractions even of the most beautiful scenes of nature. If Chateaubriand has visited the Holy Sepulchre with the mingled feelings of a classical scholar and a devout pilgrim, and Lamartine with the highly-wrought imagination of a poet and brilliant conceptions of a painter, Michaud has gone over the same ground with the heroic spirit of a Crusader; and the reader has now the extraordinary advantage, in the travels of these charming writers, of combining *all* the associations which can recur to the cultivated mind, in visiting the scenes which must ever be the most interesting of any on earth to the human race.

BARANTE belongs to the same school as Michaud, and, like him, is an example of the reaction of genius against the infidel principles and innovating ideas of the Revolution. His greatest work, the *History of the Dukes of Burgundy*, has the same fault as the works of Sismondi and Michaud, that of being overloaded with unnecessarily long quotations from contemporary annalists and chronicles; but it nevertheless carries the reader on through ten volumes, by the talent for description and dramatic powers which the author possesses. He is inspired, like Sir Walter Scott, by the true spirit of chivalry, and carries us back, almost like that great magician, to the storming of castles, the jousting of knights, the distressed damsels and blood-thirsty tyrants of that poetical but unhappy period. He is generally understood to have been the author of the *Memoirs of Madame de la Rochejaquelein*; and if so, there is no author in any language who has exhibited greater graphic powers, or a more decided talent for educing interest from heroic incident or pathetic event.

SALVANDY belongs to the same school as Barante and Michaud, but he is more philosophical and reflecting than either.

His *History of Poland* evinces it. It contains all the pictorial power and picturesque effect of either of these writers, but more reflection and observation, and therefore it is more attractive to a reflecting mind. Nowhere so well as in his brilliant pages is to be found a development of the real causes of the mournful fate of that memorable people, the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, and yet the prey of every assailant within their own bosom; often victorious, but never capable of taking advantage of victory; ever jealous of authority, but never able to repress anarchy; the deliverer of Vienna in one age, and in the next blotted from the book of nations. In his pages, as in the *History of Ireland*, if written

with equal wisdom, is to be found the most decisive proof of the great truth, that the first necessity of mankind in rude periods is a strong government, and that no calamities are so great, because none so irremediable, as such as deliver them up to the slavery of their own passions. Salvandy is a Liberal, but he is a Liberal of the new school—that is, warned by the errors and instructed by the sufferings of the Revolution. In his pages, accordingly, there is to be found constant reference to the historical blessings of, and present necessity for revelation; and when France had been for some years insane, after the triumph of the barricades in 1830, his sagacious eye first divined whither things under popular rule were tending, and his intrepid hand first drew aside the veil from the eyes of a suffering, and therefore repentant people.

The historians who have hitherto been considered have treated chiefly of the olden time, and their works exhibit the reaction in the human mind after the delusions and disappointments of the Revolution. But writers of great eminence are not awanting, who have treated of that convulsion itself, and, uninstructed by the lessons of experience, still endeavor to vindicate its principles, and apologize for the crimes of its authors. In the very foremost rank of this class of writers is to be placed M. THIERS, who, like most of the other modern statesmen of France, raised to eminence by his literary talents, has played an important part on the theatre of public affairs, and taken a share in the most decisive events which, during the last quarter of a century, have determined the fate of his country. His first work, and the one which raised him to eminence, but by no means his best, is the *History of the Revolution*, in twelve volumes. In it he endeavors to assert the principles and palliate the excesses of that convulsion; but he does this in a very singular way. It is by representing the latter as the inevitable consequence of the former, and the authors of all the bloodshed which took place as impelled by an invincible necessity which it was impossible to resist, and for yielding to which, therefore, they were noways blamable. It is surprising that so acute an author did not perceive that such a doctrine, if really well founded, was more decisive against the possibility of self-government than any other that could by possibility be imagined; for if the practical application of Liberal principles leads of necessity to such results, what can be so great a misfortune as their extension among mankind?

M. Thiers has very great merits as a historian—in some respects greater than any who has recently appeared in France, that department of literature. Not only is he ingenious, dramatic, and eloquent, but his writings abound in important general reflections, and often in just and generous appreciation of individual character. He himself affords the best illustration of the truth of his own beautiful observation, in reference to the meeting of M. Barnave with the Queen, in the journey from Varennes: "How often would factions the most opposite be reconciled, if they could meet and read each other's hearts!" But by far his greatest merit consists in the luminous survey

he gives of countries, especially in relation to military events, and the clear and lucid manner in which he unfolds the principles of strategy applicable to the campaigns which he had to describe. In this he is unrivaled in civil, and never was exceeded by military historians; and his writings afford a striking proof how completely a strong native bent in the mind of an author can overcome the want of practical experience, or acquaintance with the actual operations of war. His chief defect is the almost entire absence of quotation of authority, and its inevitable consequence, great and frequent inaccuracy in details—a fault which, besides depriving his works of their chief value as books of authority, exposes him to constant well-founded attacks from that numerous class of writers who look to accuracy in these respects rather than general merit, and nibble at the corners of an edifice of which they are unable to throw down the pillars. In regard to English transactions, he labors under one grievous defect, which has made his works of little value in regard to its history: *he does not understand English*, a circumstance which renders him about as competent to write our annals as the author would be to convey an idea of those of France, if he could not read its language.

By far the best work of M. Thiers, and one which belongs to the highest class of political history, is his *History of the Consulate and Empire*, now in course of publication at Paris. It shows that his mind had grown immensely during the course of his political career, and cast off many of the indiscretions or errors of his more juvenile years. He is no longer the ardent student fresh from the revolutionary school, and ready, on all occasions, to share in its dreams, or palliate its excesses; but the experienced statesman, versed in the ways of the world, and taught by disaster the futile nature of all visions of perfectibility, founded upon the immaculate character of the great majority of men. His talent for military history seems to have increased with practice, and acquaintance with the leading generals of the period; and there is no work in existence which the general reader can consult with more pleasure, or the military with greater instruction, than his *History of the Campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram*. But in addition to this, his political opinions appear to have undergone a considerable change with the lapse of time, and a practical acquaintance with the duties of statesmanship. His mind is candid; and albeit bred in the school of Infidelity and the Revolution, his late volumes contain frequent allusion to Supreme Superintendence, and the punishment, even in this world, of the sins of men. But above all, his acquaintance with the secrets of cabinets and state papers has led to his last work being enriched with a great variety of important information not to be met with in any other publication; and in no other work is there to be found so copious an account of the diplomacy of the Empire, and the internal legislation of Napoleon.

Inferior in genius to Thiers, and unacquainted, like him, with the practical duties of a statesman, M. LACRETELLE has still considerable merits, and will always

hold a respectable place among French historians. His *History of France during the Eighteenth Century*, though not distinguished either by the philosophy of Guizot, the brilliancy of Lamartine, or the military descriptions of Thiers, is yet a very valuable work; and to one who wishes to obtain a general idea of the events of that momentous period, without diving into all its details, is perhaps the best that can be referred to. But by far his most masterly production is the *Histoire des Guerres de la Religion*; and it is not only highly interesting, but written with the brevity and general glance which is perhaps the most indispensable element for general success in historical compositions. In any other age or country he would have attained great and deserved eminence; but such is the constellation of historical talent which has arisen in France since the storm of the Revolution was succeeded by the lull of the Restoration, that he has already been eclipsed by more brilliant writers.

M. CAPEFIGUE is both an abler and a more voluminous writer than Lacreteille, but such is the multitude of his publications that he is well-nigh buried under their weight. His works, like those of Voltaire, exceed a hundred volumes; and no one need be told that, among such a multitude, many must be of inferior merit, and made up, like the medicines of apothecaries, of drugs prepared by others. Some of his works are admirable; his *History of Louis XIV.* is by far the best which has ever been written of that momentous and interesting period. The works he has published on contemporary history, particularly the *History of the Empire and the Restoration*, are brilliant annals, interspersed with much fine description, and many striking observations. He is a devout Catholic, and therefore all his accounts of the Protestants are to be taken with some allowance; and a loyal Royalist, but there he is less to be suspected, for his mind in politics is eminently candid, and, in truth, often tinged with ultra-Liberal opinions. But his views are philanthropic, his disposition humane, and he is inspired with the quality of all others the most valuable in the narration of human events—a warm appreciation of the generous and noble, and detestation of the mean and the selfish in character or actions. His great defect is, that, in many of his histories, especially of the olden time, there is too much *book-making*, too copious quotations from original chronicles and legal instruments, and too little attention to the first requisite in composition—unity of effect. He has undertaken to write nearly a continuous history of France, from Charlemagne to Louis Philippe, and the entire series exceeds a hundred volumes. It need hardly be said, that it is altogether impossible that works of such magnitude can be either popular or generally read. They are the quarry-stones from which history is constructed, not history. Unity of style and composition is as indispensable in this as in any other of the objects of human thought; and in none is Hesiod's observation more applicable, that the half is often greater than the whole.

One historical writer, second in some respects to none which have preceded him in this department of literature, remains to be considered, and

37.
His History
of the Con-
sulate and
Empire.

38.
Lacreteille.

that is M. MICHELET. It is impossible to read the works of this very able and original writer, without being filled with the highest admiration for his genius, mingled with not unfrequent regret at its misapplication. No writer, ancient or modern, has surveyed with a more keen and searching glance the annals of the olden time, or more ably and lucidly illustrated the successive migrations and settlement of the great families of mankind, as well as the distinctive marks which in every age have characterized the dispositions of their descendants. If any additional refutation were wanting of the long popular delusion of the Revolution, that man is the creature of institutions, or any further confirmation of the profound observation of Montesquieu, that institutions are the creature of man, it would be found in his learned and interesting pages. His style is graphic, his mind at once dramatic and pictorial—great qualities in a historian, especially when accompanied by the industry and research which distinguish his writings. The signet-mark of genius is every where conspicuous. Unfortunately, that of judgment and wisdom is frequently wanting. There are many philosophic views, as well as much brilliant expression, in his history of the early periods of the French monarchy; but in his *History of the Revolution*, now in the course of publication at Paris, although these qualities are not wanting, there is such an intermixture of violence, prejudice, and passion, as must deprive that work not merely of all weight with future times, but even of all influence in promoting the views of the extreme democratic party to which he is attached.

The number and extraordinary merit of the historical works which have now been noticed, all of which have issued from the press of Paris during the Restoration, may well excite surprise, and is the clearest indication both of the strong bent to historical and political subjects which the public mind has undergone since the Revolution, and of the reaction against the innovating doctrines which has taken place from the experience of their effects. But these works, numerous and able as they are, exhibit but a partial picture of the extent of this bent, or the deep hold which, from the intensity of former emotions, political works have taken of the general mind. The *military histories and memoirs* exhibit it in its full proportions, and they constitute a branch of literature so peculiar to France, and which has been worked of late years with such effect, that no account of the public thought in that country, during that period, can be considered as complete which does not bring it prominently forward. Both species of composition, indeed, have been long cultivated with signal success in France, as the military histories of Folard and Guibert, and Petito's collection of a hundred and sixty volumes of memoirs, prove; but the ability brought to bear upon them since the Revolution has been so remarkable that all former productions are thrown into the shade.

In the very first rank, in both departments, is to be placed a man whose celebrity as an actor of history has been such that he is scarcely ever considered in

his proper place as a narrator of its events—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. His genius, however, was such that it is hard to say whether it shines forth with most lustre in his own actions, or in criticising those of others—in military and political measures, or in the narrative of his own or his predecessors' achievements. In both, not only do the same clear intellect and brilliant imagination, but the same luminous view and burning thought, appear conspicuous. The great characteristics of his compositions, as of those of all men of the highest class of intellect, are clearness and force in ideas, and brevity and vigor in language. Burke is not more powerful in expression, Johnson more lucid in thought. But in addition to this, he had an ardent and poetical imagination, and it is easy to see from his expressions and style of expression, that if he had not equaled Alexander in the lustre of his conquests, he was qualified to have rivaled Homer in the brilliancy of his conceptions. Much doubt was at first expressed, on their appearance, as to whether the *St. Helena Memoirs* were his genuine composition; but time has now vindicated the author's opinion, expressed at the time, that it was surprising there should be any doubt on the subject, for nature did not in general produce two Napoleons in the same generation.

It is not to be supposed, however, from this, that either Napoleon's Memoirs, dictated to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud at St. Helena, or his conversations, recorded by Las Cases and Drs. O'Meara and Antomarchi at the same place, are unexceptionable works. On the contrary, in all the characteristic faults of his mind are conspicuous; and in the last, which were not revised by himself, and where his words were probably not reported with the fidelity of a Boswell, there is much reason to suspect the interpolation, in some places, of the impassioned ideas and ulcerated feelings of his attendants. But there can be no doubt that, in the main, they are a faithful transcript of his thoughts, if it was from nothing else than the brilliant genius, and identity with his acknowledged compositions, which they exhibit. With regard to his own Memoirs, there is no doubt their authenticity is unquestionable, and they exhibit his mind in its real proportions, with all its great talents and equally great deficiencies. Clearness and force of intellectual vision are the most remarkable features of the former, prejudice and prepossession of the latter. He saw his own side of every question with the utmost force, and expressed his views upon it with the greatest precision and vigor; but he was by no means equally accessible to considerations on the other side. Having made up his mind on any subject, he immediately closed the door against every opposite argument or fact; or rather, he closed the door when he began to think, and formed his opinions from his preconceived ideas alone. Hence the uniform vigor and clearness of his thoughts, and their frequent error and dangerous tendency—peculiarities which are not only conspicuous in his writings, but are the real explanations of his long-continued success and ultimate fall. Truth, in contested questions, is never to be elicited but by the attentive consideration and impartial weighing

of both sides. It is well known what sort of decision a judge will give who makes up his mind upon hearing one party only. Durable success is to be attained in action in no other way. Temporary triumph may attend the adoption of one-sided ideas, but the reaction is generally as violent as the action. Hence it is that so many of the greatest men recorded in history have also been in the end the most unfortunate.

In one respect, however, there is a peculiarity in Napoleon's writings which is less excusable, and the influence of which appears not less in the checkered events of his life. This is his entire disregard of truth when it interfered with his preconceived ideas, and the unblushing, or perhaps it should rather be said, *unconscious* effrontery with which he continued the most mendacious statements, after their falsehood had been demonstrated, not merely to others, but to himself. So far did he carry this extraordinary peculiarity, that we are told by his private secretary and panegyrist Meneval, that he formed an idea to himself, often totally unfounded, of the strength of the various corps and divisions in his army; and having done so, he issued his orders, and formed his expectations of them, as if they were of that strength, without the slightest regard to the returns of the commanders, which showed they were not of half the amount.* Unconquerable adherence to error, in point of fact, in the face of the clearest evidence, is, in like manner, often so characteristic of his writings, where any of his marked prepossessions is concerned, that one is apt to imagine that the account of the peculiarity given by his panegyrists is the true one, that his imagination was so ardent that his wishes were, literally speaking, the father to his thoughts, and that what he desired he really believed to be true. Like insane persons, he often reasoned on imaginary conceptions as if they had been real facts; but, unlike them, assuming the facts to be true, none ever drew from them more just conclusions, or argued with more mathematical rigor in regard to their probable consequences.

Inferior to Napoleon in genius, and greatly so in vigor and condensation of expression, GENERAL JOMINI is much his superior in impartiality and solidity of judgment. His *History of the Wars of the Revolution*, in sixteen volumes; his *Life of Napoleon*, in four volumes; and that of *Frederick the Great*, in three volumes, are perhaps the most just and discriminating works on military strategy which modern Europe has produced. He traces with admirable sagacity and distinctness the most important events in war to the application or neglect of a few leading principles; and he does this in so simple and perspicuous a manner, that his views can be perfectly apprehended, not merely by the military, but the ordinary reader. He wants the vigor and brevity of Napoleon's expression, and his an-

nals of the wars of the Revolution are characterized by the ordinary defect in military histories—undue length, and too great attention to subordinate details. He became conscious, however, of this defect, and in his *Life of Napoleon* events are simplified and massed as much as the most ardent admirers of *breadth* in composition could desire. Appreciated in the very highest degree by all military readers, his writings are not so generally read as they should be in France, from the circumstance of the author, a Swiss by birth, having left the service of Napoleon, and entered that of Russia, on the eve of the battle of Bautzen. It is natural that it should be so; but Jomini merely went over himself; he did not, like Ney or Marlborough, employ his power to destroy the prince who had bestowed it; and when the passions of the moment have subsided, there can be no doubt that his work will be the standard one on military strategy all over Europe.

Unequal to Jomini in military science or political thought, GENERAL MATHIEU DUMAS is greatly his superior in picturesque power and graphic effect. Like Xenophon, he has described with the fidelity of a soldier, but the soul of a poet and the eye of a painter, the most important events of Napoleon's life, in many of which he himself bore a conspicuous part; and he has done this with so much simplicity and elegance that few works in any age will bear a comparison with it. His description of the passage of the Splügen, in particular, and the operations of the corps which he commanded on the flank of the Austrians in 1801, on the confines of the Grisons and the Tyrol, as well as of the crossing of the St. Bernard and campaign of Marengo, are among the most fascinating pieces of military history which ever were written, and will bear a comparison with the most admired passages in Xenophon or Livy. It is only to be regretted, for the fame of this eloquent writer, that his work, being in eighteen volumes, and only comprising nine years of Napoleon's campaigns, is too voluminous for the general reader; and hence it is regarded rather as a storehouse from which subsequent writers, and none more than the author, have drawn their most interesting materials, rather than a work which is itself to find its way into every well furnished library.

The work of Mathieu Dumas terminates with the Treaty of Tilsit; but the next great campaign of Napoleon has been recorded by another military writer in a kindred spirit, and with equal graphic power. GENERAL PELET, an ardent admirer of Napoleon and the whole Imperial régime, has at least done ample justice to one of his campaigns, for there does not exist in any language a more splendid military work than his account of the campaigns of Aspern and Wagram. It is in four volumes, and narrates only the events of a few months; yet it is so interesting that there are probably few readers who do not regret its brevity rather than complain of its prolixity; and certainly there is no author who has felt how absolutely interest in narrative is dependent on minuteness of detail, who will affirm that he has erred on the side of excessive length.

* Dans le calcul des hommes qui devaient composer ses bataillons, ses régiments ou divisions, il en fait toujours le résumé total. On ne peut pas croire qu'il voulait se faire illusion à lui-même, mais il jugeait nécessaire de donner le change sur la force de ses corps. Quelques représentations qu'on lui fit, il repoussait l'évidence, et persistait opiniâtrément dans son erreur volontaire de calcul." —MENEVAL, *Vie privée de Napoléon*, iii. 121.

In truth, the events of that single campaign exceeded in interest and importance those of many entire pacific reigns. His account of the battle of Wagram, in particular, and the matchless exploit of throwing the bridge at Enzersdorf over the Danube on the night preceding that great event, amidst the war of elements and the louder roar of artillery, is a perfect masterpiece, and never, it may confidently be affirmed, will be surpassed in military history.

If the campaign of Wagram has found a 48. worthy annalist in General Pelet, and Count those of Austerlitz and Friedland in Segur. General Mathieu Dumas, that of 1812 has called forth the powers of another writer equally suited to its description—COUNT SEGUR. Although not a military man, but an officer in the Emperor's household, he was too near headquarters not to be familiar with military councils, and his situation gave him ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the secret springs of the most important events. His disposition and turn of mind, dark and gloomy, but imaginative, qualified him in a peculiar manner to describe with force and fidelity the terrible disasters of the Moscow campaign, of which he had been an eye-witness. Exaggeration was impossible in such a case; the utmost stretch of the most gloomy imagination, coupled with the highest powers of pathos and description, fell short of the horrors of that dreadful catastrophe. He has, accordingly, by combining a dramatic account of the proceedings in the councils with a pictorial description of the sufferings of the retreat, produced a work which, in point of terrible and romantic interest, can not be surpassed. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that many of his speeches were imaginary, or at least largely amplified from very scanty materials; but they are probably not more so than those which Livy or Sallust put into the mouths of their chiefs. There were no short-hand reporters in attendance in either instance, but both the ancient and modern authors have probably condensed into one speech the ideas which at the time were prevalent at head-quarters, and which convey a faithful, though perhaps somewhat too dramatic a picture of the reasons advanced for and against every measure of importance. Many other authors—in particular, General Clausewitz and M. Chambray—have given narratives of higher authority and greater accuracy than Segur; but there is none who has equaled him in picturesque effect, powers of description, and consequent general popularity.

It was the good fortune of Napoleon to have 49. as his private secretary, in his last and Baron greatest campaigns, an author who has Fain. proved himself adequate to do full justice, and in some instances more than justice, to his merits in those memorable events. BARON FAIN, though bred a diplomatist, and neither a professional soldier nor a practiced writer, has proved himself equal to either in his account of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814. His work on these is invaluable as an authentic, and, in general, veracious record of the greatest military events of which Europe has ever been the theatre, and in the last of which especially the military genius of the Emperor, at length freed from the restraint and the necessities of diplo-

matic negotiation, shone forth with unprecedented lustre. The materials on which Fain has constructed his narratives are for the most part official, and his narrative of events to a surprising degree correct and trustworthy. If it occasionally is tinged by an excessive admiration for, and desire to palliate the errors of his hero, that was scarcely avoidable in the situation in which Baron Fain was placed; and whatever may be said of sycophancy to prosperous, all mankind must respect fidelity to fallen greatness.

If the military histories of France, which appeared in such multitudes, and were distinguished by such ability, during the Restoration, is a striking 50. proof how strongly, by the events of the Empire, the public mind in that country had been turned to warlike achievements, the still greater crowd of memoirs which issued from the press during the same period is a yet stronger proof how violently the passions of the people had been excited by the mournful catastrophes of the Revolution, and how insatiable was the thirst which all classes felt for the fullest details of all its tragedies. It seemed impossible to satisfy this craving. Volume after volume, work after work appeared, and almost all were bought up and read with the utmost avidity. Those which had any pretensions to authenticity were eminently successful; others, in the outset at least, not less so, which were soon discovered to have the signet-mark of forgery stamped upon them. The latter were often the most ably written and interesting—a circumstance which is easily explained, when it is recollected that the great thirst for works of this description necessarily led to extensive attempts at imitation, and that the profits attending the most successful created quite a profession of literary men, who were admitted to the papers of some remarkable political character, and from the materials thus obtained reared up a voluminous work, which they dignified with the title of his own memoirs. The authorship of many of the most valuable of these was from the beginning known in the literary circles of Paris; as the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, which is a most authentic and important work, is known to have been composed by M. d'Allonville from the papers of Prince Hardenberg; and the *Memoirs of Fouché*, by M. Alphonse Beauchamp, from the papers of that arch-traitor. But independent of these compilations, many of which are most valuable works, there are several memoirs by eminent persons of undoubted authenticity, which deserve to be noticed, as well from their intrinsic merit as from the talent and opportunities of knowledge which their authors enjoyed.

At the head of these must be placed M. BOURRIENNE, private secretary to Napoleon during the eventful period of 51. the Consulate and the first year of Bourrienne. the Empire, and himself a man of no ordinary discrimination and talent. His work is of great value, as containing an account of the conversations and habits of Napoleon during the eventful period of the Consulate and the first year of the Empire; and although he appears to have become afterward involved in some pecuniary transactions, which led to his

losing his situation, and being sent to a distant but lucrative banishment at Hamburg, yet his disgrace does not appear to have rendered him insensible to the merits of his early patron, or prevented him from giving a most interesting and faithful account of the years when he acted as his private secretary. His style is simple, clear, and unambitious; and the genuineness of the words which he puts into the mouth of his imperial master may in general be tested by the superiority of the ability which they indicate to that shown in those which he ascribes to himself.

The DUCHESS OF ABRANTES is another writer of memoirs, whose peculiar situation and opportunities gave her advantages of no ordinary kind in delineating the character and habits of the great hero, as well as in observing and describing the manners of the age in which she lived. She had one great advantage over Bourrienne—she was intimate with the Emperor before he became great, and recounts the days when he came, with unblackened boots and without the costly luxury of gloves, to the Rue Vivienne to visit her mother, of whom he was enamored, and when in one morning he proposed himself for that lady, and his brother Joseph and sister Pauline for her daughter and son. She traces his career from these youthful days till the period of his coronation, when, as she herself says, he “gave her a look of *intolerable intelligence*, as he put the crown on his head,” and thence till he took his melancholy way to St. Helena. Nor are the memoirs of the gay and lively duchess confined to the details and pomp of the imperial court; she passes also in review the leading characters and events of the Consulate and the Empire, and gives a vast number of graphic sketches and interesting anecdotes of the illustrious men who then bore the fortunes of France on the points of their swords. A true woman, she is by no means unmindful of those lighter topics which more immediately concern her sex; her memory is as distinct for a ball-dress or a cashmere shawl, as for the words of a hero or the measures of a government; and when the antiquarian painter comes to portray in after times the scenes which occurred during the Revolution, the Consulate, and Empire, he will find ample materials for the costumes both of the ladies and gentlemen in her animated pages. Pecuniary embarrassments, and the loss of her husband's appanage by the fall of Napoleon, unhappily rendered it necessary for her to write for bread in her later years, and have lessened her reputation by spreading it over too wide a surface; but her earlier writings are deserving of a lasting place in French literature, and will always be referred to with interest, as well from the importance of the events and characters to which they relate, as from the discrimination and talent with which the portraits are drawn.

So great is the crowd of writers who have devoted the leisure of their later years to recording for the benefit of posterity the reminiscences of the Revolution and the Empire, that they would alone fill the shelves of an extensive library; and few even of the largest collections either in France or elsewhere contain a complete assortment of them. But

there are two writers of memoirs whose works will ever stand forth in bright relief, as well from the celebrity of their authors' names as the genius displayed in the works themselves, and the eloquence with which they are written. These are CHATEAUBRIAND and LAMARTINE. The character and beauties of these two illustrious writers appear in every page of their voluminous personal memoirs, and unfortunately their failings and weaknesses are equally conspicuous. In the twelve volumes which record the eventful career of the former is to be seen the ardent and yet melancholy cast of his disposition, the conflict of thought when the associations of the past were perpetually at war with the realities of the present, and the working of a mind fraught at once with the devotions of the olden time, the necessities of surrounding circumstances, and the aspirations of modern Liberalism. Advanced years, in those fascinating pages, have sometimes diminished his accuracy, but never clouded his genius or chilled his eloquence; and the records of a life in which the fervor and enthusiasm of youth were preserved to the verge of the grave, resemble rather the pages of a romance than the events of reality. Lamartine's fragments of memoirs in his *Confessions*, *Raphael*, and *Revolution of 1848*, are equally characteristic of his genius and disposition, at once ardent and reflecting, enthusiastic and visionary, chivalrous and free-thinking, humane and philosophic, imaginative and pictorial. As in his historical works he narrates real events in so dramatic and exaggerated a style that they often pass for fiction, so, in relating personal adventures, he clothes them in such brilliant colors that no one can believe that they are aught but the creations of his excited imagination, although as such they can not be read without the deepest interest. Unfortunately, in both these great writers, the weaknesses of a little stand forth in bright light beside the elevation of a lofty mind; and the vanity they display in relating the passages of their eventful lives, especially with the fair sex, is so extreme, and, as it appears to us, so contemptible, that it would be the subject of serious regret if experience had not convinced every person acquainted with French literature that it is the prevailing foible of the nation, which is particularly conspicuous in its literary men, and that the endurance of it is the price we pay for the pleasure derived from their genius and eloquence.

The reaction of the human mind against the infidelity and sins of the Revolution nowhere more clearly appears than in the writings of Cousin.⁵⁴ This very eminent man is too philosophic and clear-sighted not to see that religion is the great element which holds society together, and that, without its influence, all attempts either at individual or social amelioration must prove altogether nugatory; while at the same time he is too independent in thought to submit to the dictation of Jesuits, or yield to the grasping ambition of the Church of Rome. He has not chosen the only path which can safely lead through these opposite difficulties, which is the simple doctrines of the Gospel, as they are taught in the Protestant church; and in consequence he has fallen, in matters of faith, into a sort of dreary

53. Chateaubriand and Lamartine as writers of memoirs.

54. Cousin.

rationalism, which may be very well for philosophers, but never can be either popular or useful with the great body of mankind. Yet while all must lament in Cousin the absence of a simple and determinate faith, which can be embraced by and influence the majority of mankind, yet justice equally requires that a due tribute should be paid to the great service he has rendered to the cause of religion, by proclaiming the eternal truth, that education, if rested on any other basis, is likely to prove hurtful rather than beneficial, and illustrating this position with equal industry and ability by an examination of the institutions for the instruction of the people which have been established in the principal European monarchies.

M. LAMENAI, with equal sincerity of principle, is more distinguished by genius in his writings, and has struck out more original and forcible ideas for the instruction of mankind. His influence and the fame of his works have been proportionally greater. A sincere Catholic, he has all the warmth of a true believer, and sees in the events around him manifestations only of the Divine judgments on mankind, and in the extension of the influence of the Romish faith the only guarantee for the virtue or happiness of the species. Yet has he not succeeded, by all his devotion, in securing the approbation of the Papal government; they have the jealousy of him which Louis had of Chateaubriand, which power scarce ever fails to have of genius. His style is sometimes obscure, his ideas abstract, his inferences strained; but there is no author of the present age who has seen deeper into futurity, or in whose writings a greater number of profound and original thoughts are to be found. His work on the human mind, in three volumes, is to the reflecting student a perfect fund of reflection; and, what is the decisive mark of a creative mind, it suggests even more than it teaches—it starts ideas rather than elaborates them. The Protestant reader, accustomed to the calm discussion on religious subjects to which he has been habituated in his own country, is often startled by the intensity of his ideas, and the vehemence of the language in which they are conveyed; but a ready excuse for that failing may be found in the reflection, that in the moral, not less than the material world, action and reaction are equal and opposite, and that if the fanaticism of irreligion is ever to be successfully combated, it must be, not by the calmness of philosophy, but the fervor of devotion.

A striking proof how great is the ascendant which intellectual power has now acquired in France, is to be found in the main fact that a great proportion of her cabinet ministers are literary men. M. VILLEMMAIN is one of the most remarkable of these, and he has produced several works, which will stand the test of general admiration long after his official career as Minister of Public Instruction has passed into oblivion. His *History of the Literature of France during the Eighteenth Century* is a pleasing and just survey of a subject of great and lasting interest, but which it is extremely difficult to treat in an agreeable manner. The difficulty consists in the multitude of authors who require to be noticed, when

only a few of them have acquired any lasting reputation, and the embarrassment arising from a mere enumeration of names, when the spirit which animated them has been lost in the revolution of ages. Like the painter of a great historical piece, the author runs the risk of being buried under the multitude of his own figures. Strict attention to chiar-oscuro, and great massing of light and shade, can alone surmount the difficulty. If a bright light is thrown upon one-tenth of the figures in the piece, it is enough, and often more than enough. M. Villemain has not altogether avoided the error of being too prolix in the enumeration of obscure and forgotten authors; but at least he has done so in a much greater degree than most of his predecessors. His criticisms on the theatre are particularly worthy of attention, and he evinces a generous enthusiasm in his admiration for the beauties of Shakspeare, without being blinded to the many faults of that wonderful man. On the subject of education, and the incalculable influence of the spread of knowledge, both upon the national fortunes and individual happiness, his views are equally just and enlightened, and point him out as the fitting person to be minister of public instruction in a country where so much still remains to be done to illuminate the general mind.

If any proof were required of the difficulty of the task which M. Villemain has undertaken in giving a history of literature, and of the skill with which he has surmounted it, it would be found in the great work of M. Ginguené. That his elaborate *History of Italian Literature* is a very great addition to our literary treasures, probably none will be found to dispute; and the general sense of its value has been evinced in the liberal manner in which subsequent compilers, without acknowledging it, have availed themselves of his labors. But valuable as it is, and teeming with the stores of erudition as well as the delicacy of taste, his work will never be generally read; it is an encyclopædia, not a book—a dictionary rather than a history. Few will follow the example of the author, and go patiently through all the eleven volumes. The fault consists, not in the details, but in the general conception; not in the finishing of each individual figure, but in the want of mezzotinto to throw the great majority of them into fitting and becoming shade, so as to give sufficient relief and effect to the principal figures. It is true, it is no easy matter to do this; it is the great difficulty with which the political or military, as well as the literary historian has to contend; and it is the one on which the greatest number of considerable contemporary reputations have been shipwrecked. But it is not insurmountable; and in history, not less than in painting, the palm of immortality is reserved for him who has mastered it.

If Ginguené is in a manner buried under the stores of his own learning, and already forgotten, except as a store-house of erudition, even in his own country, the same charge of want of generalization can not be made against the great political philosopher in France of the nineteenth century, M. DE TOCQUEVILLE. His fault is just the reverse of Ginguené's; it

55.

M. Laménais.

57.

M. Ginguené.

58.

M. de Tocqueville: his great merits.

is not that he generalizes too little, but that he generalizes *too soon*. No man, since the days of Montesquieu, has equaled him in the depth of the views which he has formed of the working of republican institutions, or the principal dangers to be apprehended from them. His *Democracy in America*, especially the two first volumes of it, is to be placed in the same rank with the *Discorsi* of Machiavel, the *Essays* of Bacon, or the *Decadence de Rome* of Montesquieu. Reflection, and frequent study of that admirable work, have confirmed the author in this opinion, expressed on its first appearance

fifteen years ago.¹ With inimitable skill, close observation, and deep thought, he has traced the working of republican institutions on the other side of the Atlantic, and to him we owe the profound observa-

tion, which every day's experience is more completely verifying, that the great danger of republican government is not its weakness, but its tremendous strength. When monarchy or aristocracy are contending with democracy, the government is often weak; but that is not because their opponent is feeble, but because he is strong. When the victory has been gained, this at once appears; no power capable of making any resistance remains, and intellect and genius, property and intelligence, thought and action, are alike prostrated beneath the hoofs of numbers, guided, it is true, by a section of the thoughtful few, but they are in general the most unscrupulous and dangerous of the community.

It has been said that the great fault of M. de Tocqueville is, not that he has generalized too little, but that he has generalized too soon. He has forgotten that action and reaction are the law of nature, not less in the moral than in the material world. He would do well to remember the inscription engraved on a ring, presented by the Eastern sage to the sultan: "And this too shall pass away." Impressed, at the time when his great work was written, with the ceaseless progress of the democratic principle in France, and its complete triumph in America, he has forgotten that the greatest effort of mind is to make the "past the distant, and the future predominate over the present." He has seriously stated it as his deliberate conviction, that there is an evident and ceaseless progress both in Europe and America toward democratic institutions; that this progress is universal and irresistible, and that, for good or for evil, republicanism is the destiny of mankind in both hemispheres. What a commentary on this opinion does the government of France, under the presidency of Louis Napoleon, and the joyful acquiescence of seven millions of Frenchmen in his rule, afford on this prediction! Such ever has been, and ever will be, the fate of the prophecies of even the greatest political philosophers, who fix their eyes only on the strength of the current in which they are immersed, and forget that, when the strength of that current becomes dangerous to human happiness, there is an *under-current* provided by nature to correct its errors, and prove an antidote to its poison. That under-current is always put in motion by the lessons of experience, which point as clearly, in

the long run, to the institutions suited to the human mind, and conducive to general felicity, as the passions of the human heart do to those which are fair and tempting in the outset, but utter ruin when firmly established. We must not be misled in this matter by the example of America—democracy is there triumphant, and has been hitherto successful, because it is suitable to the physical circumstances of its inhabitants, and requisite for their expansion. It is the great moving power of artificial society, the expansive force which impels civilized man into the wilderness of nature. When the work is done, and the Transatlantic wilds inhabited, the experience of man will cast it aside, as it has already done in the old and peopled realm of France.

If the literature of France, during the eighteenth century, may justly pride itself on the compositions of Buffon, that of the nineteenth is equally distinguished by the writings of CUVIER, by far the first of the inquirers into the pristine order of creation. Passing over the external surface of the crust of the planet which we inhabit, disregarding the species of man and animals which are now to be found upon it, he has dived into the recesses of nature, and discovered in the organic remains which lie imbedded in the strata of which the earth is composed, materials both to determine with perfect accuracy the form and habits of the animals or reptiles of which they are the skeletons, and the order of the successive periods in which they were created, and flourished upon the earth. There is no subject of human thought more fascinating, or fraught with more important and decisive proofs of the wisdom of God in the works of creation. It unfolds the wonderful truth, that the crust of the globe we inhabit has been formed by successive stages, and at long intervals of time; and that the different species of animals which successively inhabited it were adapted, in their form, habits, powers, and instincts, to the different elements in which they were placed, and the varying physical circumstances of the globe in its successive stages of creation. Perhaps there is no subject of human contemplation which so decisively demonstrates the ceaseless agency and wisdom of the great Creator of inanimate and animated nature, for it tells us not of one, but many *successive creations*, and the progressive appearance and extinction in different strata still existing, and lying above each other, of different species of animals, each adapted with infinite wisdom to the circumstances of the stratum on the surface of which its existence was passed.

Akin to Cuvier in the extent of his physical knowledge and his insatiable thirst for information on the works of nature, HUMBOOLDT has in his researches embraced a still wider, and to most readers a more interesting sphere. Though a German by birth and later residence, and the brother of the able and celebrated Prussian diplomatist, he belongs to the Parisian school of naturalists, and his principal works, published at Paris and in the French language, naturally associate his name with the illustrious men of that country in the days of its glory. He may without hesitation be pronounced to be the greatest scientific trav-

¹ Blackwood's Magazine; Alison's Essays, iii. 347.

^{59.} His errors.

^{60.} Cuvier.

^{61.} Humboldt.

eler which the world has ever produced. His mind has been cast in a very singular mould, but one which, when employed by the Creator, produces the most elaborate and valuable intellectual result. He is at once scientific and pictorial, accurate and discursive, philosophic and imaginative. He possesses that decided turn for analogy, and tracing out general conclusions, which is the distinctive mark of genius; while at the same time he is not less imbued with the cautious spirit and minute attention to details, which in physical not less than political science is the only secure foundation for the discovery of truth. If we read his descriptions of the peak of Teneriffe, the stages of the Andes, the shores of the Orinoco, the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, or the falls of the Missouri, he appears one of the greatest painters of nature that ever existed. If we trace his footsteps along the swamps of the Amazon, the forests of Brazil, or the snows of the Cordilleras, he seems one of the most intrepid and indefatigable of travelers that ever sprung even from the race of Japhet. If we roam with him in *Cosmos* through the realms of nature, and the varied and boundless works of its Creator, he appears one of the most profound and far-seeing of philosophers. His mind affords a striking proof that, though rarely united, the imaginative are not inconsistent with the scientific qualities, and that it is in the combination of the two that the greatest strength and beauty as well as power of intellectual creation are to be found.

Above all, this great traveler and naturalist was imbued with the ardent spirit, the *feu sacré*, which incessantly pants after great achievements, and deems the labor of a lifetime a light price to pay for its renown. This ruling disposition appears in the ardor and impassioned eloquence of his style in some passages in his writings, not less than the painful research and minute investigation in others. The same ardent feelings had inspired the one and sustained the other. As this mental quality is the one of all others most inconceivable to ordinary men, so it is the distinguishing mark of those few minds to which Providence has assigned the doing of great things in the world. It is the true freemasonry of heroism. We see it in Napoleon, we see it in Nelson, we see it in Schiller, we see it in Chateaubriand, we see it in Humboldt. This disposition is evinced alike in peace and in war; in the council of kings as in the tented field; in the researches of the philosopher as in the burning thoughts of the poet. It is in the combination of this ardent temperament with the patience and perseverance indispensable for great achievement, that the only sure foundation of great and lasting success or fame is to be found.

The French are not a poetical nation. The clearest proof of this is to be found in the fact, that in an age of such va-
 63. Poets: their decline in France. ried and intellectual effort as that of the Restoration, poetry was far from being cultivated with success. Two poets only, during the whole period, have attained any note, and they were Delille and Béranger. A consideration of this fact, and a comparison of it with the corresponding period of literature in England and Germany, may perhaps lead to

the conclusion that, although great poetic talent, as in the case of Milton, sometimes signalizes the *rise* of freedom, yet the full development of popular institutions is unfavorable to its continued flourishing; and that, when fame and fortune attend the efforts of oratory or prose composition, from their influence on public assemblies, the temple of the muses is apt to be neglected. Certainly it is from no want of poetical disposition that there has been, since the rise of free institutions, so little real poetry in France; their prose writers often evince its fire. But the discussions of the forum have proved more attractive than the charms of imagination, and the disquisitions of the journalist more profitable than the fancy of the dramatist, and thence the decline of poetry in France.

The ABBÉ DELILLE has considerable merit as a poet; but he belongs to a school
 64. which is now well-nigh extinct in The Abbé France. The *Jardins* and *L'Homme* Delille. *des Champs*, as well as *L'Imagination*, contain many beautiful lines and much amiable thought; but they are neither the lines nor the thoughts which suit the taste of the age, and thence they are already well-nigh forgotten. Formed on the model of the *Georgics* and Thomson's *Seasons*, they are couched, like Corneille's dramas, in stately Alexandrine verses, and paint often with beauty the repose and happiness of rural life. But such pictures were not suited to the temper of the age; they wanted the fire and animation desired by a generation which had experienced the throes, and been stirred by the passions of the Revolution. Delille, like many other writers, lived too late for his reputation; he was formed by one age, and appeared in another. Unfortunately, too, that other was the age which had passed away, not that which was approaching; and thence the decline of his reputation to an extent by no means warranted by his real merits.

If Delille failed because he was not the man of the age, BERANGER has succeeded because he was. Never did literature
 65. more thoroughly embody the feelings Béranger. of a party, than his lyrical pieces did those of the Liberal party in France during the Restoration. Profound hatred of the Bourbons, and idolatrous worship of Napoleon, vain aspirations after the glories of the Empire, breathe in every page. Thence in a great measure undoubtedly their signal and remarkable success. But it would be unjust to ascribe that success entirely to their coincidence with the spirit of a large party in society. Their intrinsic merit is great and obvious. Béranger is imbued with the very soul of lyrical poetry; some of his best odes will bear a comparison with the most perfect of other countries, and are beyond all doubt the finest in that species of poetry of which French literature can boast. Like Campbell, Schiller, and Freiligrath, they contain the ideas of an ardent and heated generation, reflected back from an imaginative and poetical mind. There is doubtless much illusion and many false deductions in them: but exaggeration is the soul of lyric poetry; and it is well that it is so, for there is so much in life to render the mind prosaic, and extinguish the finer and more generous sympathies, that if poetry did not intervene to reawaken them, they would be speedily buried

under the weight of selfish desires and ordinary interests.

Akin to Béranger in principle and idea, though he wrote in prose instead of verse, PAUL COURIER deserves a place in the historical gallery of French literature, if not from the taste of his language or the delicacy of his feeling, at least from the energy of his thoughts and the raciness of his expressions. He is the exponent of the thoughts of that numerous class in France who had profited by the troubles, or been enriched by the spoils of the Revolution; and who, amidst the public disasters, had taken root in the soil with a strength which could never after be shaken. He was the orator, as Burns had been the poet, of the peasants; but he had not the refined mind or lofty aspirations of the Scotch plowman—his mind was cast in a rougher mould, and composed of coarser materials. But he was not on that account the less effective with the class for which he wrote; on the contrary, he was the more so. He was the O'Connell of the Revolutionary proprietors; and, like him, his influence and reputation, immense with a party during his lifetime, has declined, until it has become almost extinct since his death. There is no security for lasting fame, either in politics or literature, but in the espousing of interests of great and lasting concern to mankind, or in the spread of sentiments which shall permanently float down the stream, from their buoyant qualities and elevating tendency.

It is very remarkable, and singularly characteristic of the degradation of popular taste which the Revolution has induced in France, that the era of the Restoration has not produced one great dramatic poet. Dramatic *pieces*, indeed, have appeared in overflowing multitude, and many of them have enjoyed a brilliant reputation on the stage. But it has always been as short-lived as it was extensive; and if we would find the masters of the French drama, we must still revert to the writers of the age of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Corneille and Racine, Molière and Voltaire, still shine in the upper firmament in unapproachable splendor, and their light only appears the brighter from the disappearance of the many falling stars which shoot athwart the lower regions of the atmosphere. The numerous dramatic pieces which, since the Restoration, have appeared in France, have no poetic merit, nor do they ever aim at it. Their strength consists in a skillful use of stage effect, in scenes of deep pathos or breathless interest, in melodramatic pomp or undisguised licentiousness. There is not one of the numerous writers who have catered to the prevailing taste of the public in this department, who has earned a lasting reputation, or deserves a place in a gallery of historical portraits. This is a very remarkable circumstance in an age of such general intellectual effort, in a country which has produced so many great dramatic writers, and in which theatrical representations are so passionately sought after, as France. It has obviously been owing to some general and irresistible cause; nor is it difficult to see what that cause is.

The theatre is the place where either the corruption or elevation of the public taste first

appears, because it is the place where the greatest number of all classes of the people are assembled together, and success depends on their instant decision. Scientific works are addressed to the learned few; the higher class of literary productions to a wider but still limited circle; but dramatic pieces are brought at once into contact with the whole ranks of society. In the different gradations of the theatre, every class of society finds its place, from the haughty noble to the humble artisan. As dramatic fame and success depend upon the immediate filling of the house with spectators, the popularity of any pieces which are brought forward indicates with perfect certainty the prevailing taste of the majority of the audience. The stately verses of Corneille reflect the feelings of the high-born nobles and proud beauties who composed the court of the Grand Monarque, and filled the theatre of Versailles; the alternate pathos and buffoonery of Shakspeare, the mingled tastes of the mixed audience in the freer realms of England; the sustained elevation and heroic sentiments of Schiller, the feelings of the Fatherland during the years of mourning which preceded the glorious era of the war of liberation. Not less characteristic of the age in which it appeared than any which have preceded it, the modern theatre of France reflects the mingled violence and selfishness, corruption and licentiousness, thirst for excitement and desire of pleasure, which have been predominant in France since the Revolution. It is to be feared it is not less descriptive of the character of the general literature which is to succeed it. *Veluti in speculum* is the appropriate motto of the stage; but the mirror not only reflects the past, but foretells the future; and nowhere is the line of the poet more applicable—

"And coming events cast their shadows before."

The romance writers of France since the Revolution evince the same peculiarities which have distinguished its drama; in fact, the latter is little more than a concentration of the thoughts and images of the former. It is difficult to give an account of these very remarkable productions, in which genius and licentiousness, thought and levity, observation and imagination, virtue and vice, generosity and selfishness, heroism and egotism, the past and the present, the images of antiquity, the passions of the moment, are so strangely blended together. If the object of these highly-gifted writers had been to present, for future ages, a picture of the chaos of the human mind when torn up from its ancient moorings, and turned adrift upon the stormy sea of revolution, they could not have done so in so effectual a manner as by the composition of these strange but often highly interesting productions. Graphic pictures of ancient manners and ideas, frequent use of the imagery of religion, considered as a relic of the olden time, singularly effective on the opera stage, but never to be considered as a restraint on present gratification; a deep knowledge of the human heart, especially when torn by its wildest and most discordant passions; glowing pictures of voluptuousness alternately with elevating scenes of heroism; the most tender touches of pathos, the most degrading acts of selfishness—all that crime can accumulate

that is most detestable, all that virtue can present that is most elevating, alternately employ their varied pencils. Life appears to them neither a scene of probation, in which suffering must be endured, nor a period of enjoyment, in which gratification can securely be obtained; but a journey, in which alternate storms and sunshine are to be experienced, altogether irrespective of the conduct of the travelers. Their object is not, like the Greek dramatists, to represent the picture of a heroic mind wrestling with the storms of fate, nor, like the best class of English novelists, to record the final triumph of virtue over the machinations of wickedness. What they aim at is to paint the human mind, stirred by every passion, yielding to every seduction, and experiencing the alternate transports and torments, gleams of sunshine and horrors of the tempest, consequent on such a concession to the impulses of wickedness.

VICTOR HUGO is the first and most graphic of this school of novelists, in which Dumas, Victor Eugene Sue, and so many others, have acquired such brilliant contemporary reputation. His works are extremely voluminous, and, considered as pictures of the manners and ideas of successive eras of French history, extremely interesting. The author of *Nôtre Dame* has given an equally graphic account of many other periods of French story, and mingled historic truth with all the interest which romance, imagination, and licentiousness could communicate to its pages. Deeply versed in antiquarian and historic lore, he has adorned his pages with all the truthfulness and vivacity which the delineation of nature and the representation of reality can alone confer. Unfortunately, he has mingled with it the unbridled license and love of excitement which the passions of the Revolution have rendered essential to present success in France. He has gone far to barbarize the language of his country; there is in his writings as great a chaos of words as ideas; and if Racine or Molière were to rise from their graves, they would find half the words unknown to them. Gibbon has said with truth, that a very curious and valuable work might be written on the connection between words and things; nor is it surprising it should be so; for what are words but the expression of ideas? Judging by this standard, the Revolution has indeed produced a new world of thought in France; for most certainly it has all but created a new language.

Victor Hugo's mind is essentially picturesque and pictorial; he has considerable powers of the pathetic, but it is not his native bent. Very different is the case with the highly-gifted female writer whose works appear under the name of GEORGE SAND. She is endowed with powers in that respect which never were exceeded either by man or woman. She has all the strength of passion which characterizes the former, and all the tenderness which is the most beautiful feature of the latter. Strange phenomenon! that the exquisite pathos and romance which distinguish her finer passages and more perfect works, should be combined with the open profligacy and undisguised licentiousness which are equally conspicuous in them; nay, that the same characters should alternately present the one and the other. It is

said that a woman's conceptions in romance are nothing but a picture of what has really passed through her own heart; if so, what an extraordinary one has her genius exhibited of her heart, and the various crimes it has shared, the vicissitudes it has experienced! It is painful to see a mind in many respects so finely strung, and responding to some of the noblest feelings and most touching emotions of our nature, so deeply tinged by the prevailing passions and vices of the age as to have lost all sense of their real character, and ready to represent them, in works of imagination, as equally attractive with the most dignified and honorable sentiments in awakening the sympathies of the human mind.

EUGENE SUE can not be assigned so high a place as either of the preceding writers in a lasting estimate of contemporary merit, though his present reputation has been fully as great as that of either. It is impossible to deny to the author of *The Wandering Jew*, or the *Mysteries of Paris*, a very powerful imagination and creative fancy; but it is an imagination so wild, and a fancy so distorted, that foreign readers, at least, can not appreciate them. There is a natural appetite in mankind for scandal and pictures of hidden profligacy; and whoever lifts up the veil, which so many are anxious to peep under, is sure, for the time at least, to enjoy an extensive popularity. But it is for a time only. Delineation of scenes of secret voluptuousness never can attain a lasting popularity, if it was for no other reason than this, that the sexes can not speak of them to each other, and thus a great charm of works of imagination is lost. However much various peculiarities in human nature, which fall too prominently under the observation of the historian, may lead him to form an unfavorable estimate of it, there are others which have a directly opposite tendency, and demonstrate how many elements of the noble and the generous are mingled with a selfish alloy in our fallen nature. Not the least of these is the fact, proved from every page of literary history, that no work of genius ever attained to great and lasting fame which was not of a pure and elevating tendency; and if the sin of genius devoting itself to works of an opposite tendency is great, the punishment is still greater, for it is that of ultimate oblivion. It is in this sense we are to understand the just observation of Sir Joshua Reynolds, not less applicable to literature than painting, "The present and future times are two rivals; he who courts the one must make up his mind to be discountenanced by the other."¹

Perhaps the most remarkable branch of French literature, during the Restoration, and unquestionably that which has exercised the most powerful influence on contemporary events, is the PERIODICAL. This mighty engine, which has now come to exercise so powerful an influence over the fortunes both of France and England, and which, for good or for evil, appears to be omnipotent, has acquired even a greater ascendancy in the former country than the latter. At least the journals have done so; for it is a remarkable fact, eminently characteristic of the different temperament of the people of the two countries,

¹ Lectures on Painting.

^{73.} Periodical literature of France since the Revolution.

that while the Newspapers are more powerful in France, the monthly or quarterly literature is more influential in Great Britain. There are no Reviews or Magazines in France, which sway so powerfully the opinions each of their own sections of the community, as the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly*, the *Westminster*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* is a most able periodical; but it deals more with science and literature, and with past than present events. It would appear that the sober-minded English, though they all read the daily press, often distrust its violence, or dread its misrepresentations, and reserve the moulding of their opinions for the more deliberate articles of the higher periodical literature; while the French, ardent, hasty, and impetuous, yield an instantaneous assent to the effusions of the daily press, which fall in with or inflame their preconceived impressions, and are often prepared to act on the most violent of their suggestions. It is well known that nearly all the revolutions which have convulsed France during the last sixty years have been prepared and brought on in this way; and it was this which made the Duke of Wellington say, that in Paris they conspired in the public squares.

From this unbounded influence of the daily press on general opinion, and, through it, on the measures of Government, and the fate not only of administrations but dynasties, has arisen an important difference between the character of the journals and the class of men who write in them in the two countries. In England, till very lately, the highest class of writers very seldom wrote articles in the daily press; and if, on particular occasions, and to serve a special purpose, they did so, they endeavored to conceal their names, and were often not a little ashamed if they were found out. Even in the monthly and quarterly literature, though they contributed largely, they endeavored to keep up the *incognito*, and the essays were not collected and published, with the author's name, till his success in his avowed publications rendered it probable that they would be favorably received by the public. In France, on the other hand, not only were the leading journals on the Liberal and Royalist sides regularly and daily supported by the very highest writers both in point of talent and reputation, but, so far from being ashamed of, they gloried in it, and considered it their best passport to present influence and lasting fame. Chateaubriand, Guizot, Barante, Thiers, Lamartine, Eugene Sue, Dumas, Victor Hugo, and, indeed, all the popular writers of the age, contributed almost daily to the public journals, and their collected articles form not the least interesting, and perhaps the ablest part of their whole compositions. It is to this cause that the extraordinary ability of the public press during the Restoration, and the vast influence which it had on general opinion, is to be ascribed. Men of philosophic minds, and possessing stores of information, seldom write so well, at least for the time, as when under the influence of political excitement; for that gives fire to thoughts matured by study, and based on previous reflection.

We are not to ascribe this importance merely to the greater excitability, and liability to immediate impressions, of the French than the English. At least, as much was it owing to the absence of those influences to the south of the Channel which on the north of it still exercised a predominating influence. The nobility were still erect in England, not only in their hereditary homes, but in political weight; the country gentlemen, though much curtailed of their importance, still lived, dispensed hospitalities, and enjoyed influence on their estates. It was in these two bodies that the ruling power in the State was still to be found; the inhabitants of cities, though daily rising in political consequence, had not yet become the rulers of the empire. It is on the inhabitants of cities, however, or those whose habits have been formed there, that the daily press acts with its principal force; the comparatively secluded life, rural occupations, and intellectual slowness of the inhabitants of the country, always render them more tenacious of old habits and ideas, and less amenable to modern influence. In France this class was entirely wanting; the division of the landed estates among the peasantry had extinguished the land as the seat of political influence, or of peculiar and influential thought. Every thing depended on the opinions of the inhabitants of towns, the very class most liable to be swayed by the daily press. Thus the arena and rewards of composition for the public journals were different in the two countries: in England, the country was the seat of influence, the House of Commons the theatre of contest; in France, Paris and the chief towns were the ruling power, the disposition of their citizens determined the fate of parties, and they were almost entirely directed by the daily press. Hence the difference in the class of men who at that period in the two countries engaged in its animated and varied pleadings.

Add to this, the citizens of the metropolis had discovered a more summary and effectual method of asserting and securing their political supremacy than by the slow method of parliamentary influence. The Revolution had taught them on many occasions that, by means of a well-concerted urban tumult, especially if aided by any considerable defection on the part of the military, not only might the legislature be overawed, and the executive subdued, but the dynasty itself might, if necessary, be changed. The work of repeated conflicts, during a long series of parliamentary campaigns, might be done in three days. If victorious, the claims of the leaders of the daily press, by whom the minds of men had been prepared for the revolt, were at once recognized; the editors of newspapers became ministers of state. No one need be told that M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Lamartine, and a great proportion of the statesmen who have ruled France since the fall of Napoleon, were borne forward to power in this way—a thing to this day altogether unknown on this side of the Channel. It is not surprising that the greatest talent in France put into the newspaper lottery when such prizes were in the

75.
Causes of this difference. Destruction of the influence of property.

76.
Owing also to facility of Revolution in France.

wheel. And, accordingly, the class of men who wrote in the public journals in Great Britain has been sensibly changed since their influence on political change has been rendered more direct; and it is sometimes now supported by the leading statesmen and first writers of the age.

However clearly we may perceive that this change is unavoidable, and that the influence of the public journals on general opinion, and through it on the measures of Government, in all free countries, is daily becoming more decided, it is impossible to contemplate the change without apprehension. The great danger of the daily press is, that it is led to inflame the passions of the moment; its profit, its fame, often its existence, depend on doing so. Whatever is the prevailing inclination of the public mind, that the great majority of the daily press is sure to increase. But as the prevailing inclinations are just as often wrong as right, and founded in error as based in truth, it is impossible to contemplate without apprehension the growth of a power in the state capable of rendering any one of these errors omnipotent for the moment, and precipitating the nation, with the general concurrence of the influential masses, into a course of measures which may eventually prove its ruin. The well-known inability of the vast majority of men to contemplate or give long consideration to remote consequences, however obvious to the thinking few, renders this danger only the greater as the institutions of the state become more democratic: and the ultimate and certain triumph of truth over falsehood, of reason over delusion, affords no security whatever against these dangers; for though that may enlighten future ages, it will not prevent the errors of the present from working out their natural result; and if the state is destroyed, it is poor consolation for the victims in it to discover that they have been ruined by the consequences of their own folly.

The decline of the drama in France since the Revolution, has necessarily drawn after it the degradation of the stage; for how can the powers of a mighty actor be exhibited in delineating a succession of murders and adulteries, of incests and poisonings, of hairbreadth escapes and atrocious deeds, such as form the staple of the modern or romantic drama in France? The great performers, whether male or female, have been confined, as a matter of necessity, to the legitimate drama. But although it with difficulty maintained its ground against the surging waves of the romantic school, yet it was not without a violent struggle it was overcome; and perhaps the brightest histrionic genius of France shone forth in the days which immediately preceded the fall of that noble art. At the very head of them all we must place TALMA, a performer so great that he has acquired a European reputation; and is worthy to be placed beside John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, whose genius then threw an expiring lustre over the English stage. He had not their great physical advantages; he had neither the Roman profile of the former nor the majestic beauty of the latter; his figure was short and

thick; his countenance unexpressive; his voice, when raised high, degenerated into a scream. But all these disadvantages were more than compensated by the energy of his mind, and his wonderful power in the representation of passion: he acted with magical effect because he felt strongly, and was thoroughly in earnest—the best, perhaps the only security for success, whether in literature or art. Nothing could exceed the thrill of horror which ran through the audience in his representation of the more impassioned scenes. Those who have experienced a similar sensation from the performances of Mademoiselle Rachel can alone form a conception of it. To English spectators the principal fault of his acting appeared to be that his vehement gesticulation began too early, and went on too long; the demands on the vehement sympathies of the audience were too incessant. That peculiarity, however, belongs to the whole French school of acting, and arises, partly from the animated manners of the people, and partly from the experienced necessity of supplying, by the intensity of the representation, for the measured language and stately voice of the poet.

Contemporary with Talma, and, like him, one of the last stays of the legitimate drama in France, was MADEMOISELLE Madlle. GEORGES. She was gifted with far greater natural advantages. Dark hair, a splendid bust, and commanding countenance, a fine figure, and majestic air, gave her, like Mrs. Siddons, that command of the senses which, on the stage, is so important an element in general and lasting success. Her mental qualities were on a level with her physical advantages, and rendered her, during nearly twenty years, the most admired actress on the boards of the Théâtre Français. She was not so vehement in her representation as either Talma or Rachel, but she was, perhaps, on that account only the more pleasing; the mind was less worn out, from the outset, with violent emotions, and therefore better fitted to feel them in their full intensity in the latter scenes, for which they were reserved. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of her declamations—the voice, the manner, the intonation were perfect. It was the spirit of Corneille embodied in the person of a splendid and fascinating woman.

Very different was the character of MADEMOISELLE MARS, who reigned as supreme in elegant comedy as Mademoiselle Maddle. Georges did in the severer walks of tragedy. Her countenance was charming, and, without regular beauty, in the highest degree expressive; but her figure was large, which, but for the vivacity and youthfulness of her disposition, would have disabled her from the performance of those juvenile parts in which she so much excelled. This circumstance, however, as is often the case, made her appear young when she really was no longer so. She died at the age of sixty-three, and her passport to the last assigned thirty as her age. Her appearance on the stage, however, did not belie this flattering delusion. If the love of admiration is, *par excellence*, the great characteristic of French women, Mademoiselle Mars was the incarnation of their temperament. She was co-

quetry personified. Never did it appear in a more graceful and fascinating form, and never did it command a greater number of devout worshippers. Without ever being low, she was always attractive: hers were the charms of high-bred beauty, not the hoidenish romping of village maidens. She could descend to represent their festivities, to personify their characters, but it was always with an air of elegance. She was often on the verge, but never passed the limits of decorum, and the most refined taste could find nothing to except to in her most animated performances.

Last in this bright band, **MADemoisELLE RACHÉL** is perhaps the most powerful, and Madlle. in her genius the most gifted. She is Rachél. the very reverse in personal appearance of Mademoiselle Georges or Mademoiselle Mars; her figure is fine and commanding, but it is thin rather than the reverse, and charms the eye by the grace of its movements, the loftiness of its height, not the fullness of its proportions. She seems to have been worn away by the intensity of her own feelings. But they are so vehement, that she sweeps every thing before her when she gives them vent; it is like a torrent of lava issuing from the summit of Vesuvius. In the delineation of jealousy, in particular, she is unrivalled; every fibre, every limb, every muscle, quivers with the intensity of the emotion: her whole soul, like the Pythoness in the moment of inspiration, seems thrown into the writhings of her figure. It is these wonderful delineations of passion, in its most fiery moods, which have given her the colossal reputation she enjoys in every part of Europe. Strong deep feeling speaks a language which is understood in every clime. She has little of the tender in her composition, and seldom aims at its delineation; it is the violent, the scornful, the indignant feelings, which she represents with such marvelous effect. Her Phedre, Hermione, and Alzire, are master-pieces which those who have witnessed can never forget. It is melancholy to think that, as she is the greatest of French actresses, so she is the last; and that after she is withdrawn from the public gaze, not a vestige will remain on the stage which Corneille and Racine have immortalized, of the genius which so long added fresh charms to the representation of their dramas.

Of all the fine arts, **ARCHITECTURE** is the one which, since the Revolution, has made the most decided progress in France. Nothing strikes a stranger so much, on his first arrival in France, as the combined magnificence and pure taste of their public edifices. Built always of beautiful freestone, which, easily cut at first, becomes hard by exposure to the air, they present, in their simplicity and elegance, a striking contrast to the combination of meretricious taste and perishable materials which are so conspicuous in most of the modern edifices of London. It is probably the very durability and hardness of their materials which have contributed to the chasteness of the style in which they are built. A fantastic or ill-regulated taste works with much more difficulty on granite or freestone than on plaster-of-Paris. Simplicity and chasteness of taste become in a manner a matter of necessity. The finest buildings of Paris—the Louvre, the

Place Louis XV., the Pantheon, the Madeleine, the Bourse, the Hôtel des Invalides, the Pillar of Austerlitz—indeed, were completed by the magnificence of Louis XIV., or projected by the genius of Napoleon; but it is no slight proof of the sustained purity and elevation of the public taste that the stately style, begun by the first of these great men, and followed up by the second, has been continued by their successors. No changes of government, though they may have for the time suspended, have been able permanently to interrupt the progress of their magnificent edifices. The perpetual charm which these afford to the eye is not the least of the many attractions which permanently attract strangers in such numbers to the French capital.

If modern French architecture is remarkable for the imposing effect which it exhibits, and the purity of taste Modern French by which it is distinguished, the school of painting. same can not be said of its painting. Here the meretricious influence of artificial society is very conspicuous. It is not nature which the modern French artists have studied, but *operatic nature*: the gestures and expression of the theatre are conspicuous at every step; the glare of the stage lamps is seen in every light and shade. The attitudes in their historical pieces are all taken from the opera, and exhibit that vehemence and contortion of figure by which their theatrical representations are distinguished, and which is so much at variance with the calm and severe simplicity of the old Italian school. So great has been the influence of the stage on the modern French school of painting, that it may be regarded as omnipotent, and has forever precluded its artists from taking an elevated place in the pantheon of modern genius.

The painter among them who is distinguished by the greatest simplicity, and who, therefore, has attained to the greatest excellence, is **Le Gros**. Such is the strength of his genius, and the severe masculine character of his mind, that it has caused him to surmount in a great degree the artificial and meretricious taste by which he was surrounded, and revert to the truth of nature and the severe simplicity of ancient art. His great piece of "Napoleon riding over the Field of Eylau the day after the Battle," is worthy to be placed beside the finest battle-pieces of Le Brun, both for grandeur of thought, chasteness of coloring, and generality of effect. There is no contemporary historical painting by any British artist which can be compared to it. The other historical painters of France are all stained by the great defect of the French school—that of imitating, not nature, but the stage. There is not in the world, a few brilliant pieces excepted, a more stupendous exhibition of accumulated bad taste and unnatural gestures than the great collection of Versailles now presents; it is worthy to be placed beside the marble monuments of Westminster Abbey, as a collection of the corruption and perversion of taste in an age boasting its civilization and refinement.

To the general condemnation of the modern French school of painting, another exception must be made in the pictures of **HORACE VERNET**. He is great, because

he has studied, not the theatre, but nature—because he has imitated, not the *figurantes* of the opera, but the habits and forms of actual existence. Like Landseer, he is one of the greatest painters of animals that ever existed; but, unlike him, he has in general represented them, not in their own peaceful and happy retreats, but in connection with the excitement, the pursuits, and the animation of war. Bivouacs of the Old Guard, pickets of cavalry, night-scenes of the Arabs in the desert, charges of horse, evolutions of artillery, have alternately occupied his skillful and practiced pencil. The African campaigns, in particular, with their desperate passages-at-arms, picturesque incidents, varied costumes, and collision of European with Asiatic military force, have furnished equally striking and favorite subjects for his brilliant genius. He is essentially a military painter; but in the choice of his subjects, and the figures which fill his canvas, he has availed himself of every accessory which the battle-field, the night bivouac, the march, the rest at noon, the watering-places, the preparation for action, the fall of the hero, the anguish of the wounded, could afford; and these varied subjects are delineated with a truth and fidelity of drawing, as well as simplicity of effect, which proves that he has studied in the only school of real greatness—the school of nature.

Such is a brief, and, from the magnitude of the subjects embraced in it, most imperfect survey of the literature ^{86.} Conclusion. and genius of France during and subsequent to the Restoration. Feeble as the picture is, it is, however, instructive; it demonstrates how powerfully the general mind had been stirred in that great country by the Revolution—how many errors had been abjured by its suffering—how many illusions dispelled by its results. The survey in some respects is melancholy, in others cheering. If it demonstrates on what erroneous premises, and what delusive expectations, former opinions had been formed, it teaches us not less clearly that an overruling Providence can educe good out of evil even in the darkest and most melancholy period of the moral world. It tells us, still more, that the evil, however poignant and widespread, is transitory, but the good educed, the genius elicited, the truth evolved, is lasting in its effects. However bitter may have been the suffering in that great and guilty country during the last sixty years from the passions of its inhabitants, it has come to an end with the generation which endured it. But the genius of Chateaubriand, the philosophy of Guizot, the imagination of Lamartine, the thought of De Tocqueville, will prove a lasting bequest to the species, and never cease to instruct, elevate, and delight the future generations of men.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY IN 1822 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS IN DECEMBER, 1825.

It has been already stated,¹ that the effect of that marvelous discovery of modern times, a paper currency, is twofold, and that the greatest misfortunes which have befallen Great Britain during the last half-century have arisen from confining operations to one of them only. It is either a *representative* of gold and silver, or it is a *substitute* for them. Considered in the first view, it can, of course, only be expanded or diminished in proportion as the supply of the precious metals for the general use of the country is plentiful or contracted; for no representative can with safety be augmented, unless the thing represented has been proportionally increased. In this view, a paper currency is undoubtedly a great convenience, as it is so portable and easy of transference compared to gold or silver; but its chief effects in averting disaster or stimulating prosperity are not to be attained as long as it is limited in that way. It is when it is issued, under proper restrictions, by proper parties, and adequately secured, as a *substitute for the precious metals*, that it becomes so invaluable an element in national prosperity. When properly managed in this way, and sufficiently guarded against abuse, it becomes the greatest stimulus to industry, and the most valuable shield against misfortune, which is known in pacific life; for it multiplies the reservoirs by which the former is to be nourished, and fills up the void by which the latter is induced. It sustains national industry, and prevents a shock to credit during those periods of frequent and almost periodic occurrence in a commercial community, when the precious metals are in a great measure entirely drained away from the country by the necessities of war or the changes of commerce, and brings it with safety through a crisis which otherwise might prove fatal to its fortunes. If used only as a representative of the precious metals, it not only does not alleviate or avert these evils, but it aggravates them in the most ruinous manner, because it expands the paper circulation when gold and silver are plentiful; and such an addition to credit and stimulus to speculation is not only unnecessary, but dangerous, and lands the nation in a vast variety of undertakings which of necessity must be abruptly abandoned, and ruin brought on those engaged in them, when the precious metals, and with them the paper resting on their basis, are withdrawn.

Experience has now thrown a clear light upon this all-important but intricate subject. During the war, from 1797 to 1815, paper was a substitute for the precious metals, and it brought the nation prosperous and triumphant through all its dangers, and dif-

fused general prosperity at a time when hardly a guinea was left in the country; but it was issued in such quantities, from the necessities of Government, that it more than doubled the price of all the articles of commerce, and exposed the nation to a grievous collapse, when, from the prospect of resuming cash payments, the circulation was materially contracted. The passing of the bill of 1819, which realized that prospect, and at once rendered paper the representative of gold only, at a time when, from the effects of the South American Revolution, the annual supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe had been reduced to a third of its former amount, of necessity contracted the currency so much that it sunk in England from £48,278,070 in 1818, to £26,588,000 in 1822; and, as a necessary consequence, lowered the price of all the articles of production and commerce fifty per cent. The misery produced to all the industrious classes by this prodigious fall of prices, when debts, taxes, and incumbrances of every description remained the same, was such as at length absolutely compelled Government to give an extension to the currency, which was done by the bill of 1822, extending for ten years the period during which small notes were to be retained in circulation. This, again, by retaining the fatal principle that paper was to be a representative of gold, not a substitute for it, landed the nation in the opposite set of dangers; and its domestic history, from 1822 to the end of 1825, is nothing but a development of the perilous effects of a plentiful paper currency, a representative of the precious metals, not a substitute for them, and based upon their retention.

As the disastrous effects of the monetary system established in 1819 arose in a great degree from the violent contraction of the monetary circulation of the globe, from the effects of the South American Revolution, at the very time when the paper currency of Great Britain was rendered dependent on its retention, so the opposite set of dangers which were so fatally experienced in the country from the extension of the currency in 1822, was in an equal degree dependent on the extravagant ideas entertained of the boundless advantages to be derived from the emancipation of the South American colonies. Many causes conspired to bring about a revival of industry and enterprise in the end of 1822 and beginning of 1823: The very magnitude of the distress of the three preceding years tended, as it always does, to produce this result. Old clothes were worn out, new ones were required. The stringency of economy during past years had both rendered necessary a supply of articles of comfort, and provided little funds for their purchase. The price of wheat, which in the

1. Paper either a representative of specie or a substitute for it. Ante, c. 16.

3. Effect of the South American Revolution on the currency of Great Britain.

beginning of 1822 had been 48s. 6d., fell, from the effects of a good harvest, before the end of that year, to 38s. 10d., being the lowest point it had reached in the preceding twenty years.¹

Though this great fall bore hard upon the agricultural interest, it proportionally relieved the manufacturing, and let loose a considerable portion of the earnings of the working classes, hitherto absorbed in the purchase of food, for the acquisition of humble conveniences. This gave a stimulus to the home market for manufactures; and at the same period the foreign market was greatly extended, chiefly in consequence of vast shipments to South America, to the extent of which market it was thought no limits could be assigned. The exports to South America, which in 1818 had been £2,376,000, rose in 1822 to £3,166,000, in 1823 to £4,218,893, and in 1825 to £6,425,715.* The result was a very great increase in the *quantity* of manufactures produced in the year, though, from the fall in the cost of production, and consequent declared value of exports, it did not appear to the same extent in the parliamentary returns till the effects of the expansion of the currency began to appear in the general results.

When these circumstances were preparing an increase of activity and industry in the manufacturing districts of the country, two circumstances of paramount importance occurred at the same time to enlarge the currency, in such a way as poured a flood of prosperity over the nation, but resting on so insecure a basis—the retention of gold—as involved it in the end in the most unheard-of calamities. The first of these was the Small Note Bill, passed in July, 1822, which extended the period during which small notes were to be issued, which was to have terminated in 1823, for ten years longer. The second was the virtual establishment, in the close of 1822, of the independence of the South American republics, which took place in 1822 by the general triumph of the arms of the insurgents, and the express recognition of their independence by Great Britain in July, 1823.² It is

hard to say which of these events contributed most powerfully to enlarge the currency, and with it to raise prices and stimulate industry throughout the country; for the first continued that admirable and convenient medium of exchange which is so suited to the wants of the community, that wherever it is allowed to exist it invariably banishes gold from the circulation; the second diffused the most boundless ideas of the endless supplies of the precious metals which would flow into the country when the inexhaustible mineral treasures of South America were worked by

British enterprise and capital, and their produce brought direct to the Bank of England. The belief was universal, and most of all among practical sagacious men, that the supplies of specie would never again fail, now that South America had become independent. The El Dorado which was realized in 1852, by the discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia, was confidently anticipated thirty years earlier from the establishment of those republics; and that essential element in commercial prosperity, general confidence, was established from the very circumstances which rendered it most insecure.

The effect of this expansion of the currency, of course, did not take place *immediately*, nor for a considerable time after the causes which induced it had come into operation. This is a very important observation, and affords the answer to many erroneous ideas which prevail on this subject. When a monetary panic arises, or a sudden contraction of the currency takes place, the effect is often *instantaneous*; the whole industrial undertakings of the country may be thrown into difficulties, or ruined in one week. But the vivifying influence of an expansion of the currency is much slower in developing itself; it is the work of time, and generally does not become apparent for six months or a year after the change has come into operation. The reason is, that refusals to continue advances by bankers at once suspend or ruin the most important undertakings; but the extension of their accommodation does not immediately set these in motion, and till this takes place the change of prices does not appear. There is no immediate or necessary connection between the expansion of the currency and a change of prices; the result takes place slowly and gradually by the extension of credit by bankers, and its effect on the undertakings and industrial enterprise of the country. The one is analogous to the destruction of life, which may be accomplished in an instant; the other to its creation or growth, which can be effected only by the lapse of time. The change of prices, accordingly, and stimulus to industry produced by the extension of the currency in July, 1822, did not come into operation till the spring of 1823, and continued through the whole of that and the succeeding year. The low prices of the close of 1822 were the effect of the contraction of the circulating medium in the three years preceding. In like manner the change of prices and stimulus to industry which resulted over the world from the discovery of the mines of California and Australia in 1850, did not take place in that year, or even the next, but came into full operation in 1852 and 1853.

The truth of these principles was fully demonstrated by the expansion of the currency, and corresponding rise of prices and stimulus to industry during the course of the year 1823. The average of bank notes in circulation, which in 1822 had been £17,862,890, rose in 1823 to £18,629,540, and in 1824. Number of that year was as high as £20,406,564. The increase in country bankers' notes was still more considerable; judging from the

* EXPORTS TO SOUTH AMERICA, INCLUDING BRAZIL, FROM 1817 TO 1825.

Years.	£.	Declared value of exports.
1817	2,147,497	41,492,312
1818	2,651,337	46,112,800
1819	3,995,757	34,881,727
1820	2,921,300	36,126,322
1821	2,947,237	36,333,102
1822	3,166,714	36,650,039
1823	4,218,893	36,375,342
1824	5,572,579	38,422,312
1825	6,425,715	38,870,851

—PORTER, 3d edit., 359.

5. The change of prices through extension of currency is not immediate, but gradual.

6. Effect of the expansion of the currency on prices in 1823 and 1824.

number of stamps issued, it was, as compared with 1821, a third, and a ninth as compared with 1822.* The effect on prices fully appeared in the course of the year: wheat, which was at 38s. 11d. in the end of 1822, rose in 1823 to 52s. 8d., and in 1824 to 64s. 3d. All these effects took place in a still more remarkable degree in 1824, when, in addition to the expansion of the currency, a general fever of speculation had set in upon the country. The Bank of England notes rose at the end of autumn in that year to £20,177,820, and the country bank-notes to £9,920,071;† and the paper under discount at the Bank, which in 1821 had been only £2,722,587, rose in 1823 to £5,624,693, and in 1824 to £6,255,343. This great addition to the paper circulation was rested on a corresponding addition to the store of bullion in the coffers of the Bank of England, which increased to such a degree that in January, 1824, it had reached the enormous amount of £14,200,000, from 3,595,360, which it had in 1819, and £10,097,000 in 1822.¹

The effect of this great addition to the circulation, both paper and metallic, of the country in 1823 and 1824, appeared in the most decisive manner in the prices of articles of commerce of all kinds. Wheat rose from 38s. in 1822 to above 60s. in 1824, an addition of above 50 per cent. All other kinds of agricultural produce, as well as the principal branches of manufacture, rose in a similar proportion.‡ The consequences were immediate, and encouraging in the highest de-

gree. They were emphatically dwelt on in the speeches from the throne at the opening of Parliament in both these years. In February, 1823, the King said: "Deeply as his Majesty regrets the continued depression of the agricultural interest, the satisfaction with which his Majesty contemplates the increasing activity which pervades the manufacturing districts, and the flourishing condition of our commerce in most of its principal branches, is greatly enhanced by the confident persuasion that the progressive prosperity of so many of the interests of the country can not fail to contribute to the improvement of that great interest which is the most important of them all." And in the corresponding speech in February, 1824, his Majesty said, in words still more emphatic and strong: "Trade and commerce are extending themselves both at home and abroad.§ An increasing activity pervades almost every branch of manufacture. The growth of revenue is such as not only to sustain public credit, and to prove the unimpaired productiveness of our resources, but to evince a diffusion of comfort among the great body of the people. Agriculture is recovering from the depression under which it labored, and, by the steady operation of natural causes, is gradually reassuming the station to which its importance entitles it among the great interests of the nation. At no former period has there prevailed a more cheerful spirit of order, or a more just sense of the advantages which, under the blessings of Providence they enjoy.¹ In Ireland, which

¹ Royal Speeches, Feb. 1823 and 1824; Ann. Reg. 1823, 5; 1824, 3, 4.

* STAMPS FOR COUNTRY BANK-NOTES ISSUED ON 10TH OCTOBER, AND AVERAGE PRICES OF WHEAT.			
Years.	£.	Average Prices of Wheat per Quarter.	
1820	3,574,894	54s.	6d.
1821	3,987,582	49s.	0d.
1822	4,217,241	38s.	11d.
1823	4,657,589	52s.	8d.
1824	4,822,174	64s.	3d.

—TOOKE, *On Prices*, ii. 129, 390.

† BANK AND BANKERS' NOTES IN CIRCULATION, THE PAPER UNDER DISCOUNT AT THE BANK, AND PRICE OF WHEAT AND COTTON, FROM 1815 TO 1825.

Years.	Bank Notes.	Country Banks.	Total.	Paper under discount at Bank 30th August.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.	Price of Cotton per lb.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	s. d.	s. d.
1815	27,261,650	19,011,000	46,272,650	20,660,694	55 7	1 9
1816	27,013,620	15,096,000	42,109,620	11,182,109	103 7	1 6
1817	27,397,900	15,894,000	43,291,900	5,507,392	84 0	1 6
1818	27,771,070	20,507,000	48,278,070	5,113,748	80 8	1 3
1819	25,227,100	15,701,328	40,928,428	6,321,402	66 3	1 1
1820	23,509,150	10,576,245	34,145,395	4,672,123	54 6	0 8½
1821	22,471,450	8,256,180	30,727,630	2,722,587	49 0	0 8½
1822	18,172,170	8,416,430	26,588,600	3,622,151	38 11	0 8
1823	18,176,470	9,920,074	27,396,544	5,624,698	52 0	0 8
1824	19,927,800	12,831,352	32,761,152	6,655,343	64 3	0 9½
1825	26,069,130	14,980,168	41,049,298	7,691,464	63 0	0 9½

—TOOKE, *On Prices*, ii. 390, 401; *History of Europe*, App., chap. xcvi.

‡ PRICES OF WHEAT, BARLEY, MEAL, COTTON, AND IRON, FROM 1822 TO 1825.

Years.	Wheat per Quarter.	Barley per Quarter.	Meal per Tierce.	Cotton per lb.	Iron per Ton.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£. s.
1822	38 11	18 3	80 0	0 8½	6 0
1823	52 0	24 6	97 0	0 8	6 10
1824	64 3	32 2	82 6	0 9	7 0
1825	63 0	31 0	110 0	0 9½	11 10

—TOOKE, ii. 388, 401.

§ EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1820 TO 1825.

Years.	Imports.	Exports. Official Value.	Exports. Declared Value.	Revenue.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1820	32,438,650	38,395,625	36,424,652	54,282,955
1821	30,792,769	40,831,744	36,659,630	55,834,192
1822	30,500,094	44,236,533	36,968,964	55,663,650
1823	35,798,707	43,804,372	35,458,048	57,672,999
1824	37,552,935	48,735,551	38,366,300	59,362,403
1825	44,137,482	47,166,020	38,877,388	57,273,869

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation* (3d edition), 356, 475.

has for some time past been the object of his Majesty's particular solicitude, there are many indications of amendment."

It was no wonder the speeches from the throne during these years made such special mention of the increasing prosperity of the nation, for the symptoms of it were universal.

The manufactures produced during the last six months of 1822 surpassed those of the preceding so much, that the average of that year considerably exceeded that of the preceding year by fully a fifth. During the whole of 1823 and 1824, the same progress was still more conspicuous; although, from the increase being chiefly in the home market, the exports and imports gave no adequate indication of its real amount. Yet, such as it was, it was very considerable; and the great increase of the imports, in particular, indicated the increased prosperity of the people. The revenue exhibited the same symptoms of elasticity; for, notwithstanding a reduction of taxation in the years 1822 and 1823,* amounting to £7,000,000 sterling, it exhibited an increase of £4,000,000 in 1824 compared with 1822, and £5,000,000 compared with 1820. Agricultural distress, indeed, the sad bequest of the contracted currency of the three preceding years, was still very prevalent, especially in the commencement of 1823; and numerous county meetings were held, in which the general distress of the landed interest, and the necessity of the most unflinching reduction of expenditure, were emphatically urged. At one in Norwich, Mr. Cobbett proposed, and carried against the united Whig aristocracy of the county, resolutions declaratory of the necessity of a great reduction of the standing army, a sale of the whole Crown-lands, an abolition of all sinecures, an equitable adjustment of the national debt, and a sweeping measure of parliamentary reform. But the rise in the value of agricultural produce, arising from the extension of the currency, ere long extinguished these ill humors by removing their cause; and the landed interest, during 1824 and 1825, 1824, 2, 3; as they shared in the general prosperity, participated in the universal contentment.¹

Mr. Wallace, the able President of the Board of Trade at this period, gave the following picture of the state of the country under the action of the monetary measures in progress, from 1815 to 1823. On 12th February, 1823, he said in his place in Parliament: "The general export of the country, in the four years from 1815 to 1819, had decreased £14,000,000 in official value; and he took the official value in preference to the declared, because it was from the quantity of goods pro-

duced that the best measure was derived of the employment afforded to the different classes of the community. *In the year from 5th January, 1819, to 5th January, 1820, the export of the country fell off no less than £11,000,000; and in looking at that part of it which was more completely only of British or Irish manufacture, he found that the difference in four years was £8,414,711; and that in the year from 5th January, 1820, to 5th January, 1821, there was a decrease of £8,929,629. Nobody, therefore, could be surprised that, at that period, the industry of the country appeared to be in a state of the utmost depression; that our manufacturers were most of them unemployed; that our agriculturists were many of them embarrassed; and that the country, to use the phrase of a friend of his in presenting a petition from the merchants of London, exhibited all the appearances of a dying nation.* Though the condition of the agricultural interest was not as favorable as he could wish, still it was most satisfactory for him to state, that not only did the exports of last year (1822) exceed those of all the years to which he had been alluding, but also those of the most flourishing year which had occurred during the continuance of the war. In all the material articles there had been a considerable increase. The export of cotton had increased 10 per cent., and hardware 17 per cent.; of linens 12 per cent., and of woollens 13 per cent.; and the aggregate exports of 1822 exceeded those of 1820 by 20 per cent., and of 1821 by 7 per cent.—notwithstanding a deduction was to be made from the exports of one great article, sugar, owing to a prohibitory decree of Russia, amounting to 35 per cent."¹ 101.

These favorable circumstances enabled Government to make considerable reductions of taxation during the years 1823 and 1824, and to exhibit a very flattering, though, as it proved, fallacious view of the public finances to the nation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the revenue of the nation, in 1823, at £57,000,000 in the first of these years, and the expenditure at £49,852,786; leaving a surplus of £7,147,214. Of this large surplus he proposed to set aside £5,000,000, conformably to the resolution of 1821, for the reduction of debt, and the residue was to be devoted to the remission of taxation. This reduction was, on truly wise principles, to be effected on the direct taxation; and the duties selected for remission were the assessed taxes. They were lowered at once 50 per cent.—a reduction which, on the window-tax, was estimated at £1,205,000; and on the whole assessed taxes, £2,200,000. The whole assessed taxes of Ireland, amounting to £100,000, were repealed, and the window-tax taken entirely away from the ground-floor of shops and warehouses, though connected with houses. The last reduction deserves to be noted as the first indication of the growing influence of that numerous body, the shopkeepers, who, in the end, acquired a very powerful influence in the direction of the State. This budget, the most favorable which had been laid before Parliament for many years, was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House.² 21, 1823.

* TAXES REPEALED FROM 1821 TO 1823.

Agricultural horses—1822	£480,000
Malt, " "	1,400,000
Salt, " "	1,295,000
Hides, " "	300,000
Assessed Taxes—1823	2,300,000
Do. (Ireland)	100,000
Tonnage	160,000
Windows (Ireland)	180,000
Spirits (Ireland)	380,000
Do. (Scotland)	340,000
	£6,935,000

The budget of 1824 exhibited appearances not less favorable. The Chancellor

Budget of the Exchequer, on this occasion, 1824.

had the satisfaction of announcing the agreeable intelligence, that the Emperor of Austria had agreed to pay £2,500,000 in satisfaction of loans of £6,000,000 made to him in 1795 and 1797. This unexpected windfall, which was not inaptly called a "godsend," enabled Government to exhibit a more favorable statement of the public finances than could have been anticipated even from the very prosperous state of the nation. The total revenue was taken at £57,385,000, including the repayments to account of the Austrian loan, and the expenditure at £56,332,924; leaving a surplus of £1,052,076, after applying £5,134,458 to the reduction of debt. This statement, however, was so far fallacious, as, by the arrangement regarding the Dead Weight, as it was called, or military and naval pensions, two millions now figured in the surplus which were in reality obtained by having made permanent, during forty-five years, an item of charge which otherwise would almost have disappeared by the progressive death of the recipients before that time; so that the surplus, but for that shifting of present burdens on posterity, would only have been £3,000,000. This surplus of £1,052,076 the Chancellor of the Exchequer took advantage of to remit to the nation part of the duty on rum, coals, wool, silk, and law proceedings, amounting in all to £1,262,000.¹

The favorable state of the finances, and the high range of the public funds, which rose progressively to 84 in December, 1823, and to 96 in October, 1824, enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry through two measures which contributed, in a material degree, to relieve the pressure on the exchequer. The first of these was the carrying out the arrangement proposed in the preceding year for equalizing, as it was called, the weight of the military and naval pensions, by transmuting them into a fixed charge on the nation for forty-five years. No purchasers had been found for these annuities during the distressed state of the money market in the preceding year; but the affluence of circulation, produced by the extension of the currency, now induced the Bank of England to take part of it, which they did by a contract which was to last five years. By this means there was a present saving, on the part taken, of £585,000 a year effected; but a more delusive scheme never was proposed; for it was nothing but shifting the burden of present debt on posterity, and purchasing present relief by increasing future embarrassment. Such, however, was the pressure on the treasury, that the bill sanctioning this arrangement

with the Bank was passed in the Commons by a majority of 140 to 91.²

The next measure which was carried was one of a very different character, and to which, neither on the ground of public faith or financial economy, could any objection be stated. This was the reduction of the interest on the 4 per cent. stock to 3½. The amount of this stock was £75,000,000, and its annual charge £3,000,000.

Dissentients were allowed six months to notify their dissension, in which case they were to be paid in full. A very small proportion of the holders of stock gave notice of their desire to be paid up; in consequence of which, the saving effected to the nation amounted to £375,000 a year. This sum bore a small proportion to the whole interest on the debt, which was £28,000,000; but it was a step in the right direction, and illustrated the extreme improvidence of the system of borrowing adopted by Mr. Pitt during the war, of giving a bond for £100 for every £60 advanced—a system which precluded the possibility of paying off the 3 per cents, or reducing the interest on that stock till the funds had been for a considerable time above 100, which they have only been for a few weeks during the last half-century. Had the stock all been borrowed in the 4 per cents, the reduction now effected would have been, not on £75,000,000, but on above 1 Parl. Deb. x. 313, 314; £750,000,000, and the saving effected to the nation, not £375,000, but Ann. Reg. 1824, 85, 86. nearly £4,000,000 a year.¹

A third important change was effected in the finances of the country in the year 1823, which might have conferred incalculable benefits upon the nation, had it been steadily adhered to in subsequent times. Hitherto the public accounts connected with the National Debt had been so mystified, by issues of exchequer bills and other temporary devices, that it required no small effort of attention on the part of those professionally trained to the subject to understand them; and to the great majority of persons they were altogether unintelligible. To remedy these evils, Mr. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, adopted the manly course, worthy of the chief finance-minister of a free country, of so simplifying the accounts connected with the public debt that they might be intelligible, not only to the members of the legislature, but to every one who paid attention to the subject throughout the country. With this view he placed, by Act of Parliament, the reduction of the debt on its true footing; namely, the annual issue from the treasury of a *certain sum for its reduction*. To effect this, a bill was brought forward, founded on resolutions of the House, which provided, among numerous details calculated to simplify the public accounts, that for the future there should be set apart, and issued out of the consolidated fund, to be placed to the account of the commissioners of the public debt, the annual sum of £5,000,000, to be applied to the reduction of the National Debt—which sum was to be charged upon the consolidated fund, to be issued by equal quarterly payments, the first beginning on 5th April, 1823. There can be no doubt of the wisdom and propriety of these enactments; and happy would it have been for the nation, if, now that it had attained majority, and been intrusted with the direction of its own affairs, it had shown more wisdom and foresight than its guardians had done during its long minority. But the result has been just the reverse. It was shown by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate on this subject, that during the seven years which had elapsed from

14.
Simplifying of the National Debt accounts, and provision for the permanent reduction of the National Debt.

¹ Budget, 1824; Ann. Reg. 1824, 86, 88.

² Ann. Reg. 1823, 110.

1816, when the debt had attained its highest point, there had been paid off £19,700,000 of funded, and £4,984,000 of unfunded debt, in all £25,000,000 in round numbers—which would have been £35,000,000 more, but for the reduction of the 5 per cents, which added £10,000,000 to the public debt. The sinking fund of £5,000,000, so anxiously provided for by this Act, would in the next thirty years, if preserved inviolate, have paid off with the growing interest nearly £300,000,000 of the public debt. Whereas, under the popular inspection and control, nothing whatever has been done during that period to ward its reduction; for in 1824 the public debt was £781,122,222, and in 1849 it was still £777,603,818; and the interest paid on the debt was, in 1825, £28,060,287, and in 1849 it was £28,323,961!*

The favorable state of the public finances, arising from the growing prosperity of the nation, enabled Government, in 1824, to carry through several gracious and praiseworthy acts, of lasting benefit to the interests of religion, science, and art in the country. Out of the unexpected windfall arising from the partial repayment of the Austrian loan, Ministers proposed and carried through a grant of £500,000, to aid in the building of churches, especially in the manufacturing districts, where, notwithstanding the former grant of £1,000,000 for the same purpose, the want of church accommodation was still lamentably felt. In addition to this, there was granted to his Majesty £300,000 from the same fund, to be paid in three years, for repairing and enlarging Windsor Castle: a grant which was laid out with equal taste and judgment, and has produced the magnificent addition which now adds so much to the effect of that noble structure. In the preceding year, the Sovereign had made to the nation the munificent gift of the splendid library of his late father, valued at £65,000, which had been intrusted to the trustees of the British Museum, and which now adorns the noble gallery set

* ACTUAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1823 AND 1824.

	Income, 1823. £.	Income, 1824. £.
Customs.....	11,498,762 ..	11,327,741
Excise	25,342,828 ..	26,768,039
Stamps	6,801,950 ..	7,244,042
Taxes	6,206,927 ..	4,922,070
Post-Office	1,462,692 ..	1,520,615
From Trustees of Dead Weight	4,675,000 ..	4,660,000
Lesser payments	1,684,140 ..	2,918,898
	57,672,299 ..	59,362,405
	Expenditure, 1823.	Expenditure, 1824.
Public Debt Interest.....	28,064,784 ..	27,979,068
Interest on Exchequer Bills ..	1,131,121 ..	1,087,283
Naval and Military Pensions...	2,800,000 ..	2,800,000
Civil List and Expenses	2,140,806 ..	2,721,301
Army.....	7,351,991 ..	7,573,026
Navy.....	5,453,191 ..	6,161,818
Out-pensioners.....	155,000 ..	
Ordnance	1,364,328 ..	1,407,308
Miscellaneous.....	1,953,366 ..	2,449,148
Do.....	522,464 ..	595,035
	56,704,687 ..	58,188,062
Surplus applied to reduce Debt..	6,710,984 ..	6,587,802

—Ann. Reg. 1823, 246; 1825, 296.

apart for it in that superb edifice; and on this the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to bestow the sum of £57,000 out of the Austrian loan, on the purchase of M. Angerstein's beautiful collection of pictures, which laid the foundation of the present National Gallery in Trafalgar Square. Thus in all departments the ease of the finances was making itself felt, and the surplus at the disposal of Government was devoted to the noblest purposes—the extension of the means of religious instruction, and the formation of establishments which might diffuse the light of knowledge and refinement of taste among the people.¹

The preceding detail, uninteresting to many as it may appear, leads yet to general conclusions of the very highest interest, and second in importance to none educed in the course of this History. This is, that the nation, during the peace, when it possessed the advantages of a currency adequate to its wants, was able, without any extraordinary external advantages, not only to enjoy three years of unbroken and increasing domestic felicity, but during that period to remit nearly £12,000,000 of annual taxation,* and still uphold a real sinking fund, arising from an excess of income above expenditure of £5,000,000 a year. Such was the effect of these circumstances, that the National Debt, which in 1821 was £801,565,310, had sunk in 1826 to £778,128,265, being a reduction of £23,000,000 in five years.† Let these figures be kept in mind, when the progress of the debt and financial situation of the country, in the disastrous years which followed the renewed contraction of the currency in 1826, come to be taken into consideration, and it will then be seen whether the greater part of the sufferings which the nation has since undergone has not arisen from our own acts, and whether the embarrassment of finances under which we still labor is not of our own creation.

It has been already mentioned that, upon the death of Lord Londonderry in August, 1822, Mr. Canning was, by the voice of the nation rather than the choice of the Sovereign, to whom he was personally distasteful owing to the part he had taken in the affair of Queen Caroline, appointed to the important office of Minister for Foreign Affairs. Several other changes took place at the same time, or shortly after, all indicating the change which was taking place in the balance of parties, and the increasing weight which the popular interest

* TAXES TAKEN OFF IN GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1822 TO 1825 INCLUSIVE.

1822	£2,139,101
1823	4,185,735
1824	1,801,333
1825	3,676,239
	£11,802,408

† NATIONAL DEBT FUNDED FROM 1821 TO 1826.

1821	£801,565,310
1822	795,312,767
1823	796,530,144
1824	791,701,612
1825	781,123,222
1826	778,128,265

—PORTER'S *Parliamentary Tables*, i. 6.

1. Parl. Deb. viii. 600; x. 314, 317.

16. Prosperous state of the country during the three years it had an adequate currency.

17. Ministerial changes from 1822 to 1825.

was acquiring in the Government. Mr. Vansittart, who had so long conducted the financial affairs of the country through a period of uncommon anxiety and difficulty, was promoted to the House of Peers under the title of Lord Bexley; and he was succeeded in his important office by Mr. Robinson, a man of eloquence and ability of the school of Canning, and eminently qualified to earn popularity for himself and the Government, by falling in with, and sometimes taking the lead in, the popular fancies of the day. Mr. Huskisson, whose great abilities and vast statistical knowledge had long given him the lead in all questions of social and political economy, and who was deeply imbued with Liberal views, was made President of the Board of Trade, with a seat in the Cabinet, in

Jan. 31. room of Mr. Wallace, whom bad health
1823. obliged to retire. Lord Amherst was appointed Governor-general of India in room of Mr. Canning, who had been nominated to that office before his appointment as Foreign Secretary; and Lord Stewart, the ambassador at Vienna, who had succeeded to the title and estates of his brother, the Marquis of Londonderry, was recalled, and succeeded by Sir Henry Wellesley. All these changes were of one character; they tended to augment the Liberal influence in the Government, and of course stamp a Liberal character on its measures. They indicated the progressive growth of the commercial and middle class in the community, which had become such that, though as yet represented only in the indirect way in the Legislature, it had made its influence felt there to such a degree as rendered it impossible to carry on the Government in any other way but by attention to its interests and in conformity to its wishes. Lord Eldon felt the change, and saw that the era of new influences was approaching. He wrote at this period to Lord Liverpool, who still remained Premier, that "he had no wish to remain Chancellor, and that they who do remain, and especially that officer, stand a very good chance of being disgraced."^{*}

The ascendancy which the commercial and trading interest had now acquired in the Cabinet speedily made it self apparent in the measures brought forward by the Government. They were all of one character, tending to further the interests and promote the wishes

^{*} "The *Courier* of last night announces Mr. Huskisson's introduction into the Cabinet: of the intention or the fact I have no other communication. Whether Lord Sidmouth has or has not, I do not know; but this is rather too much. Looking at the whole history of these gentlemen, I don't consider this introduction, without a word said about the intention, as perhaps I should have done if certain persons had been introduced into the Cabinet; but turning out one man and introducing another in the way that this has been done, is telling the Chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of him, but that he should cease to be Chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all has a hundred times most solemnly declared that no connection of a certain person should come in. There is no believing one word any body says; and what makes the matter still worse is that every body acquiesces most quickly, and waits in all humility and patience, till his own time comes. I have written to Lord Liverpool before this news came, that I have no wish to remain Chancellor; and, to say the truth, I think those who do remain, and especially that officer, stand a very good chance of being disgraced."—LORD ELDON to SIR W. SCOTT, January 31, 1823.—TWISS'S *Life of Eldon*, ii. 468.

of the great manufacturing and commercial class, which, after progressively increasing in the House of Commons, had now made its way into the Cabinet, and in a manner acquired the direction of the Government. The chief person who took the lead in this great innovation was Mr. Huskisson, whose name stands connected with several of the greatest and most momentous changes in the commercial policy of Great Britain, and who for good or for evil has indelibly impressed his signet-mark upon the annals of his country.

Mr. HUSKISSON was a statesman of a different character from any who had yet ruled or influenced the destinies of England. He had neither the persevering energy of Mr. Huskisson. He had neither the persevering energy of Mr. Pitt, nor the ardent soul of Mr. Fox, nor the playful eloquence of Mr. Canning; but in thorough mastery of one great branch of government he was superior to them all. He was one of the statesmen who have arisen with the vast extension of statistical and commercial information within the last half-century, and who, by devoting himself almost exclusively to that branch of political science, had become thoroughly master of it. His information on commercial subjects was immense; there was no manufacturer or merchant who did not find him as well informed as he himself was on the details of his own particular branch of business. His natural talents were considerable, and they had been sedulously improved by application and industry; but they were of the solid and substantial, not the captivating kind. His judgment was sound, his sagacity great, his views enlarged, his disposition philanthropic; but he had neither the glance of genius nor the fire of enthusiasm in his composition. He was a powerful debater, a sound reasoner, and from his thorough knowledge of every subject on which he addressed the House, he never failed to command ready and respectful attention. He was the man of all others qualified to lead the opinions of practical men of business, who looked to facts rather than oratory, and were more likely to be convinced by an array of figures than by all the flowers of rhetoric; and as they were every day making their way in greater numbers into the legislature, his influence soon became very great. Strongly impressed with the evil effects of the restrictive system which had so long obtained in commercial matters, and especially the clog upon manufacturing industry which arose from the heavy duties imposed on many articles of its raw material, he bent all the force of his powerful mind to lighten the wheels of industry in this particular. Yet was he not so great a theorist as not to know that there are exceptions to all rules, however in the general case well founded; and though a decided Free-Trader so far as commerce and manufactures are concerned, he admitted and earnestly enforced an exception in the case of that great branch of labor which provides for the subsistence and independence of nations.*

^{*} William Huskisson was born on March 11, 1770. He was descended from a family of ancient standing but moderate fortune in Staffordshire, and received the elements of education in his native county. Early in life he was sent over to Paris to complete his education, and arrived there just in time to witness, and in some degree share, the enthusiasm excited by the capture of the Bastille in

The first subject to which, after his accession to office, the attention of this able statesman was directed, was the Navigation Laws, and to him we owe chiefly the introduction of that great change in our commercial policy known by the name of the RECIPROCITY SYSTEM. To understand this subject, it is necessary to premise that, by a law passed during the Protectorate of Cromwell, which was confirmed and declared permanent after the Restoration by 12 Charles II. c. 18, it had been provided that no merchandise of either Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into Great Britain in any but English-built ships, navigated by an English commander, and having at least three-fourths of their crew British. Besides this exclusive right conferred on British shipping, discriminating duties were imposed, so that goods might still be imported in foreign ships from Europe, but they were more heavily taxed than if imported under the English flag. Under this system the trade of Great Britain was carried on for a hundred and fifty years, without other nations having attempted any retaliatory measures; it was under it that England acquired the sceptre of the waves, and a colonial empire which encircled the earth. Such results speak for themselves; they require no support from argument, and fully justify Adam Smith's remark: "When the Act of Navigation was made, though England and Holland were not actually at war, the most violent animosity subsisted between the two nations. It is not impossible, therefore, that some of the regulations of this famous Act may have proceeded from national animosity. They are *as wise, however, as if they had all been dictated by the most consummate wisdom.* National animosity at that particular time aimed at the very object which the most deliberate wisdom would have recommended—the diminution of the naval power of Holland, the only naval power which could endanger the security of England. The Act of Navigation

is not favorable to foreign commerce, or to the growth of that opulence which can arise from it. As defense, however, is of more value than opulence, the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England."¹

But how wise soever this Act may have been when it was first passed, and however splendid the results which followed from the steady adherence to it, the time at length came when it could no longer be maintained in its pristine rigor. The very completeness of its success, the magnitude of the benefits which it had conferred upon Great Britain, prepared its downfall. They made other nations desirous to adopt a system from which England had derived such great and obvious benefits. Thence the commencement of the *retaliatory system* and the war of tariffs—a state of pacific hostility, in which the old and rich state, where prices are high because money is plentiful, is in general beaten by the young and poor state, where prices are low because money is scarce. This accordingly took place as soon as the termination of the war, by closing the military hostility, opened the door to the commercial rivalry of nations. The Americans, who had already begun to follow in the footsteps, in this respect, of the mother country, soon after the establishment of their independence passed a navigation law similar in its main provisions to that of England; and as this state of smothered war of tariffs was found to be equally disadvantageous to both countries, a treaty was concluded in 1815, which put the vessels of the two countries upon the footing of equal duties and entire reciprocity. This system was found to work so well in the case of the United States, that it led to its adoption, on a partial scale, with other countries; and it was the success of this experiment which led to its being engrafted on the general policy of Great Britain by the Act of 1823.²

1789. He then became member of the Club of 1789, and formed an intimacy with Franklin and Jefferson, as well as the leaders of the Revolution in Paris, a circumstance which exercised a powerful influence upon his thoughts and turn of mind during the whole remainder of his life. He was first brought into Parliament in 1796 by Lord Carlisle for the borough of Morpeth, and was soon after appointed Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, in which situation his business talents were soon discovered, and he enjoyed the intimate friendship of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and was often called to their councils. In 1801 he retired from office with Mr. Pitt, but was reinstated in his former situation in 1804 on his return to the helm, and he continued there, with the exception of the brief period of the Whigs' tenure of power, till Mr. Canning's retirement in 1809, when he withdrew along with his brilliant friend, and became a leading member of that section of the Tory party which was now in open hostility to the Government. In 1814 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, which situation he held till his appointment as President of the Board of Trade and a Cabinet Minister in January, 1824. During this period he devoted himself almost exclusively to subjects of trade, navigation, and political economy; and such were his abilities that he had become, before his appointment to the Board of Trade, the instructor of statesmen and leader of the House of Commons on these subjects, which were daily becoming of more importance in Parliament and public opinion. He was a member of the Bullion Committee in 1810; and the return to cash payments in 1819 was mainly brought about by his influence, which was also strenuously exerted to procure the introduction of the reciprocity system on a limited scale in 1821, and to lay the foundation of Free Trade in 1822.—*Huskisson's Speeches and Life*, i. 1, 49, 235.

The new system was first introduced on a general scale in 1822, when Mr. Wallace brought forward five bills, which effected a very important alteration on our commercial system. The first of these bills repealed various statutes, now obsolete, in relation to foreign commerce before the passing of the Navigation Act.³ The second repealed various laws from the Navigation Law downward, including that part of the Navigation Law itself which enacted that goods of the produce of Asia, Africa, and America should not be imported except in British ships, with three-fourths of the crew British sailors. By the third, certain enumerated goods were allowed to be brought to this country from any port in Europe, in ships belonging to the port of shipment. Ships belonging to Holland, which by the Navigation Act could not be allowed to enter English ports with cargo, were placed upon the same footing as the ships of other countries. South American produce, which before the passing of this Act could be brought only from certain ports of Spain and Portugal, was now permitted to be imported direct from the places of growth in ships of the country, the

20.
Sketch of
the Naviga-
tion Laws.

¹ Wealth of
Nations, b.
iv. c. 2.

21.
Retaliatory
measures
of other na-
tions.

² Porter's
Progress of
the Nation,
386, 387,
3d edition.

22.
Mr. Wallace's
five Free-trade
bills in 1822.

³ 3 Geo. IV.
cap. 41, 44.

only exception to this concession being against places to which British ships were not admitted for the purposes of trade. The fourth bill regulated the trade between our North American and West Indian colonies, and other places in the same quarter of the globe. It permitted the entry, under certain duties, of various articles from any foreign country in America or port in the West Indies, either in British vessels or in vessels belonging to the country of shipment, and the goods so imported might be again exported to any other colony, or to the mother country. The fifth bill made it lawful to export in British ships, from any colony to any port in Europe or Africa, any goods that may have been legally imported into the colony, or which were of its own growth or manufacture, and to export certain enumerated articles in British ships to any such colony, from any foreign port in Europe or Africa. By means of these relaxations the West India colonists were

enabled to draw their supplies from any country in Europe, Africa, or America, and to send their produce in return to such markets as should hold out the greatest inducement.¹

The advantages which the United States of America, and the West India colonies of Great Britain, derived from these great relaxations, naturally led other countries to desire to participate in them, and the method which they adopted to secure this advantage was to threaten heavy retaliatory duties on British shipping, unless the burdens imposed on them by the Navigation Laws were reduced. Prussia was the first to adopt this system. In spring, 1823, her cabinet intimated to the British Government, that, unless some relaxation was introduced into the English Navigation Laws for their benefit, they would retaliate by heavy corresponding duties upon British ships entering the Prussian harbors. In consequence of this threat, the whole matter was brought seriously under the consideration of the British Cabinet, and the result was the introduction of the RECIPROCITY SYSTEM, which first made a great and general change on the British commercial system: By this Act, 4 Geo. IV. c. 77, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 1, his Majesty was authorized, by Order in Council, to permit the exportation and importation of goods in foreign vessels, on payment of the same duties as were chargeable when imported in British vessels, in favor of all such countries as should not levy discriminating duties upon goods imported into those countries in British vessels; and further, to levy upon the vessels of such countries, when frequenting British ports, the same tonnage duties as were levied on British vessels. A power was, on the other hand, vested in the Crown by these Acts of Parliament, to impose, by Order in Council, additional duties upon goods and shipping, against any countries which should levy higher duties in the case of the employment of British vessels in the trade with those countries. These changes fell in so completely with the spirit of the age that they met with a very feeble opposition,

and passed the House of Commons by a majority of 5 to 1.² They were thus introduced on the 6th of June, 1823, by

Mr. Huskisson, as President of the Board of Trade:

"Although the plan now to be submitted to the House is most important, and an entire departure from the principles which have hitherto governed our foreign commerce, yet the plan is so clear, and the benefit to be derived from it so obvious, that little is required to make the country see the propriety of adopting it. It is well known that it had been for a long time, indeed ever since the passing of the Navigation Act, the policy of the country to impose upon cargoes brought in foreign vessels higher duties than on those imported in British bottoms; and also in many instances to allow smaller drawbacks upon articles exported in foreign than upon those exported in British ships. Now, whatever might be thought of the policy of such a system, it was all very well as long as the nations with whom we traded acquiesced in it. But when once the attention of those countries was called to it, it was not likely that such an inequality would be allowed much longer to exist. Accordingly, it was found that the principal commercial nations in the world, after Great Britain and our great rival in trade the United States of America, feeling the pressure of the tax, immediately commenced the retaliatory system, by imposing duties upon all articles imported into that country by British ships. The consequence of this was, that great embarrassment and inconvenience arose in the commerce of the two countries. Portugal, perceiving the success which had attended the course adopted by the Americans, soon obliged us to place hers upon the same footing. The government of the Netherlands in 1821 passed a law allowing a premium of 10 per cent. upon all articles imported in Dutch vessels, which was, in fact, if not in form, imposing a duty of 10 per cent. upon the cargoes of all other vessels. This change, though adopted in 1821, only came into operation in the beginning of 1823; and since that time it had been strongly felt in the trade of the two countries. Prussia had also raised the dues upon our vessels, and had intimated, in a manner not to be mistaken, that she would more fully adopt the retaliatory system if we continued our present policy.

"In such a state of things, it was quite obvious that we must adopt one of two courses. Either we must commence a commercial conflict, through the medium of protective duties and prohibitions (a measure of impolicy which, it is believed, no man will now propose), or we must admit other powers to a perfect equality and reciprocity of shipping duties. The latter appears to be the course which we are bound to adopt. Its effect, I am persuaded, will be to lead to a great increase of the commercial advantages of the country; while, at the same time, it will have a tendency to promote and establish a better political feeling and confidence among the maritime powers, and abate the sources of commercial jealousy. It is high time, in the improved state of civilization of the world, to establish more liberal principles, and show that commerce was not the end, but the means of diffusing comfort and enjoyment among the na-

24.
Mr. Huskisson's argument in favor of the Reciprocity system.

23.
Menaces of retaliatory measures by Prussia. Feb., 1823.

² Porter, 388, 389.

25.
Continued.

tions embarked in its pursuit. Those who have the largest trade must necessarily derive the greatest advantage from the establishment of better international regulations. When England abandons her old principle, the United Netherlands, and the other powers who are now prepared to retaliate, will gladly concur in the new arrangement.

"I am prepared to hear from the other side that the proposed alteration will be prejudicial to the British shipping interest. In this observation I can

not concur. I think, on the contrary, that the shipping interest of this country has nothing to apprehend from that of other nations. When the alteration in the Navigation Laws was first projected, similar unfavorable prognostications were made by part of the shipping interest, but these anticipations have proved to be entirely unfounded. The shipping of Great Britain is perfectly able to compete with that of other countries. It is quite time to get rid of the retaliatory principle, which, if carried to the extreme of which it is susceptible, must injure every species of trade. One sort of shipping would be carrying the trade of one country, and then returning without any equivalent advantage to make way for the countervailing regulations of another power, or else to return in ballast. What would be thought of an establishment, if a wagon should convey goods to Birmingham, and afterward return empty? The consumer would, it was probable, be little satisfied with such a way of conveying his merchandise. The consequence would be, that there would necessarily be two sets of wagons to do that work which was now performed by one, and that, too, at a considerable increase of price on the raw material. We are not now able to carry on a system of restriction, laboring, as we have for some time been, under many and unavoidable restrictions. Our trade and commerce, it is true, are rapidly improving; but they still require that we should adopt every measure by which either could be fostered or improved. What I propose is, that the duties and drawbacks should be imposed and allowed upon all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or foreign vessels, giving the King in council a power to declare that such regulations should extend to all countries inclined to act upon a system of reciprocity, but reserving to the same authority the

power of continuing the present restrictions with respect to those powers who should decline to do so."¹

So entirely were the views here developed by Mr. Huskisson in unison with

those of the vast majority of the ship-owners. House of Commons, that the following paragraphs of the speeches of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Marryat contain all which is to be found in the parliamentary debates in opposition to this great innovation. "The resolutions proposed, if carried into effect, will increase the difficulties under which the ship-owners at present labor. Parliamentary returns prove that the shipping of the country is far from being in the prosperous state which is represented. From 1821 to 1823 there had been a falling off in ship-building to the extent of 161 ships and 122,000 tons. During the same

period there had been a decrease in our navigation to the amount of 732 ships, 129,000 tons, and 8000 seamen. Such had been the consequence of the system recommended by the political economists. The end of that system will be to drive the trade of Great Britain into the hands of foreign countries. This is the only country in Europe which is abandoning the system of protective duties. A few years ago, when America obtained some concessions from us, she wished to obtain similar advantages from France, but the French government would not yield, but on the contrary imposed a light duty on importations from America, who, in her turn, did the same with respect to France. The views of the Free-Traders may be favorable to the mercantile interests, but they are certainly prejudicial to ship-owners and builders.

"The proposed system has been reduced to experiment, and what has been the result? The reciprocity system has been for eight years established with America, and the consequence has been, very great disadvantage to the shipping engaged in that trade. Five-sixths of the carrying trade between Great Britain and America is now carried on in American ships. If the protection to British shipping, which alone has hitherto enabled our ship-owners to compete with those of foreign states, is removed, it is indispensable that the duties on Baltic timber, which at present are such a clog on our ship-building, should be removed, or at least materially reduced. Unless this is done, it is quite impossible we can compete with foreign nations, who have their wood at their own door, and navigate their ships for wages half in amount to that which our ship-owners are obliged to pay to their sailors."²⁸

Mr. Huskisson's resolutions were passed by a great majority, and carried into effect by acts of Parliament in the same session. Under the authority of these acts, reciprocity treaties were concluded by Government with the principal trading countries in the world, so as to give the reciprocity system the fairest possible trial.* There is no doubt that the facilities to the transit of goods afforded by these acts have contributed to the extension of our foreign commerce; but they have been attended with effects proportionally disastrous to our shipping, and which threaten, at no distant period, to undermine the whole foundation of our national independence. The ablest writers on the Free-trade side admit the depreciation which, since their introduction, has taken place in the value of British shipping. "A great depreciation," says Mr. Porter, "has undoubtedly taken place in the value of ships

* COUNTRIES WITH WHICH RECIPROCITY TREATIES WERE CONCLUDED, UNDER AUTHORITY OF THESE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

France.	Hamburg.	United States.
Austria.	Hanover.	Mexico.
Russia.	Mecklenburg Strelitz.	Texas.
Sweden.	Mecklenburg Schwerin.	Uruguay.
Norway.	Oldenburg.	Bolivia.
Denmark.	Frankfort.	Venezuela.
Prussia.	Portugal.	New Granada.
Netherlands.	Two Sicilies.	Granada.
Lubeck.	Greece.	Rio de la Plata.
Sardinia.	Turkey.	Brazil.
Bremen.		

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 389, 3d ed.

in this country. The general fall of prices, however, has not borne harder upon the owners of ships than the holders of other species of property. Overlooking this obvious cause of depression, and seeing that not only were they underbid by the owners of British ships built with cheaper materials, *but also by the foreign ship-owner, whose vessel was built still more cheaply*, they forget the circumstances which had in a manner compelled the Government to relax our Navigation Laws, and attribute their losses and disappointments to the reciprocity treaties. There is not any class of persons in this country, with the exception, perhaps, of the land-holders, which has made such loud and continued complaints of distress as the ship-owners have done since the peace of 1815.*

Experience has now thrown a clear and steady light on this subject. The reciprocity treaties have now been in existence for thirty years, and were so for five-and-twenty before the general repeal of the Navigation Laws took place, and the result, both upon the general shipping of the country and the proportion of British and foreign tonnage with the principal countries with whom reciprocity treaties have been concluded, affords decisive evidence of the great discouragement which has by them been given to British shipping, and of the progressive increase of foreign tonnage over it which has in consequence taken place. From the subjoined tables, taken from Mr. Porter's Parliamentary Tables, it appears that, under the protective system, the British tonnage employed in our trade from 1801 to 1821 had increased from 922,594 to 1,599,274; the foreign tonnage had declined, during the same period, from 780,155 to 396,256; in other words, during these twenty-two years the proportion of British to foreign shipping had doubled.* Whereas, during the next twenty-five years, from 1823 to 1848, the British tonnage had advanced from 1,664,186 tons to 4,565,533 tons; that is, increased 270 per cent. nearly; but the foreign had increased from 469,151 tons to 2,035,690; that is, it had advanced about 450

per cent., or nearly twice as fast as the British during the same period.* And such has been the impulse given to foreign in comparison with British shipping, since the entire repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, that the tonnage outward of British shipping, in the month ending 5th March, 1854, was 264,747, while the foreign was 223,456; in other words, they were nearly equal; and the growth of foreign and decline of British shipping, during the preceding three years, has been so rapid, that there is little doubt that, in another year, the former will exceed the latter. From that moment, of course, the national independence, and maintenance of our foreign commerce, hangs by a thread; because we have nursed up a body of foreign seamen in our own harbors, and carrying on our own trade, superior in number to our own, and which may at any moment be recalled by their respective governments, and united in a league against us.†

This effect becomes still more conspicuous if the action of the reciprocity system on our trade

* TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN SHIPPING FROM 1822 TO 1849, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

ENTERED INWARD.			
Years.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	Total.
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337
1823	1,740,859	582,996	2,556,761
1824	1,797,320	759,441	2,556,761
1825	2,144,598	958,132	3,102,730
1826	1,950,630	694,116	2,644,746
1827	2,086,898	751,864	2,839,762
1828	2,094,357	634,620	2,728,977
1829	2,184,525	710,303	2,894,828
1830	2,180,042	758,828	2,938,870
1831	2,367,322	874,605	3,241,927
1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959
1833	2,183,814	762,085	2,945,899
1834	2,298,263	833,905	3,132,168
1835	2,442,734	866,990	3,309,724
1836	2,505,473	988,899	3,494,372
1837	2,617,166	1,005,940	3,623,101
1838	2,785,387	1,211,666	3,997,053
1839	3,101,650	1,331,365	4,433,015
1840	3,197,501	1,460,294	4,657,795
1841	3,361,211	1,291,165	4,652,376
1842	3,294,725	1,205,303	4,500,028
1843	3,545,346	1,301,950	4,847,296
1844	3,647,463	1,402,138	5,049,601
1845	4,310,639	1,735,079	6,045,718
1846	4,294,733	1,806,282	6,101,015
1847	4,492,094	2,253,939	7,196,083
1848	4,565,533	1,960,412	6,525,945
1849	4,884,210	2,035,690	6,919,900

—PORTER, 397, 3d edition.

† BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE FOR THE MONTH ENDING 5TH MARCH, 1854, AND TWO PRECEDING YEARS.

ENTERED INWARD.			
	Tonnage for the Month ending March 5.		
	1852.	1853.	1854.
British vessels.....	206,603	177,388	263,563
United States vessels.	41,378	60,613	89,356
Other countries.....	63,022	53,320	58,338
	311,003	291,321	411,257
CLEARANCES OUTWARD.			
	Tonnage for the Month ending March 5.		
	1852.	1853.	1854.
British vessels.....	295,823	218,437	264,747
United States vessels.	63,019	64,199	101,531
Other countries.....	69,144	102,590	121,925
	427,986	385,226	488,203

—Times, April 3, 1854.

* TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN SHIPPING FROM 1801 TO 1821, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

ENTERED INWARD.			
Years.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	Total.
1801	922,594	780,155	1,702,709
1802	1,333,005	480,251	1,813,256
1803	1,115,702	638,104	1,753,806
1804	904,932	607,299	1,512,231
1805	953,250	691,883	1,645,138
1806	904,367	612,904	1,517,271
1807	Records	Records	Records
1808	lost.	lost.	lost.
1809	938,675	1,697,692	1,697,692
1810	896,011	2,072,244	2,072,244
1811			
1812	Records	Records	Records
1813	burnt.	burnt.	burnt.
1814	1,290,248	599,287	1,889,535
1815	1,372,108	746,985	2,119,093
1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188
1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132
1818	1,886,394	762,457	2,648,851
1819	1,809,128	542,684	2,351,812
1820	1,668,060	447,611	2,115,671
1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530

—PORTER'S Progress of the Nation, 397.

with particular countries is taken into consideration. From the details of their tonnage with this country, and ours with them, it appears that, since the introduction of the reciprocity system, British tons with Sweden have declined from 23,005 tons to 7037, while Swedish tons with England have increased from 8508 to 117,918; British tons with Norway have declined from 13,855 tons to 2318, while Norwegian with British have increased from 61,342 tons to 128,075; British tons with Denmark had declined from 5312 tons to 4528 tons in 1845, while Danish tons with Great Britain have increased from 3969 tons to 116,882 tons; and British tons with Prussia had declined from 79,590 tons to 49,334 in 1845, while Prussian tons with England had increased from 37,720 tons to 256,711 tons.* The only country with whom the reciprocity system has been attended with effects more beneficial to British than foreign shipping has been the United States of North America; and the reason is, the high rate of wages and cost of articles of ship-building in those flourishing States. Yet even there, after twenty-eight years' experience

of the effects of the new system, British tons with America are not *half* of American with Great Britain.†

Where is it, then, that the trade and commerce of Great Britain have found their chief sources of prosperity during the last thirty years? and what has compensated the great discouragement of our shipping in the traffic with the countries with which we have concluded reciprocity treaties since they came into operation? The answer is, that the compensating force has been found in the colonial trade, which, being wholly protected, has increased with such rapidity that the tonnage employed in that traffic has *more than trebled* since 1821, while that employed in the mother country has, during the same period, only advanced a half; the former having increased 350 per cent., the latter only 50. And such has been the increase in the trade which we have carried on with our colonies, which was *all our own*, during the period when the reciprocity system was, as already shown, eating into the vitals of our traffic with other countries, that while the tonnage with so many

* COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE INWARD, FROM 1821 TO 1847, WITH SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK, AND PRUSSIA.

Years.	SWEDEN.		NORWAY.		DENMARK.		PRUSSIA.	
	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.
1821	23,005	8,508	13,855	61,342	5,312	3,969	79,590	37,720
1822	20,799	13,692	13,377	87,974	7,096	3,910	102,847	58,270
1823	20,986	22,529	13,122	117,015	4,413	4,795	81,202	86,013
1824	17,074	40,092	11,419	135,272	6,738	23,689	94,664	151,621
1825	15,906	53,141	14,825	157,916	15,158	50,943	189,214	182,752
1826	11,829	16,939	13,603	90,726	22,000	56,544	119,060	120,589
1827	11,719	21,822	13,945	96,420	10,825	52,456	150,718	109,184
1828	14,877	24,700	10,826	85,771	17,464	49,293	133,753	99,195
1829	16,536	25,046	9,985	86,203	24,576	53,390	125,918	127,861
1830	12,116	23,158	6,459	84,585	12,210	51,420	102,758	139,646
1831	11,450	38,689	4,518	114,865	6,552	62,190	83,908	140,532
1832	8,335	25,755	3,789	82,155	7,268	35,772	62,079	89,187
1833	10,009	29,454	5,901	98,931	6,840	38,620	41,735	108,753
1834	15,353	35,911	6,403	98,303	5,691	53,282	32,021	118,711
1835	12,036	35,061	2,592	95,049	6,007	49,008	25,514	124,144
1836	10,865	42,439	1,573	125,875	2,152	51,907	42,567	174,439
1837	7,608	42,602	1,035	88,004	5,357	55,961	67,566	145,742
1838	10,425	38,991	1,364	110,817	3,466	57,554	86,734	175,643
1839	8,359	49,270	2,582	109,228	5,535	106,960	111,470	229,208
1840	11,953	53,337	3,161	114,241	6,327	103,067	112,709	237,984
1841	13,170	46,795	977	113,045	3,368	83,009	88,198	210,254
1842	15,296	37,218	1,385	98,979	5,499	59,837	87,202	145,499
1843	6,435	44,184	1,814	97,248	4,148	82,940	70,164	163,745
1844	12,806	59,835	1,315	125,011	7,423	123,674	108,626	220,202
1845	15,157	89,923	1,215	129,897	4,528	84,566	49,334	256,711
1846	12,625	80,649	3,313	113,738	9,531	105,973	63,425	270,801
1847	7,037	117,918	2,318	128,075	20,462	116,382	88,390	303,225

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, and *Parl. Report*, 3d April, 1848.

† BRITISH AND AMERICAN TONNAGE IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	British Tons.	American Tons.	Years.	British Tons.	American Tons.
1821	55,188	765,098	1835	529,922	1,352,653
1822	70,669	787,961	1836	544,774	1,265,384
1823	89,553	775,271	1837	543,020	1,299,720
1824	67,351	850,033	1838	484,702	1,302,074
1825	63,036	880,774	1839	495,353	1,491,279
1826	69,295	942,206	1840	582,424	1,576,946
1827	99,114	918,361	1841	615,623	1,631,909
1828	104,167	868,381	1842	599,502	1,510,111
1829	86,377	872,949	1843	453,894	1,442,528
1830	87,231	967,227	1844	766,747	1,977,138
1831	215,887	922,952	1845	753,882	2,035,486
1832	288,841	949,622	1846	813,287	2,151,114
1833	383,487	1,111,441	1847	993,210	2,101,350
1834	453,495	1,074,670	1848	1,177,104	2,393,482

—PORTER, 392, 3d edit.

‡ TONNAGE OF VESSELS BELONGING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

Years.	United Kingdom.	Colonies.	Years.	United Kingdom.	Colonies.
	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	Tons.
1821	2,355,853	204,350	1836	2,349,749	442,897
1822	2,315,403	203,641	1837	2,333,521	457,597
1823	2,302,567	203,893	1838	2,420,759	469,842
1824	2,348,314	211,273	1839	2,401,46	497,798
1825	2,328,807	214,875	1840	2,584,408	543,766
1826	2,411,461	224,183	1841	2,935,99	577,081
1827	2,181,138	279,368	1842	3,011,420	578,430
1828	2,193,300	...	1843	3,007,581	580,806
1829	2,199,959	317,041	1844	3,044,392	592,839
1830	2,201,502	330,227	1845	3,132,180	590,881
1831	2,224,356	357,608	1846	3,199,785	617,327
1832	2,261,860	356,208	1847	3,207,921	644,603
1833	2,271,301	363,276	1848	3,400,809	651,356
1834	2,312,355	403,745	1849	3,485,958	658,151
1835	2,360,303	423,458			

—PORTER, 394, 3d edit.

of them has declined during the last twenty years, that employed in the colonial trade has increased 60 per cent.*

Mr. Huskisson assigned as a reason for conceding the reciprocity system to other maritime powers, that we were compelled to do so in order to maintain our trade with them, that our system of one-sided protection could no longer be maintained, and

that the only way to induce them to take our manufactures was to relieve their shipping of the duties imposed on them. Has the result corresponded to this anticipation? Have foreign nations relaxed their prohibitory duties in consequence of the removal of all burdens off their shipping? So far from having done so, the fact is just the reverse. They have taken the benefit of the reciprocity system for their shipping, and given us nothing in return. Prussia requited Great Britain for this concession by the Zollverein, which united 25,000,000 of inhabitants of Northern Germany in a league which imposed from 30 to 50 per cent. *ad valorem* duties on our manufactures; America with a fixed import duty of 30 per cent. on all imports whatever. Russia, France, and the Baltic powers, who profited so largely by the reciprocity system, have made no corresponding concession on their side, and the consequence is, that, after thirty years' experience of the system, our exports to the Baltic powers are still a perfect trifle, and those to France and Russia put together, with their 100,000,000 of inhabitants, are not equal to what they are to our colonies in Canada and Australia, which do not yet number 2,500,000 consumers.† And with regard to America, it is a most remarkable fact, which, but for the evidence of the

parliamentary records, would be incredible, that the British exports to the United States in 1815, the very year when the reciprocity treaty with them was concluded, were greater than they have ever since been, and double what, on an average of years, they now are, though they then had not a third of the inhabitants which they at present possess.‡

It is not difficult to see what has been the cause of this most remarkable failure

of the reciprocity system to procure for the country any of the advantages which its promoters anticipated, while it has realized all the evils which its opponents predicted.

It is founded on an entirely erroneous principle; and the error, when once pointed out, is so obvious that it must command the assent of every candid mind.

Mr. Huskisson said we must lower the duties on foreign shipping, to induce foreigners to admit our goods; and he did the first, but he forgot to require them to do the last.

He stipulated no reduction of duties on our manufactures in return for the large concessions made to foreign shipping, and the consequence was, they took the last, and did not give the first. Thence the entire failure of his system.

His principle was, equal duties on the same article; but that is not the principle of real reciprocity. What it should be is, *equal duties on corresponding staples*.

He said to the Baltic powers, "We will admit your shipping on the same terms on which you admit ours." Nothing could be fairer in sound, nothing more unfair in substance. What he should have said was, "We will admit your ships on the same terms as you admit our *cotton and iron goods*."

That would have been real reciprocity, and would at once have secured an adequate re-

33.
Failure of the
Reciprocity
System to in-
crease our ex-
ports.

34.
Cause of the
failure of the
Reciprocity
System in
this respect.

* TONNAGE OF BRITISH SHIPPING TO COLONIES.

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1832	1,021,892	1836	1,284,611	1844	1,576,965
1833	1,018,926	1839	1,287,506	1845	1,818,270
1834	1,081,328	1840	1,495,597	1846	1,832,552
1835	1,152,349	1841	1,521,947	1847	1,786,895
1836	1,170,650	1842	1,228,795	1848	1,659,845
1837	1,139,586	1843	1,493,955	1849	1,629,391

—PORTER, 808, 3d edit.

† DECLARED VALUE OF BRITISH EXPORTS TO THE UNDERMENTIONED STATES FROM 1840 TO 1849.

Years.	Russia.	Sweden.	Norway.	Denmark.	Prussia.	France.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1840	1,602,742	119,125	78,016	201,462	219,345	2,378,149
1841	1,607,175	197,813	117,938	134,704	194,304	2,902,002
1842	1,885,953	199,313	134,704	194,304	376,651	3,193,939
1843	1,895,519	131,302	151,377	260,176	483,004	2,534,898
1844	2,128,926	108,475	152,824	286,679	505,284	2,656,259
1845	2,153,491	123,730	163,512	258,558	577,999	2,791,238
1846	1,586,235	146,654	183,818	340,318	544,035	2,715,563
1847	1,700,733	179,367	169,149	253,701	553,968	2,554,283
1848	1,692,000	162,819	150,117	296,466	404,144	1,024,521
1849	1,379,179	185,027	182,336	353,499	428,748	1,951,269

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 364, 367.

‡ BRITISH EXPORTS TO AMERICA, FROM 1815 TO 1848.

Years.	£.	Years.	£.	Years.	£.
1815	13,255,374	1827	7,018,272	1838	7,585,760
1816	9,556,577	1828	5,810,315	1839	8,439,204
1817	9,930,359	1829	4,823,415	1840	5,283,020
1818	9,451,009	1830	6,132,346	1841	7,098,642
1819	4,929,815	1831	9,053,543	1842	3,528,807
1820	3,875,286	1832	5,468,679	1843	5,013,514
1821	6,214,875	1833	7,579,699	1844	7,938,079
1822	6,865,262	1834	6,844,989	1845	7,142,839
1823	5,464,874	1835	10,568,455	1846	6,830,460
1824	6,090,394	1836	12,425,605	1847	10,974,161
1825	7,018,934	1837	4,695,225	1848	9,564,909
1826	4,659,018				

—PORTER, 359, 360.

turn. To lower the duties on the *same article*, not a corresponding staple, was a natural but a total mistake.

Suppose, for example, that England were to say to France, "We will admit your ^{35.} wines on the same terms as you admit ours;" or to Russia, "We will admit your wheat on the same terms as you admit ours," it is easy to see what the result would be. But if England said to France, "We will admit your wines and silks on the same terms on which you admit our sugar and cotton goods;" and to Russia, "We will admit your wheat and hemp on the same terms as you admit our colonial produce and iron," there would be a real reciprocity, and both parties would be equally benefited. The Baltic powers had obvious advantages over Great Britain in ship-building and navigating, as the materials were found at their doors, and their sailors received a third of the wages which ours did; and we had corresponding advantages in iron and cotton goods, from the coal and ironstone beneath our feet, and the machinery they enabled us to construct. Mr. Huskisson should have said to their rulers, "We will lower the duties on your shipping, which is your staple, provided you lower the duties on our cotton goods, which are our staple." Instead of this, he simply lowered the duties on their shipping, without asking or receiving any equivalent; and the result has been, that we have thrown away our naval superiority, and endangered our national independence, without even having the poor consolation of thinking that we have gained riches, or extended the market for our industry, in consequence.

Another change was commenced at this time, attended in the end with still more important effects, and which, equal-^{36.} ly with the preceding, is open to difference of opinion. This was the system of *Free Trade*, which consisted in the main in lowering or taking off altogether the duties on foreign commodities, whether of luxury or necessity, without stipulating for any corresponding advantage on our side, but looking for it merely in lowering the price to the British consumer. In making this change, which is an entire departure from the commercial policy of the country in all preceding times, the Government could not be said either to have directed or anticipated public opinion, for the minds of the leading and most intelligent merchants in all parts of the country were made up on the subject; and so early as the year 1820, a petition had been presented to the House of Commons from the most eminent of their number in London, which set forth the main principles on this subject with a clearness and precision which never has been surpassed. The leading doctrine set forth in that memorable document was, that the "maxim of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation, and would render the commerce of the whole world an interchange of mutual advantages, and diffuse an increase of wealth and enjoyment among the inhabitants of each state."¹

¹ Petition of London Merchants, 1820: Porter, 352.

"That, unfortunately, a policy the very reverse of this has been and is more or less adopted and acted upon by the Government of this and every other country, each trying to exclude the productions of other countries, with the specious and well-meant design of encouraging its own productions, thus inflicting on the bulk of its own subjects, who are consumers, the necessity of submitting to privations in the quantity or quality of commodities, and thus rendering what ought to be the source of mutual benefit and of harmony among states a constantly recurring occasion of jealousy and hostility. That the prevailing prejudices in favor of the protective or restrictive system may be traced to the erroneous supposition that every importation of foreign commodities occasions a diminution or discouragement of our own productions to the same extent; whereas it may be clearly shown, that although the particular species of production which could not stand against foreign competition would be discouraged, yet as no importation could be continued for any length of time without a corresponding exportation, direct or indirect, there would be an encouragement for the purpose of that exportation of some other commodity to which our situation might be better suited—thus affording at least an equal, and probably a greater, and certainly a more beneficial, employment to our own capital and labor.

"Among the numerous evils of the protective system, not the least is that the artificial protection of one branch of industry or source of protection against foreign competition, is set up as a ground of claim by other branches for similar protection, so that if the reasoning upon which restriction or prohibitory regulations are founded were followed out consistently, it would not stop short of excluding us from all foreign commerce whatsoever. And the same train of argument which, with corresponding prohibitions and protective duties, would exclude us from foreign trade, might be brought forward to justify the re-enactment of restrictions upon the interchange of productions unconnected with public revenue among the kingdoms composing the Union, or among the different counties of the same kingdom. An investigation of the effects of the restrictive system would show that the distress which now so generally prevails is considerably aggravated by that system, and that some relief might be obtained by the earliest practicable removal of such of the restraints as may be shown to be most injurious to the capital and industry of the community, and to be attended with no compensating benefit to the public revenue. Nothing would tend more to counteract the commercial hostility of foreign states than the adoption of a more enlightened and more conciliatory policy on the part of this country.

"Although as a matter of mere diplomacy, it may sometimes answer to hold out the removal of particular prohibitions or high duties as depending upon corresponding concessions by other States in our favor, it does not follow that we should maintain our restrictions in cases where the

^{37.} Argument in its favor by the London merchants.

^{38.} Continued.

^{39.} Concluded.

desired concessions on their part must be obtained; our restrictions would not be the less prejudicial to our own capital and industry, because other governments persisted in preserving impolitic regulations. Independent of the direct benefit to be derived by this country on every occasion of such concession or recognition, a great incidental object would be gained by the recognition of a sound principle or standard to which all subsequent arrangements might be referred, and by the salutary influence which the promulgation of such just views by the legislature, and by the nation at large, could not fail to have on the legislation of foreign states. As long as the necessity for the present amount of revenue subsists, it can not be expected that so important a branch of it as the Customs should be given up or materially diminished, unless some substitute for it, less objectionable, be suggested. But it is against every restrictive regulation of trade not essential to the revenue, against all duties merely protective against foreign competition, and against the excess of such duties as are partly for the purposes of revenue, partly for that of protection, that the prayer of the Merchants; the present petition is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Parliament."¹

¹ Petition of London Merchants; Porter, 382, 381, 3d. edit.

This petition is well worthy of attention, as it is the first statement of the great doctrine of FREE TRADE, which since that time has made so entire a revolution in the commercial policy of the country, and with which, for good or for evil, the destinies of Great Britain in future times are now irrevocably wound up. The general doctrine was never afterward more briefly and ably stated than it thus was in the beginning of this great debate by Mr. Tooke, who drew up the petition. Its coming from the *merchants* of London is a markworthy and significant circumstance. It indicates the advent of a period when the commercial body were not content to take the regulations affecting their interests from the hands of the legislature, but thought for themselves, and approached Parliament rather as teachers than suppliants. Its subsequent adoption as a part of the settled policy of the country proves that the time was approaching when the commercial interests were to gain the ascendancy over the producing, and when every other interest was to be sacrificed to those of cheapness in production and economy in consumption. Whatever may be thought of these principles, upon which the opinions of men will probably be divided to the end of the world, according as they belong to the buying and selling or producing class, one thing is clear, that it came from the country, not the Government; and that they are not so much to be ascribed to the influence of any individuals, however powerful, as to the immense growth of the commercial class in society, which enabled it to command the press, influence the majority of Parliament, and obtain the general direction of public opinion.

So accustomed had the people of England been to regard protection to native industry as part and parcel of their constitution, that they did not for a considerable number of years per-

ceive the danger which threatened it; and for long the doctrines of Free Trade made progress in Parliament, and in the country, without any sensible opposition. As long as the Corn Laws were not openly assailed, the landholders were quiescent; when the duties were kept upon foreign sugars, the West India interest said nothing; the complaints of the shipowners as to the working of the reciprocity system produced no general impression, as they affected only a limited class of society. But at length, when every producing interest found itself threatened, a fierce and long-continued controversy commenced; and the arguments of the Free-Traders in and out of Parliament were met by the following considerations:

The principle that to buy cheap and sell dear is the great secret for growing rich, is undoubtedly true of the commercial class, which lives by buying and selling; and it may with safety be applied to small states without any territory, or a very small one, such as Tyre and Athens in ancient, or Holland or Venice in modern times, which have grown great and powerful by the operations of commerce. In such a state, the consumers live not upon the producers, for the latter are next to none, but upon the traders; and, of course, any system of policy which benefits the latter is for the interest also of the former. But Great Britain stands in a very different situation. It is not merely a buying and selling, but it is also a producing state, and the interests of the classes which live by production are much greater than those which depend on commerce. Even in Great Britain itself, the seat of nearly all our commerce and manufactures, the wealth produced annually by the agricultural class is greater than that produced by all branches of the trading and manufacturing classes put together. That produced yearly by the former amounts to £300,000,000, by the latter to only £180,000,000; the property-tax paid by the former is £2,681,655 a year, that from the latter only £1,541,970.¹ In Ireland the disproportion is infinitely greater: its rental is £13,000,000, and its exports of manufactures only £260,000. If to this is added the immense revenues which the inhabitants of this country draw from the colonies, which, being young and rising states, are mainly dependent on production, it may safely be affirmed that the interests in the united empire dependent on production are at least triple those which rest on buying and selling. To apply, then, the principles rightly followed by a merchant in his private dealings, or a merely mercantile city in its general policy, to a mixed empire such as Great Britain, in which the great interests are dependent on production, is a total misapplication of a maxim, just in certain circumstances, which can not fail to lead to the most dangerous consequences.

In a country so constituted, the commercial class itself is mainly dependent on the producing; and the principle of buying cheap and selling dear may, if pushed to extremes, prove the ruin of the class which introduced it. No merchant can, for

^{41.} Indication this afforded of the growth of the commercial class.

^{42.} Argument of the Protectionists.

¹ Income-Tax Returns, April 5, 1845.

^{43.} Continued.

any length of time, sell dear, unless he has rich purchasers of his commodities; and if they become impoverished in the end, by a system by which he was in the first instance enriched, he will not find that his profitable sales will long continue. Of the £180,000,000 worth of manufactures produced in Great Britain, two-thirds, or £120,000,000 worth, is taken off by the home market. This home market itself is mainly dependent upon the producing classes. It is in vain for either the merchants or manufacturers in towns to imagine that they can be durably enriched by a system which goes to impoverish their customers. They may be so in the first instance, but the effect must ere long react upon themselves; for how are the customers to continue their purchases if their means of doing so are taken away?

At first sight, indeed, the consumers appear to constitute a class apart from producers; and there can be no doubt that their interest, in the first instance, are far from being identical; for the interest of the former is to buy cheap, of the latter to sell dear. It is on this opposition of interests that the whole theory of Free Trade is founded; because, it is said, the consumers constitute the entire body of society, and therefore their interests must prevail over those of the producers, who can never be more than a part. But this argument is more specious than sound, and utterly fails when the bottom of things is looked to. Consumers must have something wherewith to buy the articles of consumption; and whence does that something come? Entirely from the class of producers, in their own or some other country. The fundholder, the bondholder, the banker, the shopkeeper, the pensioner, the soldier, the sailor, the merchant, the shipowner, the shareholder, all depend on the producers. Let production cease in the British Islands for one year, and what will be the value of all its realized wealth—what the condition of the whole class of consumers? It is the producers who originally create the wealth which, worked up in a thousand forms, afterward sustains and nourishes all the other classes of society. They are like the fruit of a tree, which draws its nourishment from the ground; sever the trunk from its root, and where will be the produce of its branches?

The argument that, under a system of Free Trade, every nation will be brought to take to that species of industry for which nature has given it peculiar advantages, and thus the whole industry of the world will be turned into the right direction, might have some weight if all nations were of the same age, and enjoyed the same political institutions. But the diversity which exists in these respects renders it a vain chimera. How is the young state, without capital, credit, or mechanical skill, to compete with the old one, grown gray in the pursuits of industry, and abounding in every thing which can add facilities to manufactures, or cause commerce to flourish? It is in vain to say, Let them take to different pursuits, each to its own, and then they will never clash. Nations will not continue chained always to one branch of industry, any more than an individual will remain chained to one pursuit. Interests, pursuits, ob-

jects of industry, change with the growth of nations as well as that of individuals; an agricultural nation will not always remain agricultural, any more than a fox-hunter will always remain a fox-hunter, or a cricket-player always play at cricket. The Americans have greater advantages than any nation in the world for agriculture; but before the years of their minority were past, they were striving to become commercial, and now an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent. protects every species of manufacture, and their trade exceeds that of any country in the world, Great Britain alone excepted. It is the same with Russia, Prussia, France, and all the principal agricultural states in the world. They are all striving to become commercial, and to effect this by adopting the prohibitory system, by which we have risen to greatness. Turkey is the only exception; it has long adopted the Free Trade policy in its full extent, because the Mussulmans, who rule the state, are all the denizens of towns, and have no interest in the productions of the country; and the ruin of the Ottoman empire has been the consequence.

The inevitable effect of adopting the Free Trade principle, for any length of time, by an old State, always has been, and always must be, that the agriculture of that State is destroyed, its independence endangered, and at length its existence terminated. This it was which occasioned the fall of Rome; this it is which will occasion the destruction, in the end, of the British empire. The reason is to be found in a cause of universal application and irresistible force; but so simple and familiar, that, like an apple falling to the ground, men were long of seeing the explanation of the mighty phenomenon, which lies in a matter of daily occurrence. It is this, that every thing which is plentiful, and money among the rest, *becomes cheap*. The necessary effect of this cheapening of money is, that every thing else becomes dear in the rich State; and thence, under the Free Trade system, the ruin of its agricultural industry. Riches are only to be found in such quantities, in a realized and accumulated form, in an old State, where they have been the growth of centuries of industry; in the young and rising one, the accumulation has not yet taken place, and money is comparatively scarce. A permanent and unalterable law of nature renders it as impossible for the rich nation to compete with the poor one in the production of the fruits of the soil, as for the poor one to compete with the rich in the production of the finer manufactures. Steam, almost omnipotent in the latter, is powerless in the former; England can undersell all nations in cotton manufactures, wrought up out of a vegetable growing on the banks of the Mississippi or Ganges; but it is undersold by the serfs of Poland, the fellahs of Egypt, and the cultivators of America, in the production of food for the use of man. Thence the inevitable result of Free Trade, if established on both sides, to ruin the agriculture of the rich and the manufactures of the poor one; and this is what has invariably happened when an approach even to such a system has taken place. It may be quite true that the weight of towns, in the later stages of society, often becomes such that the change is unavoidable, and it is forced even

upon the most reluctant Government; but it is not on that account the less fatal, and the passion for it is the mortal disease which conducts the nation by slow degrees to the tomb.

Such is a brief and imperfect abstract of the debate on this great question, as it was at last evolved on both sides; for the importance and ultimate bearings of the question, and its inevitable results, were not in the first instance perceived by the disputants on either. The future volumes of this History will contain ample materials for forming a judgment which of the set of arguments is the better founded; but, in the mean time, it may be remarked, that the result proves that there was much truth in the prognostications on both sides. For, from the returns of the exports, imports, and importations of grain, during the seven years preceding and the seven years following the entire adoption of Free Trade by the Act of 1846, it appears that the exports, measured by official value, which indicates the quantity, have increased above 100 per cent., the imports about 90 per cent., while the imports of grain of all sorts from abroad have more than quadrupled, having now reached an average of nearly ten millions of quarters a year, being a full third of the consumption of our people; while the falling off in domestic production, during the same period, may be guessed at, from the decline of importation of grain from Ireland into Great Britain, which has sunk above a half, pending the vast increase from other quarters; and the exportation of human beings, chiefly agricultural laborers, has reached the enormous amount of 350,000 a year from the two islands.*

These immense results of the new system, however, did not develop themselves fully for a quarter of a century after this period; and the measures tending to Free Trade which Mr. Huskisson introduced, in relation to our manufactures, were such as were obviously wise, and must command the assent of every reasonable mind. The silk manufacture was the first branch of manufacturing industry to which the new system was applied. This manufacture, which had owed its origin in England to the barbarous re-

vocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., which drove many thousands of the best French operatives into exile, had prospered to a very great degree, especially at Spitalfields, near London, and Macclesfield, in Staffordshire; and it had come, in 1823, to consume 1,200,000 lb. of the raw material, and gave employment to 40,000 persons. The English silks, however, were dearer than the French, chiefly in consequence of the heavy duties on the importation of foreign silk, which was intended to encourage the growth of silk in Hindostan; and it was generally said—at least by the ladies—that they were inferior in quality; though the inferiority could not have been very great, since, when they were exported to France, as they often were, and reimported into this country as French goods, they excited unbounded admiration as the production of Lyons or Rouen. The extreme distress which pervaded the country, however, from 1819 to the end of 1822, in consequence of the contraction of the currency, had so affected this branch of manufacture that the wages of the operatives had sunk from 30s. a week to 11s.; and even at these miserably low prices the importation, by means of smuggling, had become so considerable that the home market was in a manner lost to our manufacturers.¹

In this disastrous state of affairs, the silk-manufacturers, in 1823, soon after Mr. Huskisson came into office, presented a petition to Government, praying for a removal of the duties on the importation of the raw material—a circumstance which enabled him to make the well-founded boast, that “the trade had been the first to suggest the removal of these restrictions; and he was confident they would be nearly the first to rejoice in the adoption of their proposal.” The bill to lower the duties on foreign silk was introduced first in 1823; but after passing the Commons, it was thrown out in the Lords, chiefly from the influence of Lord Eldon, who was averse to this as to every other innovation. In the following year the bill, however, was again introduced, supported by a petition from the principal silk-manufacturers in and around London. On the

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, IMPORTS OF GRAIN FROM ALL THE WORLD, AND FROM IRELAND, INTO GREAT BRITAIN, AND EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1838 TO 1853, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Imports into United Kingdom. Official Value.	Exports. Official Value.	Imports of wheat into Great Britain.	Imports of all kinds of grain.	Imports of grain from Ireland to Great Britain.	Emigration from United Kingdom.
	£.	£.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	
1838	61,268,320	92,459,231	1,834,452	...	3,474,302	33,222
1839	62,004,000	97,402,726	2,590,734	...	2,242,841	62,207
1840	67,432,964	102,705,372	2,389,732	...	2,327,964	90,743
1841	64,377,962	102,180,517	2,619,702	...	2,855,525	118,592
1842	65,204,962	100,260,101	2,977,302	...	2,538,221	128,344
1843	70,093,353	117,877,278	982,287	...	3,206,483	57,212
1844	85,441,555	131,564,503	1,021,681	...	2,801,206	70,686
1845	85,281,958	134,599,116	313,245	...	3,251,901	93,501
1846†	75,953,875	132,288,345	2,943,926	...	1,814,802	129,851
1847	90,921,866	126,130,986	4,464,757	11,912,864	963,779	258,270
1848	93,547,134	132,617,681	3,082,230	7,528,472	1,946,417	248,039
1849	105,874,607	164,539,504	5,634,344	10,669,661	1,426,397	299,498
1850	100,460,133	175,416,709	4,830,263	9,019,590	1,232,141	280,849
1851	110,679,125	190,652,212	5,330,412	9,618,026	1,121,362	335,966
1852	109,345,409	204,157,231	4,164,603	7,746,669	921,427	356,849
1853	...	...	6,235,860	10,173,135	1,123,178	...

† Free Trade introduced April, 1846.

—PORTER, 128, 140, 345, 351. *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1854, 563.

other hand, the owners of silk-mills petitioned against any change; and Mr. Buxton presented a petition, signed by 23,000 operative silk-weavers of the metropolis, who prayed that "the prohibition of the importation of foreign-wrought silks might not be removed." Pressed in this manner on both sides, it was no easy matter for Government to know what to do. At length, however, as often occurs in such cases, a compromise was agreed to, by which the duty on imported raw silk was reduced from 5s. 7½d. a lb. to 3d. on all raw silk which did come from Bengal, and 4s. on all that did not. The duty on thrown silk was lowered from 14s. 8d. to 7s. 6d. per lb.; and the prohibition against the importation of foreign-wrought silks was continued till July, 1826, after which they were to be admitted at an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent. There can be no doubt of the wisdom of these changes. Raw silk is not a natural production of this country, and, from the climate, never can be; and therefore the levying of a heavy duty on foreign raw silk was nothing but a gratuitous burden on the springs of manufacturing industry.* Improvement in domestic fabrics is not to be expected, unless the taste is chastened and ingenuity called forth by foreign competition; and the protecting duty of 30 per cent. seems amply sufficient to compensate the difference between the value of money and wages of labor in this and foreign states. Accordingly, the results have justified these anticipations; for, although the export of wrought silks fell off for some years after the change was introduced, in consequence of the changes in the currency, yet it afterward rapidly increased, and is now nearly three times what it was in 1824, when the change was introduced; and what is still more remarkable, a considerable part of these exports has been to France itself.¹

The same principles were soon after applied to the woolen manufacture. As this had always been a staple branch of our manufactures, no duty had ever been laid on foreign wool till 1803, and then it was only ½d. a lb. In 1819, however, Mr. Vansittart, in order to relieve the agricultural interest, then suffering severe depression from the contraction of the currency, raised the import duty to 6d. per lb.; and this great advance seriously aggravated the distress of the woolen manufacturers, which had been

sufficiently great before.* In 1824, Mr. Huskisson wisely retraced the steps of Government; and as the agricultural interest was now in a state of comparative prosperity, he reverted to the former duty of ½d. a lb. on common foreign wool, and 1d. on the finer sort; and English growers were to be permitted to export British wool on a duty of 1d. a lb. The result has demonstrated the wisdom of the change; for, while the Parliamentary Returns prove that the import of foreign wool has tripled since it was introduced, and the export of woolen manufactures has increased 50 per cent., it has been established in evidence before the ¹ Commons' House of Lords, that the wool grown in Great Britain and Ireland has increased, since 1800, from 94,000,000 to 145,000,000 lb., or about 50 per cent. also.¹

These results of the first application of the principles of Free Trade to the commercial interests of Great Britain, point in a clear manner to the effects of that application, and the limitations under which the general doctrine is to be received. It is clearly expedient to lower the import duties upon the raw materials employed in our manufactures, especially if that raw material is the produce of different climates from our own, because that is lightening the springs of manufacturing industry, without adding to the load on agricultural. Even on articles which we rear in common with other States, but used in manufactures, it is expedient to keep on such duties only as may put our producers on a level with those in other States, and compensate any inequality arising from difference in climate or local advantages. On this principle, the reduction of the duties on raw silk and foreign wool, and on wrought silk, was undoubtedly expedient. But to go farther than this, and apply the same principle to those great branches of

* ENGLISH EXPORTS OF WOOLEN GOODS AND IMPORTS OF FOREIGN WOOL, FROM 1810 TO 1849.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.
	£.	Pounds of Wool.
1819	5,984,130	16,100,970
1820	5,586,138	9,775,605
1821	6,462,866	16,622,567
1822	6,488,167	19,058,080
1823	5,636,586	19,366,725
1824	6,034,051	22,564,485
1825	6,185,648	43,816,966
1826	4,966,879	15,989,112
1827	5,245,649	29,115,341
1828	5,669,741	30,236,059
1829	4,587,603	21,516,649
1830	4,728,666	32,305,314
1831	5,232,013	31,652,029
1832	5,244,478	28,142,489
1833	5,736,870	38,046,087
1834	6,840,511	46,455,232
1835	7,639,353	42,172,532
1836	4,655,977	64,239,977
1837	5,795,069	48,379,708
1838	6,271,645	52,594,355
1839	5,327,853	57,379,923
1840	5,748,673	49,436,284
1841	5,185,045	56,170,974
1842	6,790,232	45,881,639
1843	8,204,836	49,243,093
1844	7,693,118	65,713,761
1845	6,335,107	76,813,855
1846	6,896,038	65,255,462
1847	5,733,828	62,592,598
1848	7,342,723	70,864,847
1849	7,846,169	76,768,647

* EXPORTS OF WROUGHT SILKS, FROM 1823 TO 1849.

Years.	£.	Years.	£.
1823	351,409	1837	503,673
1824	442,596	1838	777,820
1825	296,736	1839	868,118
1826	168,801	1840	792,648
1827	236,344	1841	788,894
1828	255,870	1842	590,189
1829	267,931	1843	667,952
1830	521,010	1844	736,455
1831	578,874	1845	766,405
1832	529,990	1846	837,577
1833	737,404	1847	985,626
1834	636,419	1848	588,117
1835	972,031	1849	998,331
1836	917,822		

Of which to France—

Years.	£.
1842	181,924
1845	139,772
1846	172,424

industry on which the subsistence and independence of the country depend, such as food and shipping, in which no manufacturing skill or application of machinery can materially lower the cost of production—and in which, from the quantity of manual labor employed, the rich State, where money is plentiful, and therefore wages high, will always be undersold by the poor State, where money is scarce, and therefore wages low—is to apply it in a manner which must always be dangerous, and may in time come to peril the very existence of the empire.

When so many advances were in the course of being made toward the establishment of general freedom in commerce and industry, it was impossible that the restrictions which affected the most important of them all—the market of labor—could longer be maintained. These restrictions were chiefly on the emigration of artisans, combination among workmen at home, and the exportation of machinery. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed on the motion of Mr. Hume, which reported that the laws restraining both the emigration of artisans and the combinations among workmen should be repealed. The report stated, what was undoubtedly the truth, that it was impossible to prevent the emigration of skilled workmen, who were liable to penalties if they emigrated, of whom sixteen thousand had left the country in the two preceding years, and that the only effect of the existing laws was, that they were prevented from coming back, from dread of being punished. The justice of these observations could not be denied, and accordingly a bill, repealing all the laws against the emigration of artisans, passed into law with general concurrence. The report at the same time recommended the abolition of all laws against combinations, which were at once swept away by one statute passed in this year, without providing any adequate safeguard against the abuses which might take place under the new privileges conferred upon the workmen.¹

The effects were to the last degree disastrous, and much exceeded any that had been anticipated by the opponents of the measure. The operatives made the worst use, in the first instance at least, of the powers thus conferred upon them. No sooner was the Act passed, than combinations on the greatest scale, and attended with the most ruinous results, arose in all the manufacturing districts. Impressed with the idea, which they have never since ceased to entertain, that the profits of their employers were an unwarrantable encroachment upon the remuneration of their industry, and that by strikes the usurped part might be reclaimed, combinations to effect this object instantly arose in every direction. The whole manufacturing cities and districts were in a ferment, and combinations were every where formed, for the purpose of raising wages by means of strikes, or preventing them falling by the same means. The extent to which these combinations spread, the unity of their proceedings, the perfect system of organization which they attained, would not

be credited if not brought home to the knowledge of all by dear-bought experience. No army was ever more thoroughly organized, no discipline more completely established, the commands of no commander-in-chief or despot more rigorously enforced. From July, 1824, when the bill repealing the Combination Laws was passed, till the January following, scarce any trade was at work in Manchester or Glasgow. Cotton-spinners, power-loom weavers, wrights, masons, tailors, mechanics, artisans of all sorts, struck in a body, and continued for months in a state of idleness. The direction of these immense bodies of men was assumed by committees, who exercised their authority, and enforced obedience to their commands, by the most arbitrary measures. Contumely, threats, intimidation, violence, were in the first instance employed. If these failed, the dagger and the torch were without hesitation resorted to. Fire-raising and murder were formally enjoined by the committees, and executed by the assassins in their employment; and then began the atrocious system of throwing vitriol in the faces of the recusants, and inflicting wounds worse than death itself on such as did not yield implicit obedience to their commands. So excessive did these evils become, that, early in the next session of Parliament, Mr. Huskisson, after describing the defects of the former Act, introduced a bill for the better regulation of the subject, which still continues the law of the land. By it, while all the old laws against combinations, either of masters or men, are repealed, all attempts at intimidation or violence are rigorously proscribed, and a power of summary conviction is conferred upon justices of peace and other magistrates, on the evidence of one credible witness, and with a power of inflicting three months' imprisonment.¹

This subject, from the frequent use which has since been, and still continues to be, made of the powers then conferred upon the workmen, has become one of the very greatest importance, and still occupies the anxious attention both of Government and the country. The argument in favor of the repeal is undoubtedly very strong. It is evident, it is said, that when the cheapening system is generally introduced, and fostered by foreign competition with countries where the cost of the necessaries of life is not half what it is here, strenuous efforts must be made to prevent the wages of labor from being beat down in this country, otherwise the condition of the workmen in it will become miserable in the extreme. But how is this contest to be maintained, if combinations to keep up wages are prohibited? They are the mode in which the principle of competition acts in the later stages of society. When great capital has accumulated in a few hands, and they have the means of easily combining together, it is a mere mockery to say that workmen are not to be allowed to combine also, and meet the weight of overgrown capital by the pressure of accumulated numbers. The violence, intimidation, and suffering which often attend such strikes are to be regretted, and, when proved, should be severely punished; but it is not owing to the strikes themselves, so

52. Repeal of laws against emigration of artisans, and combinations among workmen.

¹ Parl. Deb. xi. 813.

53. Disastrous effects of the change.

54. Argument in favor of the repeal of the Combination Laws.

¹ 4 George IV. cap. ix.; Ann. Reg. 1821, 80, 81; Martineau, i. 344.

much as to the unjust laws which denounce them. They act as the fiscal regulations which convert the honest trader into a smuggler: they expose him to danger, and therefore steep him in crime. Threats and violence are resorted to, because open and peaceable abstinence from labor is not permitted. Let the latter be legalized, and the former, being no longer required, will not be resorted to.

On the other hand, the argument against such combinations presents considerations of not less weight. Of all the social evils, it is said, incident to an advanced and prosperous state of manufacturing industry, combinations among workmen are the greatest. Plague, pestilence, famine, are light evils in comparison, for they, in their worst form, affect a portion of the people only; but combinations ruin the whole, and paralyze for months together entire cities and countries for no interest or advantage of the wretched persons who are involved in them, but solely for the benefit of the committee-men and agitators, who get 40s. a week from the joint funds as long as the strike continues. It is hard to say whether they do most mischief, from the spirit in which they are conducted, or the habits which they induce. Intimidation and violence are the methods which they invariably resort to for the accomplishment of their ends; and the multitude, interested in the object in view, soon come to regard without remorse any methods which may be resorted to for their attainment. Nowhere is the principle so soon adopted that the end will justify the means; and in a very short time the passive crowd comes to regard the commission of the greatest crimes done in pursuance of the common object, not only without regret, but with desire. The sufferings and privations which multitudes are compelled to undergo in order to forward the ambitious designs of their leaders, often come to equal any thing recorded in the darkest days of history—the siege of Jerusalem, or the blockade of Haarlem; but vain are all efforts of the suffering majority to resist the mandates of the interested few to whom they have intrusted their fate. Worse even than present suffering, habits are acquired, during the long and dreary months of compulsory idleness, fatal to the morals and character of a large portion of the people; for what ruins all classes so much as want of occupation, and what so effectually as idleness pervading great numbers together? The true principle of competition is that which obtains between workmen taken singly and their masters, for then the intervention of the fatal middlemen, the delegates and committee-men, is prevented, and mutual interest alone regulates the rate of wages. The masters will never forego the labor of their workmen when it can be employed to advantage, and therefore wages will always rise when the state of the market permits it—a fall is only to be apprehended when it is unavoidable, and when reduced wages are a substitute for entire cessation of employment.

So strong are the arguments, and so pressing the interests, dependent on the permission of combinations among workmen, that it is probable they will never be prevented in an advanced state

of society; and yet so completely have the anticipations of their opponents been realized, that there is nothing which invariably proves so pregnant a source of evil. Not only have all the mischiefs which were prognosticated, from their being authorized, been realized, but many others which could not have been anticipated have been experienced. Strikes, from having been legalized, have abated nothing of their frequency and violent character; but they have extended over a wider surface, become the result more of combined action, and grown to be more formidable both from their magnitude, their means of resistance, and the multitudes involved in them. Not only have there occurred, every three or four years since the Act was passed, great strikes, which have involved fifty or sixty thousand human beings for months together in the very extremity of wretchedness, and cost severally £400,000 or £500,000 to the country, but assassinations, assaults, and arsons have been regularly organized, and enjoined by secret and unknown committees, as a part of the regular course of operations.* It is true, the greater part of these *great* strikes have proved unsuccessful, and terminated in the defeat of the workmen, after their last rag had been pawned, and their last morsel of bread consumed; but is it any consolation to the friend of mankind that such sufferings have been endured by innocent multitudes, or that a state of things continues which insures their frequent return? For experience has proved, that so far from the bad success of such strikes preventing their recurrence, the case is just the reverse, and that no amount of experience has the effect of preventing the combined workmen from again engaging in these perilous conflicts with their employers. At this moment (April, 1854), thirty years after the Combination Laws have been repealed, a strike at Preston has endured thirty-seven weeks, kept fifteen thousand operatives during that time out of bread, involved forty thousand persons and their families in ruin, and inflicted a loss of not less than half a million sterling on an industrious community.

The reason of this is threefold, and of such a kind as would not be anticipated by persons not practically acquainted with such transactions. In the first place, the vast majority of the combined unions are simple operatives of little capacity, except in their own trade, easily deluded, and who readily fall under the government of their delegates and committees, who are generally men of talent, with a considerable command of language and popular topics, and who have a constant interest to renew or perpetuate these contests, because, during their continuance, they are men of consequence, and enjoy ample incomes from the funds of the association. In the second place, so far is the general opinion from being well founded that strikes are always unfortunate, that the fact is just the reverse; in the great majority of instances they are successful, and it is the knowledge of this which renders their

* See SWINTON'S *Report of the Cotton-Spinners' Trial at Edinburgh, in January, 1838* (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1840), where a full account of this nefarious system is given from the evidence of the persons engaged in the conspiracy.

recurrence so frequent. It is true, *great strikes*, which last long and become known, are generally unsuccessful, because they originate in the attempt to keep up wages in adversity at the level which they had previously attained in prosperity—an attempt obviously hopeless, because, in such cases, it is for the interest of the masters to keep the men off their hands, but which the ruling committees easily persuade their followers is just as likely to prove successful as the previous strikes during a rise of prices had been. Every great strike which lasts for months, and attracts notice, has been preceded by numerous *little strikes* which had lasted only days, and had then been ended by the submission of the masters, because it was for the interest of the masters, during the rise of prices, to keep their workmen employed, but by which a great rise of wages had been brought about. In the third place, most combinations have it for their main object to establish an equality in the remuneration of labor; that is, to prevent the industrious and active from earning more than can be attained by the indolent or inattentive. This, of course, meets with general support, because the majority of men in all professions are of the latter description. If, by strikes, the members of the bar could prevent any leading counsel from earning more than five guineas a day, or, by strikes among doctors, any consulting physician from making more than the same sum, and insure it to all members of the profession, however idle or unskillful, their would be no want of strikes in the learned professions.

In truth, the necessity of combinations, to enable operative workmen to compete with overgrown capital on the one hand, and the dreadful evils inseparable from their being carried into effect on the other, are both so obvious that the serious attention of the Government to the subject is imperatively called for. And the following system—the result of much reflection, and not a little experience on the author's part—would probably go far to remedy the evils so generally felt: Without making any change in the law as it at present stands, except to augment the powers of the magistrate on summary conviction in such cases, let a body of central police be established at the disposal of Government, ready to be sent down at a moment's warning to any district where a serious strike has commenced. At other times, when not so required, it might be usefully employed in garrison or other home duties, and thus augment, to a certain degree, the defensive force of the country. The moment a strike begins, they should be sent down to the menaced district in such numbers as at once to put an end to all ideas of resistance, to protect effectually the new hands willing to work below the rates which the strike is contending for, and to enable the magistrate to act at once, and with vigor, against persons concerned in acts of intimidation or violence.

Two or three thousand men would be amply sufficient for the whole island; and they would probably save the nation ten times the expense of their maintenance. Nearly the whole evils of strikes would be prevented by this expedient, while

their beneficial effects, in enabling the workmen to compete with the masters, would not be interfered with. Intimidation and violence are the weapons on which, however they may disclaim them, all strikes in reality rely; and if they are deprived of them, they will become impotent and harmless. Physical strength, the force of numbers, is what constitutes their power, and renders them so formidable; discipline, organization, and a central force, are what alone can be trusted to meet the dangers with which they are fraught. None are so deeply interested, in reality, in their being effectually combated as the workmen themselves; for every great and protracted strike is invariably the parent of some new invention, which supersedes the human hand in some great department of employment, and trenches deeply on their means of support in future times. And when it is recollected that there are twelve thousand admirable police maintained in Ireland at a cost of £530,000 a year to the consolidated fund of Great Britain, it is evident that the people of this country have a good claim for the expenditure of a third of this sum, to save themselves from the continuance of evils greater than ever flowed from Irish recklessness or crime.

Hitherto the narrative of the years 1823 and 1824 has been nothing but an un-
broken stream of prosperity, and of the financial reductions and legislative changes consequent on such an auspicious state of things. The prospect, however, was by no means un-

clouded, and in some parts of the empire the seeds of evil were springing up in rank luxuriance. The West Indies were beginning to be shaken by the efforts of the benevolent but deluded philanthropists who desired to bring about the instant emancipation of the Negro race, and the great contest had already commenced between the planters and the Imperial Legislature which was destined, after ten years' duration, to terminate in the entire abolition of slavery, for good or for evil, in those splendid settlements. Ireland was convulsed with more than its usual share of outrage and general suffering; and an association had been formed under the name of the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, guided by the ablest orators of that persuasion, which afterward became so formidable an instrument in the hands of the disaffected in that distracted country. The first of these topics, however, will more suitably come under discussion in a future chapter, which treats of the vast changes at this time, and for some years afterward, in the colonial empire of Great Britain; and the second, in the next, which will be chiefly occupied with the chain of causes and effects which terminated in Catholic Emancipation. Enough remains of domestic misfortune in Great Britain during the succeeding years to arrest the attention of the annalist, and point out, for the instruction of future times, the dangers of the mistaken system of policy in which it originated.

The year 1825 opened under the most auspicious circumstances. It can not be better painted than in the eloquent words of Lord Dudley and Ward, who moved the address in answer to the King's speech in the House of

58.
System
which must
be adopted
on the sub-
ject.

60.
Gloomy
aspect of
affairs in
the West
Indies and
Ireland.

59.
its advan-
tages.

Lords on February 3d. "Our present prosperity," he observed, "is a prosperity extending to all orders, all professions, and all districts; enhanced and invigorated by the flourishing state of all those arts which minister to human comfort, and by those inventions by which man seems to have obtained the mastery over nature by the application of her own powers, and which, if one had ventured to foretell it a few years ago, would have appeared altogether incredible, but which, now realized, though not perfected, presents to us fresh prospects and a more astonishing career. There never was a time when the spirit of useful improvement, not only in the arts, but in all the details of domestic administration, whether carried on by the public or by individuals, was so high. That world, too, which had first been opened to us by the genius of a great man, but afterward closed for centuries by the absurd and barbarous policy of Spain, has, as it were, been rediscovered in our days. The last remnant of the veil which concealed it from the observation and intercourse of mankind has just been torn away, and we see it abounding not only in those metals which first allured the avarice of needy adventurers, but in those more precious productions which sustain life and animate industry, and cheering the mind of the philosopher and statesman with boundless possibilities of reciprocal advantages in civilization and commerce. A great historian and statesman, after describing what appeared to him to be, and, according to the imperfect ideas of those times, undoubtedly was, a period of great prosperity, still complained that there was still wanting a proper sense and acknowledgment of these blessings. That of which Lord Clarendon complained was not wanting now; the people of England felt and acknowledged their happiness; the public contentment was upon a level with the public prosperity. We have learned, too, from what source these blessings flow. All the complaints of the decay of our manufactures from the change of system have proved fallacious. We no longer dread the rivalry of the foreigner in our own markets; we can undersell him in his own. The silk manufacture, since it was freed from shackles, has increased almost as fast as the cotton, which has been always free from them. We have now been fully taught that the great commercial prosperity of England has arisen, not from our commercial restrictions, but grown up in spite of them."¹

The contemporary annalists have recorded facts which demonstrate that this glowing picture was not the creation of the orator's imagination, but the faithful portrait of the time in which he lived. "Agricultural distress," says the *Annual Register*, "had disappeared; the persons engaged in the cotton and woollen manufactures were in full employment; the various branches of the iron trade were in a state of activity; on all sides new buildings were in a state of erection, and money was so abundant that men of enterprise, though without capital, found no difficulty in commanding funds for any plausible undertaking."

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ing. This substantial and solid prosperity was stimulated to an additional extent by the operations of the many joint-stock banks and companies which had sprung into sudden existence in the former year. Some of them had put in motion a considerable quantity of industry, and increased the demand for various articles of consumption; and all of them at their commencement, and for some time afterward, tended to throw a certain sum of money into more active circulation, and to multiply their transfers from one hand to another. As these speculations still retained their popularity, the apparent prosperity, arising from their artificial stimulus, presented an imposing aspect, and augmented the general enchantment."¹

¹ An. Reg. 1825, 2.

Another contemporary annalist has recorded in graphic terms the effects of this universal prosperity upon the material well-being of all classes. "The increased wealth," says the *Quarterly Review*, "of the middle classes is so obvious that we can neither walk the fields, visit the shops, nor examine the workshops and storehouses, without being deeply impressed with the changes which a few years have produced. We see the fields better cultivated, the barns and stackyards more fully stored; the horses, cows, and sheep more abundant, and in better condition, and all the implements of husbandry improved in their order, their construction, and their value. In the cities, towns, and villages we find shops more numerous, and better in their appearance, and the several goods more separated from each other—a division that is the infallible token of increased sales. The increase of goods thus universally diffused is an indication and exhibition of flourishing circumstances. The accounts of the bankers in the metropolis and provincial towns, small as well as large, with the balances of money resting with them, ready to embrace favorable changes in the price of any commodity, or to be placed at interest as beneficial securities present themselves, are increased to an enormous amount. This, indeed, is evident from the low rate of interest which can be got in the public securities, and the avidity with which any opening for capital is sought after. The projects for constructing tunnels, railroads, canals, or bridges, and the eagerness with which they are embraced, are proofs of that accumulation from savings which the intermediate ranks of society have by patience and perseverance been enabled to form. The natural effect of this advancement in possessions has been an advance in the enjoyments which those possessions can minister; and we need not be surprised at the general diffusion of those gratifications which were formerly called luxuries, but which, from their familiarity, are now called by the softened name of English comforts."²

^{63.} Picture of the times from the *Quarterly Review*.

² *Quarterly Review*, xxxii. 189.

Facts decisive beyond the reach of controversy demonstrate that this prosperity was not only real and universal, but, up to a certain point, was based on solid foundations. "In the end of 1823, and greater part of 1824, there prevailed," says Tooke, "a general character of prudence and sobriety, with-

^{64.} Sound condition of trade and manufactures to the end of 1824.

^{61.} Lord Dudley's picture of the Empire in the opening of 1825.

¹ Parl. Deb. xii. 3, 7; Ann. Reg. 1825, 5, 6.

^{62.} Picture of the country from the *Annual Register*.

out any apparent resort to an undue extension of credit. Due attention was still paid to the most obvious elements of mercantile calculation; and although there was an obvious tendency to increased speculation, the objects for the exercise of it were selected with a considerable degree of care and sobriety. The manufacturers had laid in their new materials, and erected their machinery on such terms as enabled them to supply both the foreign and the home markets with wrought goods, which, although comparatively cheap, still left a fair profit; and the trade and manufactures of the country had never before been in a more regular, sound, and satisfactory state than from the

1 Tooke On end of 1821 to the end of 1824.”
Prices, ii. 142. The advance in the value of the public securities, and in property of all sorts, was so great as to vindicate this eulogy of mercantile prosperity at this period, and show it was founded on solid grounds. The Three per Cents rose in July, 1825, to 96, an elevation which they had not previously attained since 1792. The stocks of all banks and joint-stock companies advanced in a similar proportion, many in a much greater; and such was the rise in the price of all the principal articles of merchandise, that scarcely any speculation could be entered into which was not, for the time at least, attended with profit, often to a very great amount.* And the consumption of the raw materials made use of in the principal articles of manufacture had

2 Tooke, ii. 142. more than doubled in the last two years.^{2†}
That this extraordinary and universal state of sound and apparently durable prosperity was mainly, if not entirely, owing to the expansion of the currency which had taken place from the operation of the

65.
Which was owing to the extended currency.

Act of 1822, and the general confidence in the magnitude of the supplies of gold which were anticipated from the opening of the South American mines to British capital and enterprise, can not be for a moment doubted. The Bank of England notes in circulation had advanced, since the change of the law in August, 1822, from £17,464,790, to £20,132,120, and paper under discount at the Bank from £3,622,151 to £6,255,343 in August, 1824, and £7,691,464 in August, 1825. The country bankers' paper had augmented in a still greater proportion: it had risen from £8,416,430 in 1822, to £12,831,352 in 1824, and £14,980,168 in 1825.† Had this paper circulation been rested on a proper basis—that is, had it been perfectly secured, duly guarded from excess of issue, and secured upon a *foundation not liable to be withdrawn*—this prosperity would have been durable, and Great Britain for the next quarter of a century would have enjoyed an uninterrupted period of peace and happiness. But, unhappily, this was very far indeed from being the case: on the contrary, the currency of the empire was fixed on the most perilous and insecure of all bases, for it consisted in part of issues by irresponsible parties over whom Government had no control, and it rested in whole on the retention of the precious metals—the very thing which, under existing circumstances, could by no possibility be retained. Country bankers, to the number of some hundreds in the provinces, were at liberty to issue their own notes to any extent they pleased, which, in the high state of general credit, passed as cash from hand to hand; and in addition to this, two causes had now come into operation, which, while they immensely inflamed the fever of speculation on the one hand, proportionably augmented the danger of a collapse on the other. These were the formal recognition of the independence of

* PRICES OF VARIOUS ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE IN THE YEARS 1824 AND 1825.

	July to November, 1824.	December, 1824, to June, 1825.		December, 1824.	March, 1824.	December, 1825.
Cotton, per lb.....	7½d. to 9d.	16d. to 18½d.	Wheat.....	63s. 6d.	69s. 1d.	64s. 1d.
Cochineal, “.....	16s. to 19s.	21s. to 24s.	Barley.....	40s. 3d.	38s. 11d.	41s. 2d.
Indigo, “.....	10s. 4d. to 12s. 11d.	12s. to 16s.	Oats.....	23s. 4d.	24s. 8d.	26s. 8d.
Tobacco, “.....	2d. to 7d.	3d. to 9d.	Beef, per stone.....	4s. 10d.	5s. 2d.	5s. 4d.
Silk, raw, “.....	16s. 6d. to 23s.	18s. to 29s. 10d.	Mutton, “.....	5s.	6s.	6s.
Sugar, per cwt.....	29s. 11d.	41s. 5d.				
Coffee, “.....	58s. to 60s.	76s. to 79s.				
Saltpetre, “.....	19s. to 20s.	34s. to 36s.				
Tallow, “.....	31s. to 32s.	42s. to 43s.				
Iron, per ton.....	£6 to £7	£11 to £12				

—TOOKE On Prices, ii. 175, 135.

† IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Cotton.	Wool.	Raw Silk.	Flax.	Linseed.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	cwt.	bushels.
1822	142,837,628	19,058,080	2,060,292	610,106	1,413,450
1823	191,392,503	19,366,725	2,453,166	553,937	1,662,456
1824	149,380,122	22,564,485	3,051,979	742,531	2,195,093
1825	228,005,291	43,816,966	2,855,792	1,055,237	2,888,247

—TOOKE On Prices, ii. 155.

‡ CIRCULATION ON 30TH AUGUST IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	Bank Notes.	Country Bankers.	Total.	Commercial Paper under Discount at Bank
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1822	17,464,790	8,416,430	25,881,224	3,622,151
1823	19,231,240	9,920,074	29,151,314	5,624,963
1824	20,132,120	12,831,352	32,963,472	6,255,343
1825	19,398,840	14,980,168	34,379,008	7,691,464

—TOOKE, ii. 382

the principal States of South America by Great Britain, and the great excess of imports over exports in this country owing to the general internal prosperity which prevailed; and their united action before the end of the year involved the nation in the most dreadful calamities.

In January, 1825, Mr. Canning made a formal communication to the Foreign Minister, that his Majesty had come to the determination of appointing *chargés d'affaires* with the States of Columbia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres; and in the King's speech, on February 3d, it was declared, "In conformity with the declarations which have been repeatedly made by his Majesty, he has taken measures for confirming by treaties the commercial relations already subsisting between this kingdom and those countries of South America which appear to have established their separation from Spain." This announcement was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House; and as this was an open recognition of Liberal principles on the part of the Government, the Opposition were not slow in claiming their share of credit as being the persons who had all along maintained these principles, and recommended these measures. Mr. Brougham, in particular, was so loud in his declamation on this subject that it led to a celebrated rejoinder from Mr. Canning, the felicity of which for the time withdrew the attention of the country from the undoubted fact, that Government and the Opposition had changed places, and that Great Britain had now taken the lead in the advancement of Liberal principles.* This official announcement, coming as it did at a time when the minds of men were already strongly excited on this subject, and the spirit of speculation had become very prevalent from the profits consequent on the general rise of prices, operated with magical effect on the moneyed classes. There was no end to the projects set on foot to work out the inexhaustible mineral riches of South America, and for a time there seemed to be none to the profits realized by the fortunate shareholders.† The gain made on the shares of some of the South American companies in a few months, at this

* "The honorable and learned gentleman," said Mr. Canning, "having in the course of his parliamentary life supported or proposed almost every species of innovation which could be practiced toward the constitution, it was not very easy for Ministers to do any thing in the affairs of South America without seeming to borrow something from him. Break away in what direction they would, whether to the right or left, it was all alike. 'Oh,' said the honorable and learned gentleman, 'I was there before you: you would not have thought of that if I had not given you a hint.' In the reign of Queen Anne there was a sage and grave critic of the name of Dennis, who, in his old age, got it into his head that he had written all the good plays that were acted at that time. At last a tragedy came forth with a most imposing display of hail and thunder. At the first peal Dennis exclaimed: 'That's my thunder!' So with the honorable and learned gentleman, there was no noise or stir for the good of mankind in any part of the world but he instantly claimed it for his thunder."—*Parl. Debates*, xii. 24, 25.

† Companies.	Stock.	Paid.	Dec. 10, 1824. Premium.	Jan. 17, 1825. Premium.
Anglo-Mexican...	£100	£10	£33	£158
Brazilian.....	100	10	10s. dis.	£66 pr.
Columbian.....	100	10	£19	£82 "
Real de Monte...	400	70	£550	£1,350
United Mexican...	40	10	£35	£155

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1825, iii.

period, exceeded 1500 per cent. These extravagant profits spread a sort of madness through all classes. It seized upon the most sober and retired members of society, pervaded all ranks, swept away all intellects, and in the end ruined not a few fortunes. Joint-stock companies were set up in every direction, and for all imaginable undertakings.* There was nothing so absurd as not to be set on foot; scarce any thing so unfortunate as not for a few days or weeks to realize large profits to the original shareholders. When they had got them off their hands, and landed them in those of the widow and the orphan, they were indifferent how soon they went to the ground. The country bankers, trusting to the unbounded supplies of specie expected from South America under English management, poured forth their issues without end, and their notes were universally received, amidst the general prosperity and sanguine spirit of the times. In the beginning of 1825 there were two hundred and seventy-six joint-stock companies in existence in Great Britain, the subscribed capital of which was no less than £174,000,000 sterling.¹

¹ *Ann. Reg.*
1825, 2, 3.

The second circumstance which at once inflamed the general spirit of speculation, and augmented the dangers with which it was attended, was the great excess of imports over exports, which went on increasing through the whole of 1823 and 1824, and at length rose to the most portentous amount in the end of 1825. The value of the imports had come then to exceed that of the exports by above £6,000,000 sterling.† This difference of course required to be paid in cash, and this could end in nothing at last but a drain upon the banks, and contraction of the paper circulation issued upon their stock of bullion. But in the mean time, and before the payments required to be made,

67.
Excess of im-
ports over ex-
ports.

* JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES, THEIR OBJECTS AND CAPITALS, IN JANUARY, 1825.

	Number.	Subscribed Capital.
Canal and Docks.....	33	£17,753,000
Railroads.....	48	22,454,000
Gas.....	42	11,100,000
Milk.....	6	565,000
Water.....	8	1,750,000
Coal Mines.....	4	2,750,000
Metal Mines.....	34	24,490,000
Insurance Companies.....	20	41,800,000
Banking Companies.....	23	21,610,000
Supply of Corn.....	4	410,000
Navigation Packets.....	12	5,540,000
Fisheries.....	3	1,600,000
Pearl Fishery.....	1	625,000
Indigo and Sugar Companies.....	5	10,500,000
Agriculture.....	4	4,000,000
Irish Manufactures.....	2	2,500,000
London Improvements.....	3	1,410,000
Thames Tunnels.....	2	200,000
Baths.....	2	750,000
Newspapers.....	2	460,000
Miscellaneous.....	18	1,832,000
	276	£174,114,000

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1825, ii., iii.

† VALUE OF EXPORTS, AND IMPORTS, FROM 1822 TO 1825.

Years.	Exports, declared value.	Imports, official value.
	£.	£.
1822	36,968,964	30,500,034
1823	35,458,048	35,798,707
1824	38,396,300	37,552,935
1825	38,877,388	44,137,482

—PORTER, 356, 3d edit.

the vast amount of imports consequent on the general rise of prices, and the profits made upon them, augmented the prevailing rage for speculation; for there was scarcely any thing brought into the market which was not sold at a profit within it. This circumstance deserves to be particularly noticed, because it is of permanent application, and must, while our monetary laws continue on their present footing, render every period of prosperity and rise of prices the forerunner of a corresponding period of disaster. During the continuance of the former, prices rise and imports become excessive, because profitable; while exports are checked, because production has become costly. Thus a huge balance of imports over exports is occasioned, and a monetary crisis rendered unavoidable by the very circumstance which had induced previous prosperity.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1825, 3.

The drain of bullion from the Bank of England, which is at all times the commencement of commercial distress under our present monetary system, was fearfully aggravated, during the latter part of 1824 and whole of 1825, by a circumstance the precise reverse of that which had been anticipated. South America, which, it had been expected, was to prove an inexhaustible source of mineral treasures, turned out quite the reverse; it became the greatest drain upon the metallic resources of the country that had ever been experienced. Between July, 1824, and October, 1825, no less than £12,000,000 of treasure was exported from this country; the bullion in the Bank of England, which on the 31st August, 1823, had been £12,658,240, had sunk on 31st August, 1825, to £3,634,320, and before the end of the year it was down to £1,027,000.² The greater part of this export of gold was to South America,

² Tooke, ii. 185, 382.

and the cause of that brings to light one of the most instructive and memorable facts recorded in history. It arose entirely from that revolution which Great Britain had for so many years labored so assiduously to bring about. During the course of that terrible convulsion, which had endured under circumstances of unexampled horror for fourteen years, and deluged the whole country with blood, its whole capital had been destroyed; the mines unworked had in great part come to be filled with water; and the supplies of specie, which, for ten years back, had been obtained for the use of the world, had been almost all picked up from the refuse thrown out of the mines in former days, or the gold and silver plate and ornaments which the necessities of the former capitalists and proprietors who worked them had compelled them to melt down and bring into the market. Thus the new mines set on foot by the English companies during the mania of 1824 and 1825 could be worked only with English capital, and it could only be sent out in the shape of bullion or specie. The twenty millions subscribed for the South American mining companies were in great part remitted in this way. Thence the drain on the Bank, the monetary crisis, the general distress, with all their incalculable effects upon the history of Great Britain and of the world. Moneyed ambition prompted to national crime, and in the anxiety to reap the fruits of that crime it

overleapt itself, and fell on the other side. And thus it is that the sins of men are made to work out their own punishment, and Providence vindicates the justice of the Divine administration.

Little anticipating any such catastrophe as these symptoms so clearly prognosticated, and deeming the present prosperity permanent, and beyond the reach of change, because founded upon the new ideas of commerce, the Government proceeded energetically in the work of the reduction of duties, and, by the exaggerated terms in which they spoke of the prospects of the country, augmented the danger that was impending. On the 28th February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robinson, brought forward the budget, and drew the most flattering picture of the financial prospects of the nation. After mentioning that the excise exhibited an increase of about 15 per cent. on the principal articles, and the customs, notwithstanding the large reductions of the preceding year, scarcely any diminution, he continued thus: "To what cause is this increase to be ascribed? The proximate cause, doubtless, is the increased capacity of the people of this country to consume the produce of other countries, aided and invigorated by the increased facilities which our consumption of foreign articles gives to other countries, in the extended use of the produce of our own industry. This increase is not accidental; on the contrary, it is something the very reverse of what is ephemeral and peculiar; it arises from something inherent in the nation, and connected with the very essence of human society. The demonstrated tendency of population to increase would alone be sufficient, in a great measure, to account for it; but, independent of that cause, there is a principle in the constitution of social man which leads nations to open their arms to each other, and to establish new and closer connections by ministering to mutual convenience, a principle which creates new wants, stimulates new desires, seeks for new enjoyments, and, by the beneficence of Providence, contributes to the general happiness of mankind. This principle may, it is true, be impeded for a time by war or calamities; it may be counteracted, as we well know in this country, by the improvidence of mistaken legislation, but it is always alive, always in motion, and has a perpetual tendency to go forward; and when we reflect upon the facility which is given to its operation by the recent discoveries of modern science, and by the magical energies of the steam-engine, who can doubt that its expansion is progressive, and its effects permanent? It appears to me, therefore, that I may safely assert that the increase in this branch of the revenue is not the result of accident or of a temporary combination of fortunate circumstances, and that I am not too sanguine when I take the produce of last year as the solid basis upon which I calculate the state of that branch of the revenue for years to come."¹

^{69.} The Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget.

¹ Parl. Deb. xii. 1722.

In pursuance of the principles thus eloquently expressed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a reduction of taxes to the amount of £1,500,000 a year, on various articles of consumption, of which British spirits were the most

considerable.* The reduction on them was no less than £750,000; and it was effected by lowering the duties on British spirits from 10s. and 6d. to 5s. and 6d. a gallon. Those on French wines were lowered from 11s. 5½d. to 6s. a gallon. Even with these reductions, the revenue of the year was expected to exceed the income by above £5,400,000 sterling, which was applied to the reduction of debt, by keeping up the Sinking Fund.† This statement, however, was so far fallacious, that in the receipts of the year were included £4,470,000 drawn from the trustees for half-pay annuities, while the sum expended under that head was only £2,800,000, leaving a difference of £1,670,000, for which the nation got credit in the year, which was in reality effected by laying its proper burdens, in the shape of "dead weight" as it was called, on future years.¹

As, notwithstanding these reductions, the Sinking Fund was kept above £5,000,000 a year, the level fixed by the resolution of the House of Commons in 1819, and the articles selected for relief of taxation were in general judiciously chosen, the budget of Mr. Robinson, upon the whole, is deserving of commendation. To this approval, however, one important exception must be made in the great reduction, to the extent of a half, made in the duties on British spirits. As this was a most important step, which has been attended, in the sequel, with consequences of the highest interest, and on which the opinion of the author is most decidedly adverse to the change then introduced, it seems proper to give, in the first instance, the argument by which it was supported. "The reduction of the duties on spirits," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "is founded not only on the principle, now so generally admitted, of giving

relief to the consumer, but on one of a higher order, and which is essentially connected with the morals and happiness of the people—I mean the prevention of smuggling. Smuggling, I conceive, is one of the very greatest domestic evils that can afflict a country. Its active instruments haunt us wherever we go; they hover round our coasts, penetrate our harbors, traverse the interior; they invade the splendid palace of the noble, and the humble cottage of the poor; they offer their seductions in every quarter, and I fear that all classes of society yield to their seductions. Surely this is an evil of tremendous magnitude, confounding all notions of right and wrong, and sapping, with incessant and increasing power, the very foundations upon which obedience to the law is built; it brings the law into disrepute, its violation into credit. We have endeavored to check the progress of this measure by the most rigorous measures; we have surrounded the coast with guards and ships as with a wall of brass; we have imposed penalty upon penalty, punishment upon punishment; but all in vain. Why? Because the cause of the evil is to be found in the law itself, and the alteration of the law has not yet been tried. Let us try it now; let us apply to England that change which has had such triumphant success in Ireland and Scotland. It may perhaps be recollected, that when I proposed to make a great change in the distillery law of Ireland and Scotland, there were not wanting persons who exclaimed, 'What, reduce the duty upon spirits! Make all the people drunk! For God's sake, abstain from so fatal a measure.' The measure was, nevertheless, taken; and what has been the consequence? So far from any evil having resulted from this step, tranquillity, order, and harmony, have superseded the disturbance, confusion, and ill-blood, which arose from the desolating extension of illicit distillation. Why, then, should we not try in England a system of which experience has proved to us the advantage?"¹

The reduction of duties on spirits distilled in Ireland and Scotland had taken place in 1823, and had cost the nation £380,000 in the first island, and £340,000 in the last. Mr. Robinson now extended the same

principle to England, and the sacrifice of revenue, by the reduction in the two islands, was £1,500,000. The measure was justified by that gentleman by alleging its moral tendency, in so far as it removed the practice of, and evils consequent on, illicit distillation; and the House of Commons at once embraced, and have ever since maintained, that view of the subject. It is a curious and instructive commentary on this argument, drawn from considerations of morality, adduced in favor of cheap whisky, to cast our eyes on the records of crime in the two islands, and contemplate the vast and sudden addition to offenses which took place immediately after the reduction of the duties. It would be unfair to ascribe the great increase which ensued altogether to the reduction of the duty on spirits, because, without doubt, the dreadful distress consequent on the monetary crisis of 1825 had a considerable share in it; but enough remains

* The Taxes reduced were—on

Hemp	£100,000
Coffee	150,000
French wines	230,000
British spirits	750,000
Cider	20,000
Assessed taxes	276,000
	£1,526,000

—*Parl. Deb.* xii. 743.

† The Income and Expenditure for the year were estimated as follows:

INCOME.

Customs	£11,350,000
Excise	26,400,000
Stamps	7,100,000
Taxes	4,875,000
Post Office	1,500,000
Miscellaneous	750,000
Trustees of half-pay	4,470,370
	£56,445,370

EXPENDITURE.

Interest of Debt	£27,233,670
Interest of Exchequer Bills	860,000
Civil List	2,050,000
Half-pay Annuities	2,800,000
Army	7,911,751
Navy	5,983,126
Ordnance	1,376,641
Miscellaneous	2,300,000
Sinking Fund	5,486,654
	£56,001,842

—*Parl. Deb.* xii. 726.

¹ *Parl. Deb.* xii. 754.

^{72.} Vast increase of crime which has arisen in consequence.

to show that the lowering of the duty on spirits had a most material influence upon it, and to justify the observation so often made by judges, and all others conversant with the administration of criminal justice, that two-thirds of the whole crime that is committed is owing to the excessive use of ardent spirits.¹*

The enormous mistake committed by Government on this occasion, of which the bitter effects have ever since been felt, but are now apparently irremediable, is one of the numerous instances which have occurred, in the later periods of English history, of the injurious effects which have resulted from legislation being so often conducted by persons destitute of any *practical* acquaintance with the subject with which they deal. To assert that the increased consumption of spirits by the working classes is favorable to their morality, is so strange a doctrine, and so contrary to universal experience, that it appears almost inconceivable it could have been hazarded in any intelligent assembly. Since the duties on spirits have been reduced a half, the consumption of them has been increased above two hundred per cent., and the proportion consumed per head advanced in the same proportion—facts which go far to explain the contemporaneous duplication of crime during the same period. As to the cessation of demoralization by illicit distillation and smuggling, it is a real benefit; but it is dearly purchased by the wholesale demoralization of so large a part of the working classes, by the facility of obtaining ardent spirits. There is more crime, domestic unhappiness, family feuds, and social demoralization produced in Glasgow by cheap whisky in one month, than ever was by smuggling over all Scotland in ten years. There is no person practically versant with the details of both, as the author has been for twenty years, who will maintain a contrary opinion.†

There is no such fit object of taxation, in an indirect form, as ardent spirits, because the addition which the increased duty makes to the price of the article, *when taken in moderation*, is so small as

to be trifling even to the humblest consumer, while the addition to the public revenue is immense, from the vast numbers who partake of the comfort. It is on the drunkards alone it falls as a serious burden. The duty on British spirits was lowered, in 1823 and 1825, 5s. a gallon; and the price, in consequence, fell from 14s. or 15s. to 10s. a gallon, or from 1½d. to 1d. a glass. This diminution of price was a relief certainly, but not a large one, to the working classes, if they take only a glass or two a day; but this advantage was dearly purchased, even by themselves, by the enlarged quantity which it tempted them to drink. The average consumption of spirits in the United Kingdom is now about 24,000,000 gallons a year. Ten shillings a gallon on this would produce £12,000,000 a year, or nearly a fourth of our entire revenue, spread over at least as many millions of consumers, and felt as a burden by none except the drunkards, upon whose vicious habits it was a restraint. Can there be imagined a species of taxation so productive that it would produce twelve millions a year, and yet so light that it is felt as a burden only by those upon whom it operates as restraint from crime?

The evils experienced from the reduction of the duties on spirits have, during the last thirty years, been felt to be so excessive that they have led, in every part of the country, to societies and leagues for the purpose of promoting temperance among the working classes, and in some instances they have been attended for a time with surprising success. In Ireland, in particular, where cessation from drinking ardent spirits was, during the years of activity in the Roman Catholic League, made a primary object of effort with the Roman Catholic clergy, the success of the attempt was most remarkable: it fell in Ireland from 12,296,342 gallons in 1838, to 6,485,443 gallons in 1841.¹ But the success of this, as of all other attempts to run counter to a great and universal instinct of nature, was only temporary: the reaction in favor of whisky has been nearly as strong as the action in favor of temperance had been. All attempts to stop *entirely* what is prompted by a general instinct of nature, must end in disappointment; or, if it succeeds, it never fails to induce evils of another kind greater than it removes. To regulate it, and reduce it to moderation, is the only wise course. This can never be effected by temperance societies, how widespread or zealous soever; for their efforts affect only those who are already regular, sober, and well disposed. It is by an enhancement of the price *alone* that the consumption of the immense and heedless mass can be permanently diminished, or temperance enforced as a habit on the great body of the people. If ever a statesman would deserve a statue of gold, it would be he who could retrace the step taken with such general approbation by Mr. Robinson in 1825; but the influence of the publicans in the legislature is too great to permit any hope of such a consummation being effected, at least in this generation. Following out the principles laid down by Mr. Huskisson in the preceding year in regard to Free Trade, he continued the reduction in this of the import duties on several articles of consumption, chiefly those used in the different pro-

* COMMITTEES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, FROM 1822 TO 1830.

YEARS.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1822	12,201	1691	15,251
1823	12,263	1733	14,632
1824	12,698	1802	15,258
1825	12,437	1876	15,515
1826	16,164	1999	16,318
1827	17,924	2116	18,031
1828	16,564	2024	14,683
1829	18,675	2063	15,271
1830	18,167	2329	15,794

—PORTER, 667, 3d edit.

† SPIRITS CONSUMED, AND CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS, IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

YEARS.	SPIRITS CONSUMED.			CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS.
	Gallons.	Population.	Rate per head. Gallons.	
1821	9,822,578	21,193,458	0.46	29,143
1831	21,845,408	24,029,702	0.90	35,230
1838	26,486,543	25,907,096	1.02	52,235
1840	21,859,337	26,443,495	.82	64,722
1848	23,010,808	26,800,000	.92	72,840

—PORTER, 545, 556, 557.

cesses of manufacture. The articles selected for the reduction were foreign woolen goods, upon which the duty was reduced from 60 per cent. to 15; on foreign linens, which were lowered from 100 on an average to 25 per cent.; on foreign paper, from £6 10s. per cwt. to £3 10s.; on glass, from £80 to £20; on earthenware, from 75 per cent. to 15, and 30 on ornamental porcelain; on foreign gloves, from 60 per cent. to 30; on iron, from £6 10s. to £1 10s.; on copper, from £5 9s. 3d. per cwt. to £2 10s.; on lead, from 20 per cent. to 15; and on various lesser articles not enumerated, from 50 to 20. The general result was, "that, upon foreign manufactured articles, where the duty is imposed to protect our own manufactures, and not for the purpose of collecting revenue, the import duty will in no instance exceed 30 per cent." "If the article," he added, "is not manufactured much cheaper or much better abroad than at home, such a duty is ample for protection. If it be manufactured so much cheaper or so much better abroad as to render £30 per cent. insufficient, my answer is, first, that a greater protection is only a premium to the smuggler; and, secondly, that there is no wisdom in attempting to bolster up a competition which this degree of protection will not sustain." Resolutions to this effect were passed unanimously in the House of Commons, and embodied in acts of the legislature. There can be no doubt of the wisdom and justice of these observations; and if they had been applied to agriculture and shipping, as well as manufactures, we should not have been now (1854) importing annually ten million quarters of foreign grain, or seen the foreign shipping employed in carrying on our trade nearly equal to our own, instead of a third of its ¹ *Parl. Deb.* amount, as it was when Mr. Huskisson commenced his labors.¹

Another change of an equally momentous character was in the same session of 77. Parliament brought forward by Mr. Huskisson, which also appears to have been founded in true wisdom as well as a liberal spirit. This was in reference to the trade to the colonies. This trade, in conformity with the colonial policy formerly common to this country with all the nations of Europe, had been entirely confined to the shipping of the mother country. This system, however, had been so far relaxed in the year 1824, that by 3 Geo. IV. c. 44, it was permitted to carry on an intercourse between any countries in America and our colonies there, in the ships of those countries; and also to the colonies to trade to any countries in Europe, provided the trade was carried on in British ships. These great concessions, which were equally advantageous to the Americans and our Transatlantic colonies, were met in a very illiberal spirit by the government of the United States. "What," said Mr. Huskisson, "has hitherto been the return made by the United States for this indulgence? In the first session of their Congress which followed the opening of this trade by our Act of Parliament, they passed a law imposing alien duties in their ports upon all British ships which might trade between those ports and our colonies, upon the same terms and duties as the like productions

of any other country; meaning thereby the like productions, not of any other foreign country, but of our own country, or of our own provinces in North America. This is a pretension unheard of in the commercial relations of independent States. It is just as reasonable as it would be on our part to require that sugar or rum from our West India islands should be admitted at New York upon the same terms and duties as the like articles the growth and production of Louisiana, or any other of the United States." To obviate this inequality between the United States and other countries, Mr. Huskisson proposed to admit "a free intercourse between all our colonies and other countries, either in British ships or in the ships of those countries allowing the latter to import all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the country to which the ship belongs; and to export from such colonies all articles whatever of their growth or manufacture, either to the country from which such ships came, or to any other part of the world, the United Kingdom and all its dependencies excepted. All intercourse between the mother country and the colonies, whether direct or circuitous, and all intercourse of the colonies with each other, to be considered as a coasting trade, and reserved entirely to ourselves." The resolutions to this effect were unanimously adopted by the House ¹ *Parl. Deb.* of Commons, and passed soon after *xii. 1106,* into law.¹ *1107.*

There can be no doubt that these changes were alike founded in wisdom and justice. Colonies should be considered as distant provinces of the mother country, and treated as such. No burdens should be imposed on the staple productions of their industry, which are not imposed on corresponding productions of the parent state. Free Trade with all the world should be permitted to them as much as to the mother country; the trade between the two should be reserved to themselves as a coasting trade for their mutual benefit. This is no burden or restriction upon either; on the contrary, it is a reciprocal advantage. Perhaps the whole colonial system, and the commercial intercourse with all other countries, could not be better summed up than in the maxim: "Absolute Free Trade with the colonies, no taxes on their staples which are not imposed on our own, a monopoly of the trade between the two, and with other countries *real reciprocity*—that is, admission of their staples on the same terms as they admit ours." Under such a system the colonies for long would have desired to continue the connection, because they derived benefit; and the British empire, held together by the strong but unseen bond of mutual interest, might for centuries have gone on growing with the growth, and strengthening with the strength, of its mighty descendants.

But amidst all these important changes, and when Government and the country were lulling themselves into a fancied security from the belief in the boundless course of prosperity before them, the small cloud was already visible on the horizon, which was soon to involve all in darkness. The King's speech, delivered on 6th July, congratulated the country on the "great

76.
Renewed
measures in
favor of Free
Trade.

Great and
wise change
in the laws
regarding
our colonial
shipping.

78.
Reflections
on this
change.

79.
Approach
of the mon-
etary crisis.

and growing prosperity on which his Majesty had the happiness of congratulating the country at the beginning of the session;" but already symptoms of the approaching storm were visible to the reflecting few. The fatal effects of a paper currency dependent on the retention of the precious metals, and consequently abundant when they were plentiful, and contracted when they disappeared, began to show themselves. Importations, stimulated by the high prices, became so prodigious, that no amount of consumption on the part of the country could take them off, and they began to fall. Cotton, wine, silk, wool, and all foreign articles, soon came to decline rapidly in price; and this induced a general demand for money to meet engagements which could no longer be made good by sales, or enable the holders to keep on till prices rallied.* But the bankers to whom the applications were made were themselves in equal or greater difficulties, and could not make the advances required of them. Exports had declined from the high rate of wages and cost of the raw materials; and thus the balance daily increasing had to be paid in cash. The South American mines, instead of producing any thing, were a constant drain upon the metallic resources of the country, for the Revolution had brought them into such a state that for years they could not be worked to a profit, and they entailed a loss of nearly the whole £20,000,000 subscribed. The consequence was a steady drain upon the treasure in the Bank, which continued to decline rapidly during the summer and autumn of 1825, until in August it

¹ Tooke, ii. 158, 161. was only £3,600,000, and daily diminishing,† and in December was only £1,024,000.¹

It may easily be conceived what, in a great mercantile community, deeply engaged in the most extensive and onerous engagements, must have been the effect of such a sudden contraction of the currency, at the very time when its expansion was most loudly called for; but imagination itself can hardly conceive the consternation and distress which followed. The country bankers, whose issues had nearly doubled in the preceding year, having reached the enormous amount of £14,000,000, were the first to be assailed. They were besieged with applications from their numerous customers

to make advances; but the demand for gold was so excessive that their stock of specie was soon exhausted, and they had no resource but to apply to the Bank of England for assistance. It was the magnitude and constant increase of this demand which constituted the source of embarrassment to that establishment. Very naturally, and, indeed, unavoidably, the Bank contracted their issues, which, in the first week of December, were down to £17,000,000. The effect of this was to bring a great number of the private bankers to an immediate stop. In the end of November, the Plymouth Bank failed; this was followed, on the 5th December, by the failure of the house of Sir Peter Pole and Co., in London, which diffused universal consternation, as it had accounts with forty country bankers. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme. In the next three weeks, seventy banks in town and country suspended payment; the London houses were besieged from morning to night by clamorous applicants, all demanding cash for their notes; the Bank of England itself had the utmost difficulty in weathering the storm, and repeated applications were made to Government for an Order in Council suspending cash payments. But this was steadily refused as long as the Bank had a guinea left; and meanwhile the consternation over the whole country reached the highest point. Every creditor pressed his debtor, who sought in vain for money to discharge his debts. The bankers, on the verge of insolvency themselves, sternly refused accommodation even to their most approved customers; persons worth £100,000 could not command £100 to save themselves from ruin: "We were," said Mr. Huskisson, "within twenty-four hours of barter."¹

In this extremity, Government, despite their strong reliance on a metallic currency, were fairly driven into the only measure which could by possibility save the country. It was evident to all what the crash which threatened universal ruin was owing to; it arose from the currency of the country being suddenly contracted from the drain upon the banks for specie, at the very time when an expansion of it was most called for to sustain the immense pecuniary engagements of its inhabitants. The remedy was obvious—*expand the circulation irrespective of the drain of gold*. This, accordingly, was done by Government. Immediately after the failure of Pole and Co.'s bank, frequent Cabinet Councils were held; and it was at length wisely determined to issue one and two pound notes of the Bank of England for country circulation. Orders were sent to the mint to strain every nerve for the coinage of sovereigns; and for a week 150,000 of sovereigns were thrown off a day. But here a fresh difficulty presented itself. Such was the demand for Bank of England notes, to fill the void occasioned by the general discrediting of the country bankers' circulation, that no amount of strength applied to the throwing them off could enable the Bank to keep pace with it. In this dilemma, when the specie in their coffers was reduced to £1,000,000, and the run was daily increasing, an accidental discovery relieved the Bank of their immediate

* PRICES OF THE UNDERMENTIONED ARTICLES.

	December, 1824, to June, 1825.	January to June, 1825.
Cotton.....	16d. to 18½d. ..	6½d. to 7½d.
Cochineal.....	21s. to 24s. ..	13s. 6d. to 15s. 6d.
Indigo.....	12s. to 16s. ..	7s. to 11s.
Spices.....	11s. 6d. to 16s. ..	6s. to 6s. 9d.
Tobacco.....	3d. to 9d. ..	3d. to 8½d.
Silk.....	18s. to 29s. 10d. ..	13s. 3d. to 16s.
Sugar.....	41s. 5d. ..	28s. 9d.
Coffee.....	76s. to 79s. ..	47s. to 49s.
Iron, per ton....	£11 to £12 ..	£8 to £9

—TOOKE, ii. 157.

† BULLION IN THE BANK AND NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

	Circulation.	Bullion.
February 28, 1823.....	£18,392,240	£10,384,230
January 28, 1824.....	19,736,000	14,200,000
April, 1824.....	19,200,000	13,800,000
February 28, 1825.....	20,753,760	8,779,100
August 31, 1825.....	19,398,840	3,534,320
December 3, 1825.....	17,477,290	2,167,000
December 24, 1825.....	25,709,410	1,024,000

—TOOKE, ii. 160, 167.

81.
Increased circulation forced upon the Government.

difficulties, and enabled them to continue the issues to the country bankers, which saved the country from total ruin. An old box, containing £700,000 in one and two pound notes, which had been retired, was accidentally discovered in the Bank of England, and immediately issued to the public. By this means, the adequate circulation was kept issuing till the new notes could be thrown off. The effects were soon apparent. The people, having got notes, abated in their demand for gold; confidence began to revive, because the means of discharging obligations was afforded; and at a meeting of bankers and merchants in the city of London, resolutions declaratory of confidence in Government and the Bank of England were passed, which had a great effect in restoring general confidence.* So vigorously were the new measures carried into effect, that the circulation of the Bank of England, which on the 3d December had been only £17,477,290, was so raised that on the 24th December it was £25,611,800! Thus was the crisis surmounted, though its consequences long continued, and left lasting effects on the legislation and destinies of the nation. Markworthy circumstance!

¹ Tooke, ii. 184, 181; increase in the metallic treasure of the country, but by a great issue of paper, 1829, 124. when there was no specie to sustain it.¹

Sir M. W. Ridley said, on 3d June, 1828, in the House of Commons, "that in 1825 and 1826 there were seven hundred and seventy country bankers, and of these sixty-three had stopped payment. Out of the sixty-three, twenty-three had subsequently resumed their payments, and paid 20s. in the pound, and of the remainder thirty-one were making arrangements for the payment of their debts, and there was a great hope that every farthing would be paid. The country bankers who had failed in 1826 had paid, on an average, 17s. 6d. in the pound."² When

it is recollected that the Funds, which had been 96 in 1825, were down at 76 in December, 1825, and all other securities in a still greater proportion, and mercantile stock, on an average, reduced to a half of its former value, this indicates at once the stability of the banks in general, and the enormous amount of the losses which the catastrophe occasioned to the country. On the public funds alone the

loss was from 20 to 30 per cent. to those who were compelled to realize; and on property of all kinds it is within bounds to say that the loss was above £100,000,000. It is evident that the country bankers, with very few exceptions, were perfectly solvent when the crash began. It was brought about solely by one cause—the drain of specie; the want of one species of property, but which, under our monetary laws, like air to the individual, is indispensable to national life. And it might have been entirely avoided had the monetary laws permitted the issuing of another species of property, to sustain the currency when the one on which all depended was withdrawn; and had the issue of £8,000,000 of notes by the Bank, with no gold to pay them, which arrested the panic when at its height, been permitted by the law at an earlier period, so as to prevent it.

Uninteresting to those who read history merely for stirring incidents or romantic events, the annals of Great Britain from 1819 to 1825 are fraught with the most important lessons to the reflecting, on which the attention of statesmen in future times should constantly be fixed. They demonstrate at once the all-importance of the currency upon the fortunes of the country, and illustrate in the most striking manner the double set of dangers to which a monetary system, based entirely upon the retention of the precious metals, is exposed. From the first introduction of the metallic system in 1819 to the extension in 1822, the history of the country is nothing but the narrative of the dreadful effects produced by the contraction of the currency to the extent of above a third of its former amount, and the social distress and political agitation consequent on the fall in the price of every article of commerce to little more than the half of its former level. Its annals, from the extension of the currency in July, 1822, to the dreadful crash of December, 1825, illustrate the opposite set of dangers with which the same system is fraught when the precious metals flow in in abundance, from the undue encouragement given to speculation of every kind by the general rise of prices for a brief period. To make paper plentiful when gold is plentiful, and paper scarce when gold is scarce, is not only a dangerous system at all times, and under all circumstances, but is precisely the reverse of what should be established. It alternately aggravates the dangers arising from over-speculation, and induces the distress consequent on over-contraction. The true system would be the very reverse, and it would prevent the whole evils which the preceding pages have unfolded. It would be based on the principle of making paper a supplement to the metallic currency, and a substitute for it when required, not a representative of it; and, plentifully issued when the specie is withdrawn, it should be contracted when it returns. Thus over-speculation at one time, and monetary distress at another, would be alike avoided; and an equal circulation would maintain the health of the social system, as it unquestionably does of animal life.

* "1. That the unprecedented embarrassments and difficulties under which the circulation of the country at present labors are mainly to be ascribed to a general panic, for which there are no reasonable grounds: That this meeting has the fullest confidence in the means and substance of the banking establishments of the capital and the country; and they believe that the acting generally upon that confidence would relieve all those symptoms of distress which now show themselves in a shape so alarming to the timid, and so fatal to those who are forced to sacrifice their property to meet sudden demands upon them, which it is no imputation upon their judgment and prudence not to have expected.

"2. That it having been stated to this meeting, that the Directors of the Bank of England are occupied with a remedy for a state of things so extraordinary, this meeting will refrain from any interference with the measures of the Directors of the Bank, who, they are satisfied, will do their duty toward the public."—TOOKE, ii. 168.

CHAPTER XX.

IRELAND FROM 1822 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS OF DECEMBER, 1825.

WHILE Great Britain, in these alternate phases of feverish prosperity and lasting depression, was undergoing the usual fate of a commercial country in which the currency is made to rise or fall with the influx or disappearance of the precious metals, there existed, within a few hours' sail of its shores, an island, of which the following account was, at the same time, given by no common man, and no inexperienced observer: "The state of the lower orders in Ireland," said Mr. O'Connell, "is such, that it is astonishing to me how they preserve health, and, above all, how they retain cheerfulness, under the total privation of any thing like comfort, and the existence of a state of things that the inferior animals would scarcely endure, and which they do not endure in this country. Their houses are not even called houses, and they ought not to be; they are called cabins; they are built of mud, and covered partly with thatch, and partly with a surface which they call scraws, but which is utterly insufficient to keep out the rain. In these abodes there is nothing that can be called furniture; it is a luxury to have a box to put any thing into; it is a luxury to have what they call a dresser for laying a plate upon: they generally have little beyond a cast-metal pot, a milk tub, which they call a keeler, over which they put a wicker basket, in order to throw the potatoes, water and all, into the basket, that the water should run into this keeler. The entire family sleep in the same apartment—they call it a room; there is some division between it and the part where the fire is. They have seldom any bedsteads; and as to covering for their beds, they have nothing but straw, and very few blankets in the mountain districts. In general, they sleep in their clothes; there is not one in ten who has a blanket. Their diet is equally wretched. It consists, except on the sea-coast, of potatoes and water during the greater part of the year, and of potatoes and sour milk during the remainder: they use some salt with their potatoes, when they have nothing but water. On the sea-coast they get fish; the children repair to the shore, and the women and they get various kinds of fish. The ordinary rate of wages is fourpence a day; and during the distress of 1822, the peasantry were glad to work for twopence a day. Yet, even at this low rate of wages, there is no possibility of finding constant employment for the population. The consequence is, that every man cultivates potatoes, which is the food of his own family, and thus land becomes absolutely necessary for every Irish peasant. He cultivates that food, and he makes the rent, in general, by feeding the pig, as well as his own family, upon the same food, and, if it be not wrong to call it so, at the same table, upon the same spot.¹ By that pig he

¹ Mr. O'Connell's Evidence, Lords' Report on Ireland, App. 74, 76.

makes his rent, besides any chance that he gets of daily labor."

The greater part of the poor of Ireland, at this period, obtained their subsistence by begging; and to such an extent was this carried, that the average expenditure of each family on the begging poor was estimated, by competent observers, at a penny a day, which, for a million of families, would amount to £1,500,000 a year. Independent of an indefinite sum levied every year by emigrant poor from Ireland upon Great Britain, there was raised, for the support of the destitute at home, though there were no poor-rates, on residents alone, £2,250,000, being half the public revenue, double the tithes, a fourth of the land-rent. The poor-rate of England, at its highest amount of £7,500,000, was only an eighth of the public revenue, a seventh of the land-rent assessed to it, and a half of the whole tithes in the hands of the clergy and the lay improprators. This extraordinary and anomalous condition of the Irish poor is readily accounted for when their social situation at this time is taken into consideration. "There is no means of employment," said Mr. Nimmo, in 1823, "for an Irish peasant, nor any certainty that he has the means of existence for a single year, but by getting possession of a portion of land, on which he can plant potatoes. In consequence of the increase of population, which is not checked by the misery which prevails, the competition for land has attained to something like the competition for provisions in a besieged town, or in a ship that is out at sea; and as there is no check to the demands by those who may possess the land, it has risen to a height far above its real value, or beyond what it is possible to extract from it under the management of the unfortunate peasants by whom it is cultivated. Add to this, that the land is almost always let by the proprietor to a large tenant, or *middleman*, who sub-lets it often through several gradations of sub-tenants to the actual cultivator, and each of these may distrain the crop and stocking for any arrears of the extravagant rent charged on him—a privilege which, by making the peasants generally liable for others' debts, renders the growth of agricultural capital wholly impossible."¹

Under this system there existed no practical check on the power of the landlord.

Whenever he pleased, or was himself pressed, he could extract the last shilling out of the unhappy cultivators beyond what could be produced by the rude culture of the land. Thus the lower orders in Ireland could never at this period acquire any thing like property; they were always in a state of beggary; and the landlord, or the middleman, who was the principal person in those cases, on the least reverse

² Statistics of the condition of the Irish poor

¹ Mr. Nimmo's Evidence, Lords' Report, 129, 131.

³ Ruinous effects of the power of the landlord.

of prices, which disabled the actual cultivator from paying what he had previously promised, had it in his power to seize, and actually did seize, his cow, his bed, his potatoes, and every thing he had in the world. Any considerable fall of prices was thus the signal of utter ruin to the great body of Irish cultivators, and thus—as the country was entirely agricultural—of the whole people. “I have known,” said Mr. Nimmo, “a cow sold for a few shillings; nobody would buy, and the driver bought it himself. In the town of Kilkee, in the county of Clare, when I was passing through it in the time of the distress in the year 1822, the people were in a group on the side of the pound, receiving meal in the way of charity; and at the same time the pound was full of cattle. Of course, the milk of these cattle would have been worth something if it could have been obtained, but no one could buy it.”¹

What aggravated to a most distressing degree the general misery, and rendered almost nugatory all attempts for its relief, was the prodigious and daily increasing population which overspread the country. By the census of 1821, the inhabitants were 6,801,827; and so rapid was the rate of this increase, that in 1841 this number had increased to

8,196,597,² although emigration had, in the interim, drained off a considerable number, and at least half a million had in that interval settled in Great Britain, where their daily increasing numbers had come seriously to affect the employment of the people, and was a great cause of the general distress. Artificial wants and prudence in the conduct of life, the great restraints on the principle of increase in well-regulated societies, had no influence on the Irish peasantry, who were almost always married before they were eighteen, and often grandfathers at thirty-four. This rapid growth of population operated in a pernicious manner on the condition of the people in two ways. In the first place, it lowered, by excessive competition, the wages of labor, which were every where brought down to the lowest point consistent with physical existence. In the next place, it proportionally raised, by the same competition, the rent of land. When a farmer, who had a few acres, had his children to portion out in the world, having never any money, what he invariably did was, to portion out his little piece of land among them. Thus every marriage was immediately followed by a splitting of farms, and a multiplication of indigent cultivators; and as their number soon became excessive, and the possession of land was the sole means of subsistence, the competition for these became so great as to raise the rents to an

extravagant height, often far beyond what the land could by possibility pay. The peasant did not care what he did, provided he got hold of the land; and the landlords, charmed with the prospect of six or seven guineas an acre for potato land which was not worth three, shut their eyes to the inevitable result of such a state of things upon the habits and social condition of the people.³

¹ Mr. Nimmo's Evidence, Lords' Report, 132, 134.

² Porter, 3d edit., p. 9.

³ Mr. Blackburn's Evidence, Lords' Report, 154, 158; Newenham's Ireland, 58, 59; Young's Tour in Ireland, ii. 198; Wakefield's Ireland, ii. 776.

To assuage the misery of the country, the beneficence of England had flowed in mighty streams, both from the public treasury and from private sources, but without producing any sensible effect in its prevention. Independent of the munificent subscription of £350,000 already mentioned,¹ which was raised in a few weeks in Great Britain, and sent over to Ireland in the famine of spring 1823, the permanent grants of Government to the charities of Ireland were immense. In Dublin alone, the grants of the British Government in the year 1818 amounted to £171,000.* The police of the country, an admirable force, of the greatest use in preserving tranquillity, were supported almost entirely at the expense of Great Britain; no less than £530,000 a year for their maintenance was paid by the Consolidated Fund of England, and only £29,000 by the counties and towns of Ireland. Scotland never got one farthing for this purpose; its whole police is assessed on its own inhabitants. Add to this that Ireland never, before 1852, paid any property or income tax; and that the assessed taxes, such as they were, were repealed in 1823, and have never since been reimposed. Ireland, prior to 1838, never paid poor-rates, in consequence of which its poor swarmed over, and were thrown as a burden on the inhabitants of Great Britain. Above a million of these unwelcome visitors settled in England and Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century; and more than one parliamentary committee have reported, that but for them there would never have been any serious distress among the laboring poor of Great Britain.

While these unequivocal symptoms of public suffering were prevailing in Ireland, the statistical returns of exports and imports† exhibited a very great and most gratifying increase; and the Secretary for Ireland, when twitted with the general distress, was always able to meet the complaints with a

* Viz.—Protestant Charter School.....	£38,331
Founding Hospital.....	32,515
House of Industry.....	36,610
Richmond Lunatic Asylum.....	7,685
Fever Hospital.....	12,000
Dublin Police.....	26,500
Lock Hospital.....	3,307
Dublin Society.....	9,231
Society for Education.....	5,523
	£171,161

—*Parl. Rep.*, March 18, 1819.
† EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM IRELAND IN UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS:

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Of which Exports to Great Britain.
1793	£4,164,985	£5,125,934	£1,039,581
1800	4,637,784	4,350,640	3,778,520
1810	7,055,214	5,928,113	5,159,884
1814	8,170,820	7,088,756	5,731,119
1817	5,644,175	6,412,892	5,569,463
1818	6,098,720	6,436,950	5,942,351
1819	6,395,972	5,708,582	5,123,457
1820	6,278,478	6,371,328	5,621,321
1821	6,407,427	7,703,857	7,067,252
1822	6,607,487	6,771,607	6,124,356
1823	6,020,975	8,091,113	7,674,129

—*Annual Register*, 1824, p. 262; M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 9; and *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, Sup. v. p. 106.

formidable array of figures, which seemed to indicate the very highest state of industrial prosperity. The exports and imports of the island had doubled since the beginning of the century; the latter had now come to exceed £8,000,000 sterling. By far the greater part of this was agricultural, and five-sixths of the whole was sent to Great Britain. This great increase in the ascertained productions of industry, when co-existing with an equally established spread of misery and wretchedness, is a rare combination; but it is by no means impossible, and several examples of it have occurred in later times. The returns of exports and imports exhibit a fair measure of a considerable part of the production and consumption of the country; but they tell nothing of the *proportion* in which they are divided among the inhabitants. When it is very unequal, a great increase of productive labor may take place, and some classes may be enriched, and add to their consumption of foreign luxuries, while the bulk of the people are daily sinking deeper into the abyss of wretchedness.

Many causes, doubtless, have conspired to produce these results, but the principal appear to be the following:

7. Causes of the wretched situation of Ireland. The first place must, without doubt, be assigned to the character of the great bulk of the population. Brave, ardent, and generous, highly gifted in genius, and with many estimable and amiable qualities in private life, the Celtic populations have none of the dispositions which qualify them either for attaining temporal superiority in life, or for constructing, without external direction, the fabric of general social happiness. Gay, volatile, and inconsiderate, the Irish enjoy the present without a thought of the future, and are incapable of the foresight or self-control which are essential to success in this world. Above all, they are entirely destitute of the power of self-direction and self-government, which is the foundation of the entire structure of a free constitution. Thence it is that, the greater the privileges which have been conceded to them, the more wretched has their condition become; until at length, when their political rights had been in all respects put on a level with those of the English, their destitution became so excessive that two millions of human beings disappeared in eight years, and the annual emigration came to exceed two hundred thousand a year. In the next place, a prominent place must be assigned to the circumstance of the conquest of Ireland by the English, and the atrocious system of confiscation which, in conformity with the feudal usages, the victors introduced on occasion of every rebellion against their authority. Without doubt this conquest itself is to be traced to the instability of the Irish character; for why did they not keep out the English invaders,* as the Scotch, with half

their number and not a quarter of their material resources, effectually did? But admitting this, as every candid mind must do, there can be no doubt that the conquest of the country, and consequent confiscation of the estates, has been an evil of the very first magnitude to Ireland. Thence have flowed the bestowing of the forfeited estates on English nobles and companies, the middlemen who were to collect their rents and remit them to this country, and the fatal imposition of a host of persons between the owner of the soil and the actual cultivators, all of whom lived on their labor, and wrung the last shilling out of their earnings.

The third cause which has aggravated the miseries of Ireland, and hitherto rendered abortive all attempts to ameliorate the condition of its inhabitants, is the unfortunate circumstance of the Roman Catholic religion being that of the majority of the working classes, while the Protestant was that of nearly the whole of the persons upon whom the forfeited estates had been bestowed. It is an unhappy state of things in any country when the landed proprietors profess a different faith from their tenantry, when the weekly bond of union arising from meeting in the same place of worship and joining in the same prayers is wanting, and when that which should ever be the bond of peace becomes the source of bitterness. It became doubly so when the land-owners were the persons who had dispossessed seven-eighths of the original proprietors, and the heirs of the attainted persons were working as day-laborers on the estates of their fathers. But in addition to all this there was a circumstance of peculiarly injurious tendency, that in Ireland the tithes belonged to one set of clergy and the peasantry adhered to another. The cultivators became exposed to a double set of exactions: they were compelled to uphold two separate ecclesiastical establishments, one of which enforced its rights by the arm of the temporal law, and the other by the still more formidable engine of spiritual power. And the clergy of the latter, having no source of income but what they could derive from the free gifts of their parishioners, which were chiefly composed of large fees on occasion of marriages, births, and burials, came in this way to have a decided interest in the augmentation of population, and were led to exert their great influence to further rather than restrain the tendency to increase among their flocks.

This tendency to increase, so strongly fostered among the peasantry, from interested motives, by the spiritual militia, was equally promoted by their temporal landlords. The Act of 1793, which extended the right of voting for members of Parliament to forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland as in England, was attended in the former country with the most disastrous results, and was another of the innumerable instances of the extreme danger of transplanting institutions from one country to another when the circumstances of the two are not exactly parallel. The Irish landlords, sharing for the most part to the very full in the indolent and insouciant character of the Celts, had no resource for the establishment of their sons in life

* Scotland possesses in round numbers 5,000,000 arable acres and 12,000,000 of mountain wastes; Ireland, 12,000,000 of arable acres and 5,000,000 of mountain wastes: the former country, in 1825, had 2,300,000 souls, the latter above 7,000,000. Yet was Ireland conquered by Henry II. with 1000 men-at-arms and 2000 archers; while Scotland, though in the same island as England, and so accessible by a land force, without the intervention of that mighty barrier the sea, hurled 80,000 English soldiers with disgrace out of the realm.

9. Splitting of farms for political purposes.

but in Government employment, and experience soon taught them that for the acquisition of this nothing was to be relied on but political influence. To secure this, they favored to the utmost of their power the multiplication of life-rent possessions, which constituted freeholds, and the division of farms, to which the peasantry, from their general want of capital, were already so much inclined. Thus every thing conspired to augment the tendency to increase, to which, from the absence of artificial wants, the people were already so prone; for the priests encouraged it from a desire to multiply marriages lucrative to them, and the landlords to secure influence in the Castle of Dublin for needy and idle sons. To such a length did these causes operate, that, by a parliamentary survey, taken in 1846, it appeared there were no less than 1,016,338 separate landed possessions in Ireland, of which one-half were below the value of £4, held by nearly an equal number of squalid and destitute cultivators.¹*

In these peculiar and extraordinary circumstances, the introduction of the Potato, which has in general proved so great a blessing to the working classes, became the greatest curse, for it furnished subsistence for a vast increase of destitute cultivators, while it led them to trust entirely for that subsistence to the most precarious of all crops. Three times the number of persons can be fed on an acre of potatoes, who can be maintained on an acre of wheat in ordinary seasons, but, on the other hand, the potato crop is liable to occasional failure, or rather total ruin, to a degree unknown in any cereal crop. It is hard to say which peculiarity of this valuable root, which has now come to form so large a portion of the food of the working-classes in all countries, and in Ireland composed the whole, was attended, in the circumstances of that island, with most peril to the community; for the first afforded almost boundless room for multiplication to a squalid peasantry, who were content to live on potatoes alone; while the last exposed them to the risk of famine, whenever any of the periodical seasons of failure of that crop came round. This was what happened with the potato crop of 1822, and occasioned the dreadful distress of that year, which was relieved only by the magnificent exertion of British charity; and the same disaster recurred on a still greater scale, and with circumstances of unexampled horror, in the famine of 1846. Potatoes form a most valuable addition to the food of the people, when the staple of their consumption is of other things; when they become their sole, or even chief subsistence, it may with safety be concluded that the social system is in a diseased state, and that unbounded calamities are at hand.

Last, though not least, in the catalogue of Irish grievances at this period, must be placed the entire absence of any legal provision for the poor. The island at this period was overrun by above two millions of beggars, being nearly a fourth of the entire population; and yet there was no provision either for their succor in sickness or old age, or their employment in health, or their emigration from the country. Their only resource was to get possession of bits of land, of two or three acres each, which they planted with potatoes, and in the interval between the planting and raising of that crop they were in total idleness, or picked up for a few weeks a precarious employment by working on the public roads, or migrating for a season to reap the harvests of Great Britain. It is true, a considerable sum, amounting to above £600,000 a year, was levied by the grand juries, under legal authority, for county rates; but that sum was chiefly expended on roads and bridges, which were the only things in the country which were in general in an admirable state, and the work on which, of course, could only be done by the able-bodied. To the old, the infirm, the sick, the orphans, the desolate children, these afforded no sort of relief. They fell as a burden almost entirely on the peasantry, whose pittance was, in a truly Christian spirit, always open to them, and the sums levied annually by the poor on the poor was computed, as already stated, at £1,500,000 a year. The effect of this state of things, prejudicial in every way, was in an especial manner so in the matter of population. By keeping so large a portion of the inhabitants in a state of constant destitution, the sight of poverty in its most extreme form was constantly before the eyes of the people; and then, like death to soldiers in a bloody campaign, it lost all its terrors, and the principle of increase became unlimited in its operations. Experience has abundantly proved that of all epidemic disorders there is none so contagious as the recklessness produced by extreme poverty, and that no remedy can be relied on for its prevention but the removal of the destitute into situations where their immediate necessities are supplied, and the demoralizing effect of their example is taken away. As a great duty of the affluent is to relieve the indigent, so this duty can never be neglected without its punishment speedily falling on the heads of the parties in fault; and never did this retribution descend more swiftly and heavily than in the case of the Irish land-holders.

In the first instance, however, the effect of this flood of extreme poverty, which overspread the land, appeared in a form which aggravated in a most serious degree the distresses of the country. Unable to endure the sight of a mass of poverty, which they could neither relieve nor prevent, a large portion of the landed proprietors—nearly the whole who could afford to do so—left the country, spent their incomes in London, Paris, or Italy, lost in consequence all interest in their estates, and were known to their tenantry only by the periodical and unwelcome visits of their bailiffs to collect the rents. Thence arose an entire estrangement between the peasantry and their natural protectors, and a cease-

* These little freeholds were thus composed in 1846, before the famine:

Under £4.....	500,387
From £4 to £5.....	79,614
From £5 to £6.....	63,113
From £6 to £7.....	41,113
Above £8.....	332,111
	1,016,338

—Parliamentary Paper, April 7, 1850.

less state of hostility between the landlords and the cultivators of their lands. The former, eager to close such a state of things, and to introduce a better mode of culture and a more substantial body of tenantry on their estates, endeavored in many instances to bring over Scotch or English farmers, possessed of some capital, to take their farms; but this attempt had for long very little success. The peasantry considered it as a prelude to ejecting them from their possessions, and throwing them to starve upon the highway. It was a struggle of life or death to them, and, animated alike by hatred at the Saxon and terror at being dispossessed, they engaged generally in secret societies, the object of which was to murder every new-comer, and every landlord or factor who was instrumental in introducing them.

Thence the association of RIBBONMEN, who were bound together by the most terrible oaths to work out this nefarious system, and who furnished the assassins, who were at all times ready for a trifling sum to execute the mandates of the lodges in fire-raising or murder. This is the real secret of the long continuance and general prevalence of agrarian outrages in Ireland, and explains the fact, so different from what is experienced elsewhere, that the counties were more disturbed than the towns, and that crime was nowhere so prevalent as in the purely agricultural districts. Philosophy came to the aid of party politics in the consideration of this question, and the extraordinary doctrine was broached, and seriously maintained by eminent men, and in celebrated journals, that the absentee proprietors were no evil to Ireland, because the demand for labor, arising from the expenditure of the landed proprietors, was as great if the money were spent in London or Paris as on their own estates—a paradox very convenient for those who wished to represent Catholic emancipation as the sovereign remedy for all the evils of the country, and about as true as if it were to be maintained that an excessive drought or famine in one country is no evil to its inhabitants, because, as the average moisture that falls on the produce which is raised from the *whole earth* is the same, or nearly so, in one year as another, the deficiency of one district will be compensated by the excess of another.

Finding themselves in a small minority amidst a mass of hostile and almost insurgent Orange Roman Catholics, the Protestants in the Orange Lodges, self-defense, organized themselves in an opposite association, which, under the name of ORANGE LODGES, had in like manner secret signs, obeyed unknown authority, and too often engaged in revengeful and bloody deeds. These two opposite associations were soon involved in fierce and irreconcilable hostility with each other; and as nearly the whole peasantry of the country belonged to one or other of the associations, or at all events obeyed the mandates of their leaders, the entire inhabitants were, in some districts, arrayed under opposite banners, obeyed opposite commands, and were always ready for mutual hostility. Thus, in addition to all other causes of discord, the land-holders and peasantry of Ireland became arrayed in opposite and nearly equally dangerous secret asso-

ciations; for the chief proprietors were office-bearers in the Orange lodges, and the great body of the Catholics were members of the Ribbon lodges, or belonged to the Catholic Association, which came to play so important a part in the annals of that unhappy country.

For a people so situated, the first necessity, and greatest of all blessings, would

15. have been a strict and even rigorous administration of justice—such an administration as, without being stained with unnecessary severity, should have taken away the chief

Irregularity and uncertainty in the administration of justice.

temptation to crime, by removing its rewards, or rendering certain its punishment. Unfortunately, however, in this matter, the British connection, which it might naturally be supposed would have been attended with the most salutary effects, was, from the opposite character of the people in the two countries, followed by the most disastrous. The English, according to their usual and not unnatural custom, thought they could not do any thing so good for Ireland as transplanting wholesale their own institutions into it; and the popular party in Ireland, seeing that all these institutions tended to augment the influence of the democratic leaders, warmly supported the same system. Thus they both concurred in doing what, in the circumstances of the country, was of all things the most ruinous to the cause of tranquillity and order, and the lasting interests of its inhabitants. They gave grand juries to a people so divided that no proceeding of the higher orders was ever set down to any motive but the very worst one by the lower; they insisted upon unanimity in petty juries, when the inhabitants were so divided by passion and opinion, that it was scarcely possible to find twelve men of opposite creeds in it who could agree on any subject; they enfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders, and introduced popular elections among a peasantry so illiterate that they could vote only at the dictation of their landlords or their priests, and so tumultuous, when excited, that no votes opposed to their predilections could, during a contested election, be given in safety, but by voters escorted to the polling-place by dragoons, and protected there by military and police with fixed bayonets. Thence a constant state of excitement in the public mind, a disastrous uncertainty in the administration of justice, and a total disbelief on the part of the peasantry in the equity of its decisions. Every thing came to depend on the criminal courts, or at least was thought to depend on the chance or official dexterity which had given a majority on the grand or petty jury to one or other party; and the courts of justice, when the awful scene of a trial for life or death was going on, were surrounded by an agitated crowd, who alternately followed with loud lamentations the cars which conveyed persons convicted, whom they believed to be innocent, to exile or the scaffold; or escorted with loud shouts assassins acquitted, whom they knew to be guilty, in a civic ovation to the homes which they had stained by their crimes.

As a natural mode of defeating the punishment of crime in a country so convulsed, and cursed rather than blessed by the insti-

tutions suited to a different race or state of society, the intimidation of juries and witnesses was thoroughly organized, and carried to such a height as, in cases which interested the people, rendered a conviction, even when guilt was certain, always uncertain, often impossible. The most violent threats were liberally applied by markings on doors, anonymous letters, or otherwise, to any one concerned in the conviction of the patriots who had hazarded their lives in the cause of religion and the people; and so frequently were these threats carried into execution that not only were the nerves of the jurymen often shaken, and verdicts contrary to the clearest evidence returned, but the important witnesses were so endangered that they could find safety only within the walls of a jail; and giving evidence on a trial was more certainly the prelude to removal, at the Government expense, to a distant land, than the commission of the greatest and most atrocious crime. Thence an amount of crime in proportion to the population, an impunity to offenders and uncertainty in the administration of justice, which strangely contrasted with the comparatively regular and steady march of crime, and its small amount in the neighboring island.* And still more dreadful, the impunity for crime and the encouragement to its commission did not cease even with sentence of death and execution, for an applauding multitude attended the last footsteps of the murderer, and a fanatical priest promised him eternal rewards for his self-sacrifice in what they deemed his country's cause.

To a country laboring under so many and such various causes of evil, no one remedy, how powerful soever, could prove effectual; and it was only by slow degrees, and after a length of time, that the greatest combination of them could be expected to produce any sensible effect. As the source of them was mainly to be found in the habits of the people, so it was only in a change of those habits—of necessity the work of time—that the spring of improvement was to be found. Nothing could be expected to be effective but such causes as should relieve the mass of wretchedness which overspread the country, elevate the wages of labor, lessen the competition for land, and furnish the

means of emigration to such as could not obtain a share of it. An expanded currency, which should raise the price of agricultural produce, the sole staple of the people; a prudent but yet liberal poor-law, which should compel the Irish land-owners and *their mortgagees*, enjoying between them an income of £13,000,000 from the labor of the cultivators, to relieve the distress they had so large a share in creating; a vast system of emigration, conducted at the public expense, and drawing off the really destitute instead of those who had some capital, and could do well at home; and a strict and rigorous administration of justice, in a way beyond the reach of violence or intimidation, could alone be relied on to prove effectual. But nothing of this was thought of. Government firmly persevered in a monetary system which, by lowering the price of agricultural produce a half, destroyed the remuneration of rural industry; they resisted all attempts to introduce a poor-law into a country overflowing with indigence beyond any state in Europe; the House of Commons was counted out the moment any motion for emigration at the public expense was made; and the friends of Ireland, on both sides of the Channel, concentrated all their efforts on political agitation to attain Catholic emancipation—that is, open the doors of the House of Lords to a dozen highly respectable Catholic peers, and of the Commons to forty or fifty nominees of the Catholic priesthood.

They gained their object, as the succeeding chapter will testify: with what effect the succeeding volumes of this history will unfold. Without outstripping the march of events, it is sufficient to observe, what is known to all the world, that this step, however loudly called for by justice and equity, has utterly failed, on the admission of its warmest advocates, in removing one real grievance of Ireland, while it has introduced many to which the country had hitherto been a stranger. The agitation for Repeal of the Union succeeded that for Catholic Emancipation; monster meetings were held in every part of the island, to the distraction of the minds of the peasantry, and the annihilation of all feeling of security in the realm; corporate reform gave the priesthood the command of many boroughs, parliamentary reform and the Catholic Association of most counties; popular privileges were extended to the people in every direction, and popular influence became the ruling power in Dublin. The consequences of thus extending to a nation in popularity the privileges of manhood were soon apparent. Capital shunned the peopled and agitated shores of the Emerald Isle; emigration, meeting with no encouragement from Government, was suspended; the competition for land—the only means of existence—became greater than ever; fiendish outrages, the consequence of the dread of losing it, more frequent; the renewal of the Coercion Act a matter of necessity even to those who had most loudly condemned it; and at length Providence, seeing remedy by human means hopeless, interposed with decisive effect—a famine of the thirteenth fell upon the multitudes of the nineteenth century; two millions of inhabitants disappeared from Ire-

* COMMITTED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, FROM 1822 TO 1834.

Years.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1822	12,241	1691	15,251
1823	12,263	1733	14,632
1824	13,698	1802	15,258
1825	14,437	1876	16,318
1826	16,164	1999	18,031
1827	17,924	2116	14,683
1828	16,564	2024	15,271
1829	18,675	2063	15,794
1830	18,107	2329	15,234
1831	19,647	2431	16,192
1832	20,829	2431	16,056
1833	20,072	2564	17,819
1834	22,451	2711	21,381

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 658, 667. The population of Ireland at this time was about 7,500,000; of Scotland, 2,500,000; and of England, 13,000,000—numbers which strangely contrast with the opposite proportions of crime

land in five years between starvation and exile * and now the annual emigration of 250,000 cultivators at once attests the consequences of the commercial policy of England in recent times, and has designated in a manner not to be misunderstood the only remedy left for the sufferings of the sister kingdom.

The extreme distress of the inhabitants of Ireland, through the years 1821 and 1822, in consequence of the contraction of the currency, and consequent depreciation in the price of agricultural, almost its only produce, to nearly a half of its former amount, continued throughout the whole of the succeeding year. The insult to the Lord-Lieutenant in the theatre of Dublin, on the 14th December, 1822, which has been already noticed, led to prosecutions, first before the Grand Jury of that city, and then before the Court of King's Bench, on an *ex officio* information, both of which proved ineffectual; the natural, and, in that country, too frequent result of the requiring, according to English law, unanimity in juries, in a country where, from the unhappy division of parties, both on religious and political subjects, it is seldom, in cases of an exciting nature, to be expected. This abortive proceeding led only to mutual recriminations by the Attorney-General and Grand Jury of Dublin, which had no other effect but to augment the irritation between them, and inflame the general discontent. The consequence was, an inquiry by the House of Commons into the charges preferred by the Attorney-General against the Grand Jury, and by the opposite party against the High Sheriff of Dublin, for alleged partiality in the selection of names for the array. The proceedings in Parliament led to no more satisfactory result than those in the courts of law; and both tended only to inflame the violence of party spirit in Ireland, and unfold the calamitous extent to which its excesses prevailed

and the administration of justice was tampered with in that unhappy country.¹

These judicial and parliamentary proceedings had the effect of renewing the party riots and agrarian disturbances which, in the beginning of the year, from the rise in the price of agricultural produce, had begun sensibly to diminish. The violence of religious and political animosity disturbed the tranquillity even of those districts where life and property had hitherto been most secure. The whole peasantry sided with one or other of the great parties which divided the State;

* Population of Ireland by census of 1841 ... 8,196,597
Increase to 1846, five years, at same rate as preceding decade 400,000
Population in 1846..... 8,596,597
Actual population by census 1851..... 6,533,357
Decrease in five years..... 2,043,240

EMIGRATION FROM BRITISH ISLES.

1844...	70,686	1849.....	299,498
1845....	93,541	1850.....	289,819
1846....	129,711	1851.....	335,966
1847....	27,770	1852.....	368,764
1848....	21,689		

CHESNEY'S *Results of Census* 1851.

most of them were members of Orange or Ribbon lodges, where mutual animosity was fostered, and implicit obedience to chiefs inculcated; and whenever they met in any considerable numbers, insults were exchanged, and not unfrequently wounds and death were the consequence. The power of the law was shattered against these vast associations, for they led to the intimidation of witnesses to such a degree that evidence could seldom be obtained; and if it was, the course of justice was not unfrequently stopped by a refractory jurymen, who belonged to the same religious party as the accused, and positively refused to convict on the clearest proof. To such a length did the disturbances proceed, that murders, arsons, and burglaries were of daily occurrence; policemen were murdered on the public streets or roads; and the Grand Jury of the county of Cork presented a petition to the Lord-Lieutenant, in which they stated that, within the last six months, a hundred cases had come before them of houses burnt, cattle houghed, and the like, by armed bands, who compelled the unhappy owners to stand by and witness the destruction of their property.¹

In these disastrous circumstances, Government, on the application of the Lord-Lieutenant, proposed the renewal of the Insurrection Act, which was so obviously called for by necessity that it met with very little opposition in Parliament, and passed, almost unnoticed, into a law. It never failed, for a time, to apply a rude but effective remedy to the disorders of the country, chiefly by withdrawing the cognizance of offenses from juries, in whose hands justice was so effectually obstructed, and vesting it in the magistrates, by whom it was sternly but effectively applied. This, however, was only a palliative; it left the real sources of evil untouched. A step, however, was in the same season made in the right direction, by a bill introduced by Mr. Goulburn, and which became law, for the legalizing of compositions for tithes.² This act was only permissive; it established a form by which tithes might, for a period not exceeding twenty-one years, be compounded for, with the consent of the landlord and incumbent, but gave no power of forcing a composition on either. As the bill was originally introduced, there was a clause compelling the incumbent to accept of a composition; but this was so violently opposed that Government were compelled to consent to its being withdrawn. The relief afforded was thus partial and local only; but still it was considerable; for the collection of tithes in kind was not only a very vexatious and irritating process, which often led to collision and bloodshed, but it imposed a direct additional burden, often of a very heavy amount, on the cultivator. This was not the case in England, where the tenant previously calculated the amount of the tithes, and deducted it from his offer for rent, so that it fell directly on the owner of the soil; nor in Scotland, where the wisdom of its native Parliament had, two hundred years before, established a universal and compulsory process for the composition and sale of tithes over

21. Renewal of the Insurrection Act and composition for tithes.

² 4 Geo. IV. c. 19.

the whole country. But in Ireland, such was the competition for possessions that the peasants bid against each other, till they offered more than the entire worth of the land to their landlords alone; leaving the chapter of accidents to provide for the parson, armed with the power of distraining, and the priest, wielding the thunder of excommunication.¹

A beneficial act was passed in this session of Parliament, which restrained all right of voting at elections under a tene-
Debates on Irish corruption and Catholic emancipation.
 ment held in common with others, if the yearly value was together under £20. A great many debates also took place on the alleged malversations of those intrusted with the administration of justice and choice of juries in Ireland. But the motions for inquiry were resisted by the Government, and led to no practical result, except disclosing the deep-seated corruptions which pervaded the country, and withdrawing the attention of all parties from the real maladies by which it was afflicted. The question of

Catholic Emancipation was brought on April 17. on 17th April, in the course of which Mr. Brougham pronounced a warm eulogium on the political consistency of Mr. Peel, who had "always pursued a uniform and straightforward course upon the question;" contrasting it with the inconsistency of Mr. Canning, who had exhibited "the most incredible specimen of monstrous trucking for the purpose of obtaining office that the whole history of tergiversation could furnish." Mr. Canning declared that this was "false," which led to a most violent scene, in the course of which it was proposed that both gentlemen should be committed to the sergeant-at-arms. At length Mr. Canning agreed to make a conditional apology, and Mr. Brougham did the same. Thus ended this personal affair, which made a great noise at the time, but had no other effect than withdrawing the attention of the country from the real cause of Irish distress, and rendering its discussion the signal only for party contests and personal recriminations. The bad effects of this were soon apparent. The Catholic question was got quit of by a side-wind in the Commons, on a motion for an adjournment, by a majority of 313 to 111; and a bill for extending the right of voting to English Catholics, the same as was enjoyed by their brethren in

Ireland, though carried in the Commons by a majority of 89 to 30, was rejected in the Lords by 80 to 73.²

As the great cause of the extreme distress which had, during the three preceding years, prevailed in Ireland, of the country was the ruinous depreciation of the price of all kinds of agricultural

produce to the extent of a half, which had taken place from the operation of the contraction of the currency in 1819; so, when prices were raised by the opposite effects of the extension of the currency by the Bill of 1822, an entirely different set of effects appeared. During the greater part of 1823, indeed, the distress induced by the ruinous fall of the three preceding years kept the country in a constant ferment; but as prices rapidly rose toward the close of the year, and continued comparatively high

during the whole of 1824, the distress of the peasantry, and with it the agrarian disturbances, declined. The Insurrection Act was renewed by a majority of 112 to 23, experience having proved that it was the most effectual of all restraints on the violence of the people, and that none, with so small an amount of punishment or suffering, had so surprising an effect in stilling the waves of public discontent.* But the rise of prices produced a gradual but fixed amelioration in the condition of the people; and though the Insurrection Act was renewed, few districts were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant preparatory to its being put in force, and it practically became, from the rise of prices, a dead letter.¹

An Irish barrister of ability, Mr. North, introduced into the Commons by Mr. Canning, gave, in the course of one of these debates, a graphic and veracious account of the condition and miseries of Ireland. "In Ireland," said he, "the people have for a series of years suffered every variety of misery. They have proceeded from one affliction to another. Each season brought its peculiar horror. In one, it was famine; in the next, it was fever; in the third, it was murder. These sad events seemed to form a perpetual cycle, the parts of which were of regular and mournful recurrence. The evils which all felt, all ascribed to different causes. The peasant attributed them to the rapacity of the landlord, the landlord to the bigotry of the clergy. In truth, however, the most conspicuous source of evil was the magnitude of the unemployed population. By no state policy or secret of government is it possible to reconcile tranquillity with idleness. To an energetic people especially, employment is an absolute want. When such a people are left without employment, they become wild, untamable, and ferocious. Disguise it as you will, such people are in a savage state, and will ever fluctuate, as the Irish people have done, between hopeless indolence and desperate mischief. Placed at the very bottom of the scale of human beings, the Irish peasant never looked upward. He was excited by no emulation, inspired by no hope. He remained fixed on the spot where he first drew breath, without the wish, and, still more, without the power of motion. He saw himself surrounded by men of a religion different from his own, whose interests were at variance with his, and whose chief or sole business he supposed to be, by the force of the sword and the law, to keep him quiet and poor. He saw in the violation of the law no culpability, in its chastisement no retribution. He went to the scaffold surrounded by admiring multitudes, with the spirit of a patriot,

* The Parliamentary Returns showed a very small number brought to trial in comparison with those apprehended under the Act. A few weeks' imprisonment answered the purpose of pacifying the country, without ulterior proceedings. They stood thus :

	Apprehended.	Convicted.
Kildare	87	None.
Clare	189	4
Kilkenny	64	None.
Cork	117	None.
Kerry	132	1

—*Annual Register*, 1824, p. 27.

the resignation of a martyr, not the repentance of a criminal. His courage was converted into ferocity, his intelligence into fraud; and at last the peasant was lost in the murderer and incendiary.”¹

One evil much complained of in Ireland was sensibly abated in this year, in consequence of the Act passed in the preceding. The Tithe-Composition Bill had been extensively carried into operation, and produced very beneficial effects. Within a few months after its enactment no less than ten hundred and three applications had been made from different parishes to carry its enactments into effect. Mr. Hume made a motion for an inquiry into the condition of the Irish Church, with a view to a reduction of its establishment, which elicited from Mr. Leslie Foster some very valuable statistical details as to the relative numbers of the two rival churches in the different provinces of the country. From them it appeared that, taking the whole country into view, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was four to one; the great majority in Ulster being Protestant, in the three other provinces Catholic.* It is remarkable that, while so much attention was drawn to the affairs of Ireland, and so much ability exerted on both sides regarding it, it never occurred to either party that the real causes of distress were entirely different from what either contended for, and that, as long as the inhabitants continued wholly agricultural, and the price of their produce was reduced by the contraction of the currency to a half of its former amount, while the country was swarming with two millions of persons almost, if not entirely, without either employment or the means of emigration, which Government refused to afford, it was utterly impossible to expect that any legislative measure could afford effectual relief.²

The extraordinary agricultural distress which prevailed in Ireland from the end of 1819 to the end of 1823 produced, however, one usual result of suffering among a people neglected by the Legislature. Association is the natural resource of mankind in such circumstances; and it is only the more wide-spread that it arises from real evils, and dangerous that it falls under the lash of the law. The CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION arose at this disastrous period; and so naturally did it spring from the sufferings of the people, and so skillful was the direction given to its proceedings by the able and experienced leaders who guided them, that it eluded all attempts at suppression by Act of Parliament, and continued to exercise a paramount influence on the fortunes of the country till the great change brought about by Providence in the middle of

the century. The objects of the Association, as publicly divulged, could not be said to contain any thing illegal, and yet the Association itself was perverted ere long to most illegal purposes. The declared objects of the Association were: 1st, To forward petitions to Parliament; 2d, To afford relief to Catholics assailed by Orange lodges; 3d, To encourage and support a liberal and independent press, as well in Dublin as in London—such a press as might report faithfully the arguments of their friends, and refute the calumnies of their enemies; 4th, To procure cheap publications for the various schools in the country; 5th, To afford aid to Irish Catholics in America; and, 6th, To afford aid to the English Catholics. Most praiseworthy and meritorious objects; but these, though the ostensible, were not the real objects of the Association, nor the ones which gave it either its great celebrity or its important effects.¹

The real objects of the Association were very different, and were, beyond all doubt, to accomplish, in the first instance, Catholic emancipation, and to acquire for the Catholics the command of the elections both in boroughs and counties; and next, to achieve by legislative means, or, if necessary, by force, the repeal of the Union, the resumption of the Church property to the Roman Catholic clergy, and the restoration of their faith as the dominant religion of the land. These were their ultimate objects, as they now stand fully proved by their own subsequent conduct and words; but in the mean time they proceeded cautiously, and their immediate measures were directed to the following ends: 1st, To collect a large sum of money annually, in name of *Catholic Rent*, from all the parishes in the kingdom, and to employ for this purpose the spiritual power of the priests, who were directed to use it with the utmost vigor toward obtaining contributions from their flocks, and furthering the objects of the Association; 2d, To appoint Committees of Finance, Grievances, and Education—the Grievance Committee was in an especial manner to take the trials in courts of law under their cognizance, and endeavor by every possible means to obtain the conviction of Orangemen and acquittal of Roman Catholics; and, 3d, To obtain the suppression of all inferior associations, as Whiteboys, Ribbonmen, and the like, and concentrate the whole energies of the Roman Catholic body and their entire hatred at the Orangemen, styled “their natural enemies,” into one body, directed by a few heads, and steadily pursuing by every possible means the secret objects of the Association. So numerous were the evils, so pressing the sufferings of Ireland, and so little had been done by the Imperial Parliament for their relief, that it is not surprising that the patriots of that country, often warm and generous, though hasty and unreflecting men, should have thought that the time was come when they were called upon to take the redressing of their grievances into their own hands. But experience has now abundantly proved that the means they took to effect that redress were the ones most calculated to perpetuate the wretchedness under which they suffered, and that it was from the very

* The proportions stated by Mr. Leslie Foster were :

	Protestants.	Catholics.	Total.
Ulster.	1,250,000	750,000	1,900,000
Leinster.	300,000	1,500,000	1,800,000
Munster ...	200,000	2,400,000	2,600,000
Connaught .	40,000	960,000	1,000,000
	1,790,000	5,610,000	7,300,000

The annual rental, £10,000,000; tithes, 1-17th of that sum.—*Ann. Reg.* 1824, p. 32, 33.

reverse on the policy which their representatives pursued that effectual relief to the country was alone to be expected.

The Roman Catholic question was not brought forward in reference to Ireland in this session of Parliament (1824); but two bills were introduced by Lord Lansdowne into the Upper House, evidently intended to prepare the way for it in the next. The first of these conferred the privilege of voting for members of Parliament on the English Catholics, a boon which had been conferred upon the Irish so far back as 1793; and the second declared them eligible for various offices in the magistracy, and removed the disabilities on the Duke of Norfolk exercising the office of Earl Marshal of England. Both bills were rejected; not so much on the ground of any danger which they themselves threatened, as of the consequences to which they might lead with reference to the future admission of Catholics into Parliament. A subordinate bill, however, was passed by both Houses, which enabled Roman Catholics to hold offices in the Revenue, without taking any other oaths but those *de fidei* and of allegiance,¹ and another removing the disabilities on the Duke of Norfolk exercising the functions of Earl Marshal of England.² These debates were chiefly important as revealing the schism which existed on the subject in the Cabinet, and which, it was foreseen, would ere long lead to a break-up of the Government; for Lord Liverpool and the Earl of Westmoreland spoke in favor of both the bills which were rejected, while the Lord Chancellor took the lead in opposing them.³

The question of Parliamentary Reform was not agitated in this session of Parliament, for the general prosperity which prevailed rendered it an unfavorable time for bringing it forward; but a motion by Mr. Abercromby to alter the representation of the city of Edinburgh, which, according to the Scotch custom, was vested in the magistrates and town-council, not the citizens at large, was negatived by a majority of 24, the numbers being 99 and 75. The increasing strength of the minority on a matter involving this vital question was ominous of change in future and no distant times. On the proposal by Mr. Peel to renew the Alien Act, which gave the Government the right to send suspected aliens out of the country, an animated debate took place, in the course of which some important facts regarding the working of that much-contested Act were brought forward. It appeared that the total number of aliens residing in the country in 1824 was 26,500, having gradually increased to that number from 22,500 in 1822; that the total number of persons sent off under authority of the Alien Act, since its introduction in 1816, had been only seventeen, of whom eleven were partisans of Napoleon, and that for the last two years not a single person had been removed under it. Mr. Canning announced, in the course of the debate on the question, amidst loud cheers from both sides of the House, that he trusted the Bill would ex-

pire without another renewal, and the bill extending the Act for two years longer was carried by a majority of 120 to 67. In the same session of Parliament a bill was rejected, by 80 to 50, which proposed to extend to prisoners accused of felony the same privilege already enjoyed by those charged with misdemeanors, of being heard in their defense by counsel; a rejection which affords a curious instance of the tenacity with which lawyers adhere to old institutions, how repugnant soever to every principle of justice or expedience. A more worthy spirit was evinced by a bill which passed both Houses by acclamation, at the special request of the King, which restored the honors of the families of Kenmure, Perth, and Nairn, attainted for their accession to the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and Mar, the origin of the last of which, as was finely said by Mr. Peel in introducing the bill, "was lost in the obscurity of forgotten time."¹

This question of the Alien Act is generally the object of fierce contest in Parliament, because its exercise may occasion the removal of popular or royalist leaders in other countries, who have become refugees in this, and whose fate naturally excites commiseration and interest with persons of the same opinions on this side of the Channel. Yet is the true principle which should regulate the matter noways difficult of discovery, and, as usual in such cases, it is to be found in the mean equally distant from the extremes on either side. On the one hand, it is perfectly true, as contended by the opponents of the bill, that it is of the utmost moment that some asylum should exist in Europe for persons who have been stranded in the stormy sea of politics, and with whom such a retreat is an exchange for imprisonment or the scaffold; and so various now are the mutations of fortune, that it is hard to say which of the parties that now divide the world has most interest in the maintenance of such an asylum. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the refugees who obtain the benefit of such an asylum are bound not to abuse the privileges conferred upon them, and, above all, not to convert the resting-place they have acquired into a work-shop for exciting sedition and revolution in this and adjoining states. When the exiles who approach our shores, whether royalist or republican, forget this, their first obligation, and make London the centre from which fire-brands and bombs are scattered in every direction, they can not be surprised, and have no right to complain, if they are removed from the asylum, the obligations of which they have so entirely forgotten. And as long as free discussion in Parliament and a free press exist in this country, there is little danger of the powers conferred upon Government to check such an evil being abused.

Among the important Acts of this session of Parliament must not be omitted one for establishing a uniformity of weights and measures over the whole empire, which passed both Houses and received the royal assent.² The old denominations were retained, but they were reduced to uniformity by being all fixed on one standard, and to some

28.
Roman Catholic question in reference to England.

¹ 5 Geo. IV. c. 79.

² 5 Geo. IV. c. 119.

³ Ann. Reg. 1824, 44, 47.

29.
Parliamentary Reform, Alien Bill, and reversal of Scottish attainders.

March 23.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1824, 52, 61.

30.
Reflections on the Alien Act.

31.
Act for uniformity of weights and measures.

² 5 Geo. IV. c. 74.

degree of certainty by being based on natural divisions. There can be no doubt that this was a very great improvement, although the tenacity of the people, especially in rural districts, to the old measures has prevented the imperial measure, even to this day, coming into universal use. It is only to be regretted that the same simplicity has not been extended to the current coin of the realm by the adoption of the decimal division—a change of all others the most easy to be effected, since it requires nothing but withdrawing the half-crowns from circulation and substituting in their room the new florin, and dividing the shilling into ten pennies instead of twelve: no very arduous undertaking, and attended with obvious benefit in money transactions and the simplification of accounts.

A matter of much importance in the internal legislation of England was brought before Parliament this year, in regard to reform. to which Government wisely conceded a committee of inquiry. This was the administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, in regard to which the most serious charges of delay, expense, and endless multiplicity of proceedings were alleged. There can be no doubt that these complaints were too well founded; and the fact is, that the evils existing in this department were so enormous that the only surprising thing is that they were so long tolerated. Probably this was owing to the usual disposition of party men to make use of existing abuses as an engine of attack against obnoxious individuals, rather than set about their removal with a sincere desire for the public good. The prominent position which Lord Eldon had held for nearly a quarter of a century in the Government, and the lead he had always taken in opposing Catholic emancipation and the chief liberal measures of the day, had rendered him in an especial manner the object of obloquy and attack. Thus all the delays which existed in the Court of Chancery and the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, of which the Chancellor was the head, which were certainly very great, were ascribed to his indecision and want of vigor in the dispatch of cases, when, in fact, it arose from the enormous increase of business in every department during the period that he held the seals, which had more than tripled. A parliamentary committee at once ascertained this to be the case, and in 1824, 67, collected much valuable information in regard to this supreme court.^{1*}

The eminently prosperous state of the country in every branch of industry during the first three quarters of 1825 left the Opposition no ground for complaint or debate in Great Britain, and the whole attention of

Parliament was fixed on Ireland, which afforded in every department a fruitful field for discussion. The Catholic Association presented the first object of attack, for it had grown up with a rapidity quite unexampled, and had now assumed the most gigantic proportions. It was justly deemed inconsistent with any thing like government, for it had come to assume the functions both of the Legislature and the Executive, and even exercised a dangerous, and, in many instances, most pernicious influence over the verdicts of juries and the decisions of the courts of law. Mr. Goulburn, early in the next session of Parliament, brought forward a bill for its suppression, which was supported by Government, and resisted by the whole strength of the united Whig and Roman Catholic party. It gave rise to animated debates in both Houses, interesting from the ability displayed on both sides, and valuable from the information they afforded, and the light they threw on Irish affairs at this important crisis of their history.

On the part of Administration, who brought forward the bill, it was contended by Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Peel, Mr. North, and Mr. Canning: "This Association is really and *bond fide* acting as the representative of the Irish people, and as such it is enacting rules, promulgating orders, and levying contributions throughout the country. The amount of the Catholic rent levied by the influence of the priests, and under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, on every parish in the country, though by no means inconsiderable, is the least part of the evil. It is the establishment of such an impost which is the dangerous thing; for it leads the people to look up to other authorities than those recognized by the Constitution, and teaches them to place confidence in a rival power created and fostered by themselves. Every man who pays this tax feels himself identified with the objects of the institution—is pledged to its support; and is pledged to it 'for better for worse, for richer, for poorer.' Nor is this all. The Catholic Association in Dublin is a great centre of sedition, from whence, and from the press which it supports, there flows a perennial stream of seditious and turbulent matter into every parish in the kingdom. Then the congregations are harangued from the altars by the priests and the minor members of the Catholic Association—men as devoid of caution as destitute of education, and who are neither controlled by the dread of the press nor influenced by the weight of public opinion. From the Association in Dublin proceeds a host of rent meetings, infinitely more serious than any thing which is done in Dublin itself. The objects and measures of the Association are continually changing; no man can say what they are or will be; but be they what they may, they are implicitly followed out by the whole agitators. Their language becomes more violent every day: it is the nature of such associations to generate vehemence. They can not remain stationary. *Non progredi est regredi.*

"Is it possible that any man, looking at the Catholic Association—at the means, the power, and the influence of which it is acknowledged

* The parliamentary committee collected very curious and valuable statistical information in regard to the progress of business in the Court of Chancery and House of Lords during the preceding half century.

YEARS.	Commissions of Bankruptcy.	Appeals to House of Lords.	Balances in hands of Accountant-General.
1770 to 1779	709	272	£6,000,000
1790 to 1800	1000	492	17,000,000
1812 to 1824	2000	547	34,000,000

—Parliamentary Report, March 6, 1825; *Ann. Reg.* 1824, p. 67, 68.

to be in possession; at the vast authority with which it is armed, and the acts it has done, and is doing—can seriously think of giving stability and permanence to its existence? Self-elected, self-controlled, self-assembled, self-adjourned, acknowledging no superior, tolerating no equal, interfering in all stages with the administration of justice, denouncing individuals publicly before trial, re-judging and condemning those whom the law has absolved, menacing the independent press with punishment, and openly announcing its intention to corrupt that part of it which it can not intimidate, and for these and other purposes levying contributions on the whole people of Ireland—is this an association which, from its mere form and attributes, independent of any religious question, the Legislature can tolerate?

“Ireland is sharing the general prosperity. The indications of that prosperity, and the extension of it to Ireland, are known to every person throughout the country. But does that circumstance disprove the malignity of an evil which retards the increase of that prosperity, by rendering its continuance doubtful?—which puts to hazard present tranquillity, and disheartens confidence for the future?—which, by setting neighbor against neighbor, and arousing the prejudices of one class of the inhabitants against the other, diverts the minds of both from profitable occupations, and discourages agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and all the arts of peace—every thing which blesses or dignifies social life? The tide of English wealth has been lately setting in strongly toward Ireland. The alarm excited by the Association acts at present as an obstacle to turn that tide, and to frighten from the Irish shores the enterprise, capital, and industry of England. Is it not, then, the duty of Parliament to endeavor to remove this obstacle, to restore things to the course which nature and opportunity were opening, and to encourage and improve in Ireland the capacity to receive that full measure of prosperity which will raise her, by slow degrees, to her proper rank in the scale of nations?”

“The Catholic Association is too wise in its generation openly to assert its being the representative of the Irish people. Had it done so, no new act of Parliament would have been required to authorize its immediate suppression. But though it has not as yet openly assumed that character, its acts betray that it considers itself as such, and it has that character attributed to it by the entire Catholic body. The repeated statements made in this very debate, as to the Catholic Association being the real representative of the people of Ireland, prove the truth of this statement. Can there coexist in this kingdom, without imminent hazard to dispeace, an assembly constituted as the House of Commons is, and another assembly as completely bearing the representative character, but elected by a different process, actuated by different interests, inflamed by different passions? Does not the very proposition that such is the character and such the attributes of the Catholic Association, even if not altogether true at the present time, warn us at least what the Association, if unchecked,

ed, will become? And if the Catholic Association, in the full maturity of its strength, ¹ Parl. Deb. can not coexist with the House of ^{xii. 170,} Commons, shall we not check it in ^{171, 464,} time, before it has acquired that ^{468; Ann. Reg. 1825,} strength and maturity?”¹ ^{30, 338.}

On the other hand, it was contended by Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh: “It is the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament which is the sole cause of the existence of the Association; and how can the House of Commons, after having, in 1821, solemnly recognized their right to a seat in this House, interfere now to put down an Association the object of which is to obtain that very act of justice? Emancipate the Catholics, and the Association will at once die a natural death. Refuse that concession, and how can you persecute those who support it? The proceedings of the Association have no real danger belonging to them; there is no treason or insurrection connected with them, no obstruction to Government, no injury to life or property. The outcry is wholly artificial, and kept up studiously by the party who wish to stop that emancipation. Even if the Catholic Association had been the dangerous body which it is said to be, the character of its leaders, and especially of Mr. O’CONNELL, who is a man of sense and talent, is a sufficient guarantee against their being betrayed into dangerous excesses. It has already effected the union of the entire Catholic body; it has directed public attention to their numerous grievances; it has called forth the talents of a large portion of the public press in their support; and by inducing this very debate, it will go far to open the eyes of the English people to the injustice toward Ireland to which they have so long been a party. Why then interfere to suppress an Association, the sole design of which is to effect an object which this House has solemnly approved, to terminate a great and crying injustice, to bring about a great and healing act of justice?”

“It is impossible to maintain, with any show even of reason, that the objects of the Association are illegal. The very fact of this bill being introduced proves ^{39.} Continued. that they are not so; if they were, the law is already strong enough to reach them. Disguise it as you will, the real object of the bill is, to put down the Association when it is doing nothing illegal, but when it has become an object of dread from the justice of its cause, and the reality of the grievances of which it complains. What are, not merely its ostensible, but its real objects? To procure and forward petitions to Parliament, to obtain redress for such Catholics assailed by Orange violence as are unable to procure it for themselves, to encourage and support a liberal and enlightened press as well in Dublin as in London, and expose the calumnies by which the Catholic body are assailed, and demonstrate the justice of their cause, to procure cheap publications for the various schools in the country, and afford aid to Irish Catholics in England and America. Is there any thing in these objects either dangerous, immoral, or illegal? If there is, where is the association for the purposes of religion or benevolence that may not in the same manner,

and on the same grounds, be made the object of legislative persecution?

"Excited as the public mind in Ireland now is, in consequence of the injustice of which that country has so long been the object, it is not only noways to be regretted, but highly to be desired, that the people should be brought under the control of leaders who may direct their energies to legal and beneficial objects. Deprived of such restraint, there is no saying to what excesses their indignation may lead. There are now in Ireland between seven and eight millions of people, who do not live for the most part in towns or villages as in England, but are spread in huts over the whole face of the country, exempt from all superintendence or control. This immense body of human beings has been banded together for the last thirty years by a sense of common wrongs, and trained by hidden societies in all the practical courses of secret assassination and open insurrection. The sympathy of grievance and religion that is universal among them forms a basis for carrying on with effect the most extensive schemes of popular organization. If any fixed determination to make a great popular effort should seize possession of their minds, in vain would the Catholic nobility, the Catholic lawyers, and even the Catholic clergy, exert their utmost endeavors to check them; and universal ruin and destruction must be the inevitable result of such popular efforts. These millions are increasing at the rate of duplication in twenty-five or thirty years. Is it not plain, therefore, that it is not only expedient, but has become a matter of absolute necessity, to break up the secret government which has so long directed the energies of the Irish people to violence and outrage, and attach them, by equal rule and a reciprocity of advantages, to the laws and the union of England? And what is the object of the Association but to avert these terrible disasters, and bring about, by open, fair, and legal means, this blessed consummation.

"A great change has taken place in the Catholic mind in Ireland. The more intelligent and educated among them have become accurately acquainted with the grievances under which they labor; they know their own numbers now by a regular census, and feel their own strength. It is chimerical to suppose that, with such a body, the object expected by putting down the Association will be obtained. As the Catholics will, notwithstanding that, still continue to labor under grievances, they will be induced to take such steps to give vent to their feelings as will probably be an evasion of the new law. This is the first of a career of measures that inevitably will end in general confusion and rebellion. Ministers will then come down to the House with a new case of the violation of the constitution, and call for a Coercion Act. Such an act will lead to new acts of evasion and violence on the part of the Catholics, until, by new modes of evading the law, and new laws to coerce popular assemblies, the Catholics of Ireland will by degrees be trained to involve themselves in open insurrection. The union of the two countries, up to this moment, has existed only on paper; there is no cordial nation-

al union. Ireland is still, in feeling and in fact, a country foreign to England. The people form a clear notion of a distinct Irish and English nation; and the moment the bill passes into a law, the people of Ireland will regard it as a belligerent act on the part of the English nation against the Irish nation, and it will thereafter become impossible to negotiate a peace between the two countries."¹

¹ Parl. Deb. xii. 214, 230; Ann. Reg. 1825, 23, 30.

The debate was continued through four nights—the Opposition, consisting both of the whole Whigs and Liberals as well as the friends of the Catholics, having put forth their whole strength on the occasion. The second reading, however, was carried by a majority of 155, the numbers being 278 to 123; and in the House of Lords the majority was proportionately still greater, the numbers being 146 to 44.² But this decisive victory on the part of Administration was far from accomplishing the object which Government had in view. The Association immediately dissolved itself; but as quickly a new Association was formed, on such principles as effectually withdrew it from the operations of the Act. Christians of all denominations were invited to join it, in order to obtain redress of the numerous evils which afflicted the country: no oath was required to be taken; and it was expressly declared, "that the new Catholic Association shall not assume, or in any manner exercise, the power of acting for the purpose of obtaining redress of grievances in Church or State, or any alteration in the law of Church or State, or for the purpose of carrying on or assisting in the prosecution or defense of causes civil or criminal." The objects of the new Association were declared to be, to promote peace, harmony, and tranquillity; to encourage a liberal and enlightened system of education; to ascertain the population of Ireland, and the comparative number of persons of the different persuasions; to devise means of erecting suitable Catholic places of worship; to encourage Irish agriculture and manufactures; and to publish refutations of the charges against the Catholics. These resolutions, which laid the foundation of the new Catholic Association, were received with vehement applause; but the speeches made on the occasion effectually belied the spirit of the resolutions, and gave a melancholy presage of what might be expected from its future proceedings.³

² The bill is carried, and immediately evaded.

³ Parl. Deb. xii. 522, 899.

These animated discussions concerning the Roman Catholic Association were intended only as an introduction to the grand debate on Catholic Emancipation, for which, as the *cheval de bataille* for the season, both parties were preparing their whole strength, and

⁴ Catholic question, and majority in the Commons on it.

* Mr. O'Gorman, the Secretary of the Association, said: "His Majesty's Ministers are not lying on a bed of roses. Independent of their internal dissensions, which I hope God Almighty will increase, their finances are in a ticklish condition. England is beginning to get uneasy, and a cloud appears to be gathering in the north, which might burst, there was no saying how soon, for Russia has 1,300,000 men in arms. All these prospects are sufficient to inspire Irishmen with hope."—*Speech of O'GORMAN*, 13th July, 1825; *Ann. Reg.*, 1825, p. 45.

which led to a result highly favorable to the Catholic hopes. It was introduced in the House of Commons, on March 1st, by Sir Francis Burdett, who, in a masterly and eloquent but yet temperate speech, moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the grounds of complaint set forth in the Catholic petition which he presented. It was opposed by Mr. Peel and Mr. Leslie Foster; but the knowledge, which was universal, of the division in the Cabinet on the subject, paralyzed the opponents of the motion, and Sir Francis's motion was carried by a majority of 21, the numbers being 248 to 227. This majority, the largest which had been obtained on the subject, was received with vehement cheering in the House of Commons, and justly regarded by all the friends of the Catholics throughout the

country as prophetic of the future and not far-distant triumph of their cause.¹

If this division in the Commons, however, proved the progress which the Roman Catholic claims had made in the opinions of the popular branch of the Legislature, the fate of the question in the Peers was not less ominous of the difficulties with which it was beset among the aristocratic. The question came on in the House of Lords in April; and as it had been carried by so large a majority in the Commons, the attention of both parties in the country was fixed with the most intense anxiety on the division in the Peers. They were long kept in suspense, as the presenting of various petitions on the subject gave rise, as usual on such occasions, to several desultory debates before the question itself came on. It was brought to a decision, however, on 17th May, when the measure was thrown out by a majority of 65, the numbers being 178 to 113.²

On occasion of one of these petitions being presented, the Duke of York made, in a bold and manly tone, the following declaration, which had an important influence on the ultimate fate of the bill: "Eight-and-twenty years have elapsed since this question was first agitated, under the most awful circumstances, while this country was engaged in a most arduous and expensive, though just and necessary war: the agitation of it had been the cause of a most serious and alarming illness to an illustrious personage now no more, whose exalted character and virtues, and parental affection for his people, would render his memory ever dear to his country; and it produced also the temporary retirement from his late Majesty's councils of one of the most able, enlightened, and honest statesmen of whom this country could boast. Upon this question we are now called upon to decide; and from the first moment of its agitation to the present, I have not for one instant hesitated or felt a doubt as to the propriety of the line of conduct to be adopted in regard to it.

"A great change of language and sentiment has taken place, since the subject was first introduced, among the advocates for Catholic emancipation. At first, the most zealous of them had endeavored to

impress upon the minds of the people that Catholic emancipation ought not to be granted without establishing strong and effectual barriers against any encroachment on the Protestant ascendancy. But how changed was now their language! Your Lordships are called upon to surrender every principle of the constitution, and to deliver us up, bound hand and foot, to the mercy and generosity of the Roman Catholics, without any assurance even that they would be satisfied with such fearful concessions. The King is bound by his coronation oath to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion, established by law. Ours is a Protestant King, who knows no mental reservation, and whose situation is different from that of any other person in the country. I myself, and every other individual in the country, can be released from my oath by act of Parliament, but the King can not. The oath is a solemn obligation by the person who took it, from which no act of his own could release him; and the King is the third estate in the realm, without whose *voluntary* consent no act of the Legislature can be valid.

"If I have expressed myself warmly, especially in the latter part of what I have said, I must appeal to your Lordships' generosity. I feel the subject most forcibly; and it affects me the more deeply, when I recollect that to its agitation must be ascribed that severe illness and ten years of misery which had clouded the existence of my beloved father. I shall therefore conclude with assuring your Lordships that I have uttered my honest and conscientious sentiments, founded upon principles I have imbibed from my earliest youth, to the justice of which I have subscribed after careful consideration in maturer years; and these are the principles to which I will adhere, and which I will maintain, and that up to the latest moment of my existence, *whatever might be my situation of life*, so help me God."¹

Immense was the impression which this bold and manly declaration, coming from the next heir to the throne, and a prince whose sincere and intrepid character left no room for doubt but that he would act up to his opinions, produced over the country. Mr. Brougham, to neutralize its effects, the next evening, in the House of Commons, commenced a violent invective against the Duke of York, saying that "the words he was reported to have uttered, but which must have been false, would, if true, have given him alarm, not only for good government, but the constitution of the country, and the stability of the monarchy as by law established and settled by the Revolution of 1688. No man living could believe that a prince of that house which sat on the throne by virtue of the Revolution of 1688, could promulgate to the world, that, happen what would, when he came to another situation, he would act in a particular way. No monarch who ever sat upon the English throne had ever been prepared for such resistance to his people on behalf of the Catholics, as was now not only meditated, but openly avowed against them.

44. Fate of the bill in the House of Lords.

May 17. 2 Parl. Deb. xii. 776; Ann. Reg. 1825, 67.

45. Duke of York's declaration on the subject. April 25.

46. Continued.

47. Concluded.

1 Parl. Deb. xii. 141, 142; Ann. Reg. 1825, 59, 60.

48. Impression it produced over the country. Mr. Brougham's speech on the occasion.

Nothing could save the empire from a convulsion but such a large increase in the majority on the Catholic question as might render such imprudent conduct as was openly announced impossible. A little while, and it would be too late; a brief time, and the opportunity now in their hands would be lost forever." But these statements on either part led to no decisive result. Each side was only rendered the more confirmed in its own opinions; and the Catholic question was thereby rendered an ulcerated sore in the empire, which affected all the adjoining parts so seriously, that it became evident it could not be cut out without endangering the whole body.

¹ Parl. Deb.
xii. 208, 214;
Ann. Reg
1825, 62, 63.

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH EMPIRE FROM THE MONETARY CRISIS OF DECEMBER, 1825, TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS IN MARCH, 1829.

THE year 1826 opened with such universal consternation and depression in all classes, from the effect of the terrible monetary crisis at the end of the preceding year, that the consideration of that crisis exclusively engrossed the public mind, and scarcely any other topic occupied the attention of Parliament in the next session. All classes were suffering alike. The banks, struck with terror from the numerous failures which had taken place, could hardly be prevailed on, on any terms, or any security, to make advances to their customers; the merchants, dreading the continued fall in the price of commodities, declined entering into speculations; the manufacturers, finding their usual orders awanting, or seriously diminished, contracted their operations; the workmen, thrown out of employment, became desperate, and vented their despair upon the machinery, which they imagined was the cause of all their suffering. The immense issue of paper without any gold to support it—to the extent of £8,000,000 in three weeks—in the end of December, had indeed arrested the panic, but it had not restored confidence; and Government, by refusing to issue exchequer bills, a relief which had always been afforded on similar occasions in time past, effect-

ually prevented for long the restoration of credit, or the extension of any relief to the industrious and suffering portion of the community.¹

The general distress, as usual in such cases, led to serious acts of riot and disturbance in several of the manufacturing districts. On all sides the most appalling proofs of wretchedness were afforded, and in some quarters alarming disorders took place. The recent improvements in machinery were generally regarded as the main cause of the general suffering; and in Lancashire the indignation of the operatives against what they deemed an invasion of their birth-right, broke out in various and most melancholy acts of outrage. It was a woeful spectacle to see the streets of Manchester, and the chief towns in its vicinity, filled with vast crowds, sometimes ten thousand in number, whose wan visages and lean figures but too clearly told the tale of their sufferings, snatching their food from bakers' shops, breaking into factories and destroying power-loom mills, and throwing stones at the military at the hazard of being shot, rather than relinquishing an object on the attainment of which they sincerely believed their very existence depended. Serious riots took place in Carlisle, in the course of which a woman and child were shot dead; and in Norwich, where twelve thousand weavers were employed, an alarming disturbance, attended with great violence, ensued. In all

the iron districts, strikes to arrest the fall of wages took place; and in Dublin and Glasgow immense crowds of operatives paraded the streets entreating relief, which was in some degree afforded by munificent subscriptions, opened by the wealthy classes, and which being judiciously laid out in the purchase of the fabrics of these poor people, instead of merely giving them money, relieved distress to triple the amount which it otherwise could have done.¹

The universal suffering attracted, as well it might, the anxious attention of Government, although, unfortunately, they were so blind to the real causes of the calamity that they brought forward measures intended to avert, which in reality had only the effect of perpetuating it. In the King's speech the all-absorbing theme was thus alluded to: "His Majesty deeply laments the injurious effects which the late pecuniary crisis must have entailed upon many branches of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom. But His Majesty confidently believes that the temporary check which commerce and manufactures may at this moment experience, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, neither impair the great sources of our wealth, nor impede the growth of national prosperity." Yet, while the attention of all classes was riveted on this all-important subject, the only measure of relief which was afforded consisted in a bill which allowed the bonded corn in the ports, estimated at 300,000 quarters, to be sold in the country without paying the duty imposed by the Corn Law, which, after encountering considerable opposition from the landed interest, passed both Houses, but afforded scarcely any relief to the country. What was wanted was not food, but money to buy food.²

What Government should have done at this juncture was then distinctly pointed out by some of the ablest and most experienced men in Parliament, though unhappily without any effect. The terrible crisis which the country had just gone through was obviously owing to something wrong in the currency; but a great difference of opinion prevailed as to what that error was. The partisans of Administration, and the whole Whig party, were unanimous in holding that the mischief had all originated in the extravagant speculation of the two last years, which had been unduly fostered by the perilous and excessive issue of bank-notes by the country bankers, great part of whom had no sufficient capital to support them; and the only remedy they could devise was to suppress small notes altogether, and render the

1. Gloomy prospects of the nation in the beginning of 1826.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1826, 1, 2; Martineau, i. 367, 369.

3. King's speech on the subject, and letting out of bonded grain.

² Parl. Deb. xv. 795, 796; Ann. Reg. 1825, 3.

4. Real causes of the distress, and its remedy.

currency not only in all its parts dependent on the retention of gold and silver, but below £5 to consist entirely of it. The friends of the country bankers, on the other hand, maintained that nothing could be imagined so perilous, as at this time, when the country had so recently come through a severe monetary crisis, to tamper with the currency, and, in endeavoring to put it on a more stable footing, in a great measure to extinguish it altogether. The debates are of the highest interest, for they relate to one of the most momentous and decisive changes recorded in English history, and which was attended with the most important results; and they are extremely curious and instructive, as affording an example of the ease with which a powerful party can succeed in deluding the public mind, and conducting a nation, amidst universal applause, to the very measures most destructive to its prosperity, and in the end subversive of its institutions.

On the part of Government it was argued by Lord Liverpool, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Canning: "The monetary crisis which this country has recently undergone is evidently owing to the mad speculation of the last two years; and that speculation has been mainly fostered by the vast increase in the issues of country bankers' notes which took place during that period of delusive prosperity. In 1822, before the mania of speculation began, the stamps issued for country bank-notes were about £4,200,000 annually; in 1824, when the mania set in, it rose to £6,000,000; and in 1825, when the mania was at its height, it amounted to no less than £8,000,000 annually. This was the amount of stamps usually issued for new notes: the amount actually in circulation was in general about 50 per cent. more at each period, and in 1825 amounted to £14,000,000. The notes of the Bank of England had also increased during the same period, but in a much less degree: the increase in that quarter was only £3,000,000—from £19,000,000, in round numbers, to £22,000,000. The great increase in the currency, therefore, has been in the country bankers' notes; and they are chargeable with all the disasters which have ensued. The only way to prevent a repetition of the evil is to lay the ax to the root of the cause from which it sprung.

"Such a measure is no innovation; on the contrary, it is the opposite system which is an innovation. In 1775 an Act passed prohibiting the issue of bank-notes for a limited time; and in 1777 another passed, which permanently prohibited the issuing of notes under £5. This continued to be the law until 1797, when, amidst the necessities of the French war, the suspension of cash payments took place until two years after a general peace, and it became necessary to legalize and reissue small notes, as the gold had all been withdrawn. This suspension was not founded on any belief that the small-note system was at all connected with the prosperity of agriculture, commerce, or manufactures; on the contrary, all parties were agreed that they should be withdrawn as soon as possible, and no one contemplated their continued circulation

after the Bank should have resumed cash payments. And yet during the whole of this period, from 1777, manufactures had flourished notwithstanding the absence of the small notes.

"The alarm felt on this subject, if founded in reason at all, must be grounded on the idea that the circulation will be diminished by the whole amount of the notes withdrawn; and, doubtless, if that were to be the case, a very serious check to industry and the operations of commerce might be anticipated. But nothing is clearer than that no such danger is to be apprehended. During the three years ending with 1822, twenty-five millions of gold sovereigns had been coined, and of these £7,200,000 were shown by the returns to have been exported, and perhaps £10,000,000 in all had left the country. Of these £1,000,000 had returned in the close of last year; so that the gold circulation might fairly be taken at £16,000,000. The country bankers' circulation, as measured by the stamps issued in 1825, had been £6,000,000 in that year; and supposing double that number to be the amount of notes actually in circulation, the amount will be only £12,000,000—considerably within the gold which has been coined during the three years succeeding 1819. The present amount of country bank-notes in circulation does not probably exceed £4,000,000; while the bank-notes of the Bank of England, in the end of 1825, had risen to £25,000,000. It is chimerical, therefore, to apprehend any undue contraction of the currency from the suppression of small notes; it is only exchanging a perilous and unstable for a firm and secure circulation.

"There are two ways of effecting this withdrawal; and the only question really for consideration is, which of the two is safest, and likely to occasion least inconvenience to the community. The one is, by enacting that no more small notes should be stamped after a certain future period; the other, to allow those already in circulation to run a certain course till a fixed period, and prohibiting any new ones to be created. Government, after mature deliberation, have determined upon the last of these methods. No new notes are to be henceforth allowed to be stamped; those already in circulation are to be allowed to circulate for three years, but no longer. In consequence of certain differences between the banking systems of Ireland and Scotland, particularly the latter, it is not proposed, in the mean time, to extend the Act to either of these countries; though it is difficult to see any good reason, on principle, on which such a difference is to be long continued.

"By cautiously and gradually, in this manner, withdrawing the small notes from circulation, one inestimable blessing will be attained—the poor will in a great measure be saved from the pressure and ruin consequent on a monetary crisis. Who are the persons among whom, in the first place, these small notes circulate? The poorer classes of the community—those to whom the possession of a one-pound note is comparative riches. And when, from the scanty earnings of hard labor and persevering economy, they have amassed three or four pounds, how can they now lay it by but in that kind of money? We

5. Argument by Ministers in support of the bill suppressing small notes.

7. Continued.

8. Continued.

6. Continued.

9. Continued.

have been told, and told truly, that in many districts these notes constitute the whole circulating medium. In what, therefore, must the poor man put his trust but in that paper; and if it fails him, what becomes of his savings? The necessary consequence of such a state of things is, that when an alarm begins, when he hears of failures, the poor man rushes forward to the bank to get his notes exchanged for specie, and the bank, overwhelmed with demands, is obliged to stop payment. He follows the torrent, he increases the difficulty, he adds to the distrust; and to the universality of these feelings may be traced a great portion of the late disastrous events. It is evident, therefore, that the power of issuing these notes is the chief source at once of the insecurity of country bankers, and of the wide-spread misery which their failure occasions among the poor. The resumption of cash payments in 1819 was unanimously agreed to by the Legislature; but the work was incompletely done, as long as small notes were allowed to remain in circulation. Now is the time to carry it fully out, and avoid all the dangers we have encountered, by establishing the currency upon a safe and lasting foundation.

"Till small notes are suppressed, this most desirable result never can take place.

10. Continued. Experience has proved that, however plausible in theory that *pari passu* circulation of notes and specie may be mutually exchangeable, in practice it can not exist. The one inevitably destroys the other. *People all prefer notes to coin*; for what reason it is difficult to say, but the fact undoubtedly is so. If crown notes and half-crown notes were issued, crowns and half-crowns would disappear; and if one-pound notes are to be allowed to continue to circulate, sovereigns will speedily become a rarity. There never was a gold circulation in general use in the country, except in Lancashire, where no country notes existed; and when, in 1822 and 1823, the Bank of England was most anxious to supply the country with gold, the sovereigns sent down by one coach returned by another. Great sacrifices had already been made to effect the introduction of even a partial metallic currency in the country, and these sacrifices had been made in vain. A large supply of gold had been obtained at a great expense, and it was got only that we might see it depart, and be compelled to purchase it again at a double expense. The currency of the country can never be placed on a solid basis unless country banks are prohibited from issuing notes, except such as are of a considerably higher denomination than the current coin, so as to save it entirely from the competition of the paper currency.

"The principle of the measure, therefore, can be resisted only by those who maintain that the pecuniary interests will be best secured by proscribing a metallic currency. Its necessary effect will be to give solidity to the banks themselves, by compelling them to maintain a portion of their circulation in gold instead of worthless paper, and thus avoid those ruinous runs which have proved fatal to so many of the most respectable establishments. It will prevent the wide-spread misery which such failures now induce, for the

savings of the working classes will be laid by in specie; and as it will form the chief medium of circulation, the greatest panic can not produce a run. Let the Bank of England retain in its coffers as much gold as may be necessary for the ordinary circulation of the country, for the exigencies of Government, and to enable it to adjust an unfavorable state of foreign exchanges. Let every country bank be governed by the same rules, and compelled to keep an amount of gold proportioned to its operations; and this will not only give them security, but occasion a sensitiveness to occurrences likely to cause a pressure on the country banks, which will tend to the security of the whole kingdom. The issues will be kept within due bounds, and the gold will be kept within the kingdom."¹

¹ Parl. Deb. xv. 170, 174, 218; An. Reg. 1826, 9, 11, 13, 15.

On the other hand, it was argued by Mr. Baring, Mr. Heygate, and Mr. Gurney, all great mercantile men—"The proposed measure is alike inadequate to meet the evils complained of, and ill suited to the present state of the country. What is the cause of the embarrassment now so generally felt by all classes? Is it not the sudden contraction of the currency, and consequent destruction of credit at the close of last year? And what remedy does Government propose for the evil? To contract it still more. Taking the currency at £20,000,000, and the chasm produced by the recent failures in it at £3,500,000, the proposed measure will produce a further chasm to the extent of £7,000,000, with which it will be impossible to carry on the commerce of the country. The postponement of the suppression of small notes for three years is no alleviation, but rather an aggravation of the evil, for it is the nature of the human mind to exaggerate impending evils: nothing is so bad in reality as it appears in prospect. The country bankers, having the suppression of small notes hanging over their heads, must, as a matter of necessity, contract their issues, and this can only be done by refusing accommodation to their customers, and calling up such advances as they have already made. This will of necessity stop industry in numberless channels. This stoppage is what is now going on, and the proposed measure will seriously tend to aggravate it. The extent to which this evil is spreading no man living can estimate, and it will probably lead to consequences which none can contemplate without horror. How is the gap which is to be made in the circulation to be filled up? and if it is not supplied, how is the industry of the country to be supported? As a measure of present relief, the proposed measure is unwise and inappropriate; as a measure of prospective security it will be nugatory.

"The country bankers, of whose improvidence and mad speculation so much is said, are in truth the only persons who have not speculated, and who have exerted all their influence to arrest the spirit of speculation among their customers. A prudent regard for their own safety forced this course of conduct upon them. Where did the extravagant speculation which has been attended with such ruinous consequences origin-

^{12.} Argument against the proposed measure.

^{13.} Continued.

ate? In Manchester and Liverpool, a district in which, as well as all Lancashire, no small notes at all were in circulation. Where did it next spread, and assume its most dangerous aspect? In the Stock Exchange of London, a city in which, and for sixty-five miles around, no bankers' notes can be issued. In 1720, the only year in which wild speculations at all similar to those of the last year prevailed, there were no country banks or bankers' notes; and in 1797, when the run took place upon the banks, which rendered the suspension of cash payments a matter of necessity, there were not only no country small notes, but no Bank of England small notes in circulation. It was the failure of the seven great bankers in London, in whose hands the bills of more than a hundred country bankers had been placed, which occasioned the greater part of the country failures; and had it not been for the solidity of the country bankers, the catastrophe would have been far greater than it actually was. So far from the country bankers having begun the mischief, and their notes having been the means of spreading it, it was the merchants and capitalists of Liverpool, Manchester, and London, without small notes, who began it, and the small notes of the country bankers were only brought in at the close of the day to arrest its devastation.

"The embarrassments which have been experienced are always ascribed to over-trading; but there is a great deal of injustice in this imputation. By far the greater part of it is to be ascribed to the fluctuations in the currency, which no prudence on the part of the mercantile classes could avert, and no wisdom foresee. In 1823 and 1824, the Bank had accumulated a very great treasure, amounting at one time to £14,000,000, in their coffers; and their circulation was proportionally extended, which, as a matter of course, led to a proportionate increase of the country bankers' issues, which always increase with those of the Bank of England. In consequence of the quantity of money thus thrown into the market, interest fell to 4 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and of course, as it could be got on such easy terms, speculations of all sorts were proportionally extended. This ere long led to a run, as such a state of things must always in the end do, on the Bank for gold to carry on the immense undertakings thus set on foot, great part of which were in distant countries, and could be conducted with nothing else; and then the Bank, in its own defense, was compelled suddenly and violently to contract its issues. The banks were compelled to do so, for the first duty of the directors is to look after their own interests; but still the consequences were the same. The London bankers, hard pressed themselves, called upon their correspondents in the country, who again called upon their customers, and soon every creditor came to take his debtor by the throat. Then came the panic, which in such circumstances was inevitable, and the Bank was too much fettered by its engagements with and advances to Government to be able to afford the public any relief. That is the simple account of the whole catastrophe, and what had the country bankers to do with inducing it? So

far from their having had any share in bringing it about, they were its first victims; and the real cause is to be found in the monetary operations of the metropolis, where their notes did not circulate, and with which they had no concern whatever.

"The distress which the crisis produced, and which was much more serious than Government seemed to be aware, will be increased rather than diminished by the proposed change. The very exertions of the country bankers to prepare for the intended change had already most fearfully augmented the general distress. They were indeed preparing; but they were preparing by screwing, almost to destruction, every farmer, manufacturer, or other customer in the country, from whom they could get their money. Was this the way to relieve a country already suffering under a shortening of credit and a want of money? Unless Parliament allowed them more time to meet the new order of things, utter ruin to all the small shop-keepers, manufacturers, and farmers in the country must ensue. The question is not, what is theoretically best, but what, in the circumstances, is most expedient?—and the general distress which pervades the country districts is the first thing to which, in discussing questions of this nature, Parliament is bound to attend. The present measure can be productive of nothing but evil. What is really required, and would relieve the distress, is to establish joint-stock banks on such principles as to induce persons of capital to enter into them, to introduce silver as a standard of currency as well as gold, and to relieve the Bank of England from those incumbrances connected with Government which at present render it impossible for it to come forward on a crisis to relieve the public distress."¹

Ministers carried their measure by an overwhelming majority, Mr. Baring's amendment, that "it is not expedient, in the present disturbed state of public and private credit, to enter upon the consideration of the banking system of the country," having been lost by a majority of 193, the numbers being 232 to 39. In the House of Lords the preponderance was equally great, the numbers being so decisive that the matter was not pressed to a division. The prohibition to issue £2 and £1 notes was at the same time extended to the Bank of England, by a majority of 66 to 7—in the face of a protest by Mr. Gurney, that "if Government destroyed all the country bankers' notes, and at the same time stopped the issue of small notes by the Bank of England, they would leave the country in a state of destitution of which they could form no adequate conception." This observation produced no sort of impression, and it passed into a law that stamps for £2 and £1 notes should no longer be issued either to the Bank of England or country banks, and that, at the expiration of three years from March, 1826—that is, in March, 1829,—their circulation should be prohibited altogether in England.²

Mr. Canning said, upon this question being brought to a vote, that "he hoped the decision of it would be regarded as decisive of the prin-

14.
Continued.

15.
Concluded.

¹ Parl. Deb. xv. 198.
220; Ann. Reg. 1826, 11, 14.

16.
The bill is carried by a large majority in both Houses.

² Parl. Deb. xv. 352, 353.

ciple, and determine it FOREVER." It did so:

17. and it may be added that it DETERMINED ALSO FOREVER THE FATE OF THE Vast importance of this decision. BRITISH EMPIRE. Thenceforward a series of causes and effects set in, which no human power was afterward able to arrest; and which, in their ultimate effects, changed the governing party in the British Islands, induced Catholic emancipation, and an entire alteration of our ecclesiastical policy, overturned the ancient constitution of the empire, and established a new one, resting on an entirely different basis, and directed by entirely different men, in its stead. It brought about Negro Emancipation, the Repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws, Free Trade, and an entire alteration in our foreign alliances, and policy, and system of government, domestic, foreign, and colonial. The Act of 1826, justly regarded as the complement of that of 1819 in regard to monetary measures, and which rendered our entire circulation and mercantile credit dependent on the retention of gold, the very thing which the daily-extending operations of commerce rendered it impossible at all times to retain, is to be regarded as the turning-point in our whole history, domestic, social, and foreign; and without a steady observation of it, and appreciation of its effects, all attempts to explain, or even understand, the subsequent changes which occurred in the British empire will be nugatory.

To understand how this came to pass, and how such mighty effects flowed from a change at first sight so trivial as the suppression of small notes, and the substitution of sovereigns in their room, it is only necessary to reflect on the universal influence which, in an industrious and highly-civilized community such as that of Great Britain, the price of commodities—that is, the remuneration earned by industry—has on the well-being, and through it on the feelings, opinions, and desires of all classes, and then on the immediate and decisive influence which the expansion or

contraction of the currency has on these prices and that remuneration. It is a mistake to suppose that political discontent, or an earnest desire for change, either social or religious, is ever excited among the people of this country by mere fickleness of disposition, or the arts of demagogues, how skillful in their vocation soever they may be. That is sometimes the case among a people ardent and changeable, like the French, who have been long excited by the changes of revolution, and among whom large parties have come to look for advancement by its success. But in a peaceable industrious community like that of Great Britain, intent on individual well-being and social amelioration, it is in *general suffering* that the foundation must be laid for the general desire for political change. Demagogues, when the feeling is once excited by this means, often inflame it, and determine the direction which it is to take, but they can not call the passion into being. All the popularity of the cry for cheap bread, and all the talents of Mr. Cobden, would have failed in bringing about the repeal of the Corn Laws, had not five bad seasons in succession brought the reality and evils of *dear bread* home to every family; and all attempts to pacify Ireland while the prices of agricultural produce were unremunerating, were as fruitless as all attempts to disturb it have been since the great emigration, and the opening of the huge banks of issue, by Providence, in California and Australia, have secured an adequate return for rural labor in the Emerald Isle.

To be convinced of the decisive effect which the destruction of small notes, and entire founding of the currency on gold, has had on the future destinies of Great Britain, we have only to cast our eyes on the table below,* which shows the immediate effect of these changes on the prices of commodities, and the speedy result of their decline or rise in inducing or preventing political change. Three years of suffering and general misery followed the resumption of cash pay-

* AMOUNT OF PAPER IN CIRCULATION, THE EXPORTS, IMPORTS, REVENUE, PRICE OF WHEAT AND COTTON, WITH THE GREAT POLITICAL CHANGES IN GREAT BRITAIN IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1818 TO 1839, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Bank of England Notes.	Country Banks.	Total.	Com. Paper discounted at Bank.	Exports, Declared Value.	Imports, Official Value.	Revenue.	Price of Wheat per Quarter.	Price of Cotton per lb.
1818	£ 26,202,150	£ 20,507,000	£ 46,709,150	£ 5,113,748	£ 46,112,800	£ 36,885,182	£ 53,747,795	s. d. 80 8	s. d. 1 11
Bank Restriction Act passed July 7, 1819.									
1819	25,252,600	15,701,328	40,953,928	6,321,402	34,881,727	30,776,810	52,648,847	66 3	1 3
1820	24,299,340	10,576,245	34,875,785	4,672,123	36,126,322	32,438,650	54,282,958	54 6	1 2
1821	20,295,300	8,256,180	28,551,480	2,772,587	36,333,102	30,792,760	55,834,192	49 0	0 8½
1822	17,464,790	8,416,430	25,881,220	3,622,151	36,650,039	30,500,094	55,663,650	38 11	0 11½
Small Notes prolonged for 10 years, July 7, 1822.									
1823	19,231,240	9,920,074	29,151,314	5,624,693	36,375,342	35,798,707	57,672,999	52 0	0 11
1824	20,132,120	12,831,352	32,963,472	6,255,343	38,422,312	37,552,935	59,362,403	64 3	0 11½
1825	19,398,840	14,980,168	39,379,008	7,691,464	38,870,851	44,137,482	57,273,869	63 0	1 0
Small notes limited to 3 years, February 26, 1826.									
1826	21,563,560	8,656,101	30,219,661	7,369,749	31,536,724	37,686,113	54,894,989	55 8	0 10½
1827	22,747,600	9,985,300	32,732,900	3,369,725	36,860,376	41,887,774	54,932,518	50 2	0 8½
1828	21,357,510	10,121,476	31,478,986	3,322,754	36,483,328	45,028,805	55,167,142	71 8	0 8½
Catholic emancipation passed April 13, 1827.—Small notes extinguished February 26, 1829.									
1829	19,547,380	8,130,137	27,877,517	4,589,370	35,522,627	43,981,317	50,786,682	71 8	0 8
1830	21,464,700	7,841,396	29,306,096	3,654,071	37,927,561	46,245,241	50,056,616	55 4	0 10
1831	18,538,630	7,914,216	26,452,846	5,848,478	36,859,738	49,713,889	46,424,440	64 10	0 9
1832	18,542,000	8,221,895	26,763,895	3,247,169	36,133,098	44,586,741	46,988,755	58 3	0 10
Reform Bill passed July, 1832.									

ments by the bill of 1819, and the determination of suppressing small notes in 1823, then announced. This absolutely forced Government to alter the law, and prolong small notes for ten years longer; and three years' unbounded prosperity, good prices, and general contentment followed the change. The unfortunate dependence of our currency on gold by the bill of 1819, coupled with the entire abstraction of that gold to carry on our South American speculations, brought on the terrible monetary crisis of 1825; and it was immediately succeeded by the stoppage of the issue of stamps for small notes, and their announced suppression in three years. Three years of low prices and misery followed, which, driving to desperation an agricultural country in which they operated most powerfully, produced such an outcry as forced Catholic emancipation on a reluctant Government. The entire suppression of small notes took effect in 1829, and three years of still lower prices and increased misery followed, which induced general discontent and political agitation, and ended in the Reform Bill, the passing of which was a virtual revolution, and occasioned a total change in our entire policy, foreign and domestic. So close and invariable is this connection, and so uniformly do the same effects follow from the same causes, that we have only to look at the state of the money market in London, the rate of discount fixed by the Bank of England, and the number of notes in circulation, for any considerable time during the last half century, to be able to predict with unerring certainty the tone of general feeling, the amount of general suffering or happiness, and the degree of political change, which is immediately to follow.

The persons who debated the suppression of small notes in 1826, able and well informed as they were on both sides, took a very partial view of this great question; and subsequent and dear-bought experience has enabled us to discover where-
 20. Error in the debates in Parliament on both sides on this question.
 in their error consisted. They argued it on the one side as if the sole point for consideration was, how the currency could be rendered secure, and the holders of it be saved from those terrible failures which had recently spread such universal consternation; on the other, as if the chief danger to be apprehended was the shortening or cutting off of credit to persons engaged in commerce or agriculture, and the suspension of industry which might ensue in consequence. What was alleged on both sides was in part the truth, but on neither was it the whole truth. Neither party seemed to be aware of other effects resulting from the measure under discussion, which subsequent experience has nevertheless completely brought to light, and which have caused the paramount importance of the decision now taken, as bearing on future times.

The first of these is the consideration that
 21. Vital points overlooked on both sides.
 small notes, from their adaptation to small, and therefore the great bulk of transactions, are the ones which can chiefly be relied on as likely to remain in circulation; and upon the plenty or scarcity of them, with the public, the ease or tightness of the money market is main-

ly dependent. Every banker knows this; if any private person doubts it, let him reflect whether he most frequently has several £5 notes, or an equal amount in sovereigns or £1 notes, in his pocket. The second is, that the plenty or scarcity of these notes, or of sovereigns, in circulation, determines not merely the amount of credit which persons engaged in either commercial or agricultural speculations are to receive at the time, but also *the price of the articles in which they deal* for a couple of years, and consequently whether their business is to be a gainful or a losing one for a long period. Invariably it will be found that a contraction of the currency is followed, not only by a great and most distressing diminution of accommodation, and destruction of credit to persons engaged in business, at the moment it takes place, but by a lasting reduction of prices, often continuing for years together, and which occasions the destruction of a large proportion of these persons. The third is, that a currency, consisting, below £5, entirely of gold and silver, is liable to be entirely withdrawn at times by the necessities of war or the changes of commerce; and, consequently, if there is no other currency equally adapted to ordinary operations to supply its place, entire ruin to credit and industry may at any time be induced, without the possibility of human wisdom or foresight guarding against it. A campaign on the Rhine or the Danube, three weeks' rain in Great Britain during August, a potato rot in Ireland, a great demand for gold in America, may at any time bring ruin upon the whole industry of the country, when most wisely conducted, and in the most prosperous state, and sap the very foundations of our national existence, by driving some hundred thousands of our most industrious and valuable citizens annually, for a course of years, into exile. This is exactly what happened in 1847, and from the effects of which the nation is still (1854) suffering in the annual decline of its population; and the same effects may be confidently expected to return from the same cause, as long as the ordinary circulation of the country is rested entirely on a metallic basis.

What the Legislature should have done in 1826 on this all-important question is sufficiently obvious, and had
 22. What should have been done with the currency.
 been so clearly pointed out by experience, that had not a small but influential portion of the community, who, from their wealth, got the command of the public press, been interested on the other side, it was impossible that the proper remedy could have been mistaken. What brought on the crisis was the entire dependence of the circulation on gold, which inflamed speculation as much in 1824 and 1825, when the precious metals were plentiful, credit high, and prices of every thing were rising, as it starved industry and ruined credit in the end of 1825, when twelve millions of sovereigns were drawn away to South America. What rendered it so eminently disastrous, and the ruin it induced so wide-spread, was the great number of failures among the country bankers, and the destruction of industry which took place by the sudden withdrawal of all credit from their customers. Induced by the ab-

straction of twelve million sovereigns, it was stopped by the issue of eight million additional Bank of England notes, when the Bank had only £1,000,000 in specie to meet notes to the amount of £25,000,000! What should have been done, therefore, was to guard against the ruinous effects of an exportation of the sovereigns, by providing an issue of notes to the amount of the gold withdrawn, not convertible into specie, and therefore not liable to disappear, and to have averted the worst effect of the country bankers' failures, by issuing small notes of the Bank of England, to the amount required by the country, or compelling the country bankers to deposit Government securities with the Bank of England to the full amount of the notes they issued. Instead of this, they continued the entire dependence of the currency on gold, and suppressed small notes in England altogether—the very measures best calculated to insure a recurrence of the disasters of which the nation had so recently experienced the bitterness.

How strongly wedded soever the Government and great majority of the House of Commons were to the cheapening system, and however resolute to face all imaginable danger, in order to carry it out by enhancing, by every possible means, the value of money, the necessities of the country drove them into some measures of an opposite tendency, and which in a considerable degree relieved the general suffering. The first of these was a bill allowing private bankers to have an unlimited number of partners, instead of six, to which they were by law restricted—a just and wise measure, and which the jealousy and influence of the Bank of England alone had prevented being earlier adopted. The second was an Act authorizing the establishment of branches of the Bank of England in the country towns—a wise measure also, and which tended to introduce in a wider degree the circulation of small notes of the Bank of England during the three years they were allowed to remain in circulation. Finally, upon the most urgent petitions from Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and all the other manufacturing towns, setting forth the necessity of some assistance from Government, Ministers agreed to guarantee advances by the Bank on goods and other securities, to the extent of three millions. This was deemed a better mode of proceeding than issuing exchequer bills themselves, to which they were strongly urged, as Government, it was said, had nothing to do with the currency or the banking operations of individuals. But although that principle might be well founded in a general case, it assuredly was not so in this, when the crisis which had ensued had been caused entirely by the Government itself resting the currency entirely on a metallic basis, and then

going into measures connected with South America which caused that basis to be cut away.¹

The bill for the suppression of small notes was not by its provisions extended to Scotland or Ireland, in both of which countries a different banking system had long prevailed, subject to none of the objections stated against

the English country banks, and to the existence of which the rapid progress both countries had made in wealth and industry of late years was mainly to be ascribed. In Scotland, in particular, a system of banking had been in existence for above a hundred and thirty years, which, combining prudence with liberality, was established on so firm a footing that it had stood with entire success the storm which had proved so fatal in the southern part of the island. There were thirty banks in the country, nearly all of which issued notes which were in universal circulation, and had entirely superseded gold in the ordinary transactions of business with all classes. These notes amounted in general to about £3,500,000; and to this issue, which gave to a country not as yet possessing it all the advantages of realized capital, the extraordinary progress which the country had made both in agriculture and manufactures was, beyond all question, to be chiefly ascribed. Only one failure had occurred in the memory of man, and that was of a country bank doing little business, during the crash of 1825; and Scotland, in consequence, had suffered greatly less than England at that disastrous epoch.¹

It was not proposed, in the first instance, to extinguish small notes in Scotland, but the known opinions of Government, and the course of examination by the adherents of Administration of the witnesses who were questioned on the subject in committees of both Houses of Parliament, left no room for doubt that, in the next session at latest, the law would be made the same in both ends of the island, and that the fate of Scotch and Irish notes would be sealed. In this extremity was seen what can be effected by the vigor and patriotism of one man. As soon as it was known in Edinburgh that the Scotch notes were seriously threatened, there appeared in the columns of the *Weekly Journal*, a paper conducted by the Messrs. Ballantyne, a series of papers on the subject, signed "Malachi Malagrowther," in which the public soon recognized the vigor, sagacity, and fearless determination of SIR WALTER SCOTT. Albeit, closely connected both by political principle and private friendship with the Administration, that great man did not hesitate a moment to break off from them on this momentous question, and to sacrifice both a sense of past obligations and the hopes of future preferment on the altar of patriotic duty. His efforts were crowned with entire success. Scotland rose as one man at the voice of the mighty enchanter; petitions against the threatened change crowded in from all sides and the most influential quarters. Ireland followed in the wake of its more energetic and far-seeing rival; and in the end Ministers gave a reluctant consent. The decisive words were at length wrung from Mr. Huskisson, "Well, let them keep their rags, since they will have them." The rags were kept; the small-note currency was saved in Scotland and Ireland from destruction, and has ever since been enjoyed by both countries; and the consequence has been, that, excepting in so far as they have been affected by the monetary crises of England, or have been chastised by the visitations of Providence, both

23. Measures of relief proposed by Government.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1825, 26, 27, 31; Parl. Deb. xiv. 237, 249.

25. Sir Walter Scott prevents the suppression of small notes in Scotland and Ireland.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1825, 30, 41.

24. Banking system in Scotland and Ireland.

countries, and especially Scotland, have enjoyed a career of unbroken industrial prosperity. Never, perhaps, did a private individual, not wielding the powers either of legislation or government, confer so great a blessing on his country as Sir Walter Scott did on this occasion; and it called forth from the Chancellor of the Exchequer an ironical compliment to Scotland, veiled under the words of eulogy, which showed how sorely their defeat had been felt by Government.¹*

¹ Ann. Reg. 1826, 26, 28, Parl. Deb. xiv. 1318, 1319.

“The miserable,” says Miss Martineau, “are always restless: hunger roams from land to land as pain tosses on the bed it can not leave. The poor of Ireland every year, and, when food or work fall off from other causes, the grave and decent poor of England and Scotland also, wander away, shipping themselves off to the westward, or to our farthest settlements in the East. The subject of EMIGRATION must sooner or later become of interest and importance to every civilized, and soonest to an insular kingdom.”² The great emigration from the British Isles, which since has become so immense, and has come to exercise so important an influence on the fortunes of this country and of the world, may be dated from this period: as the notes were drawn in, the poor began to go out. The number of annual emigrants from the United Kingdom, which had sunk to 8000 during the prosperous years of 1823 and 1824, rose rapidly after the monetary measures of 1826, until, in the year 1832, when the Reform Bill passed, it had reached the then unprecedented number of 103,000.† This emigration, though not a third of what it has been for some years past at this time (1854), was more than five times what it had ever been before, and spoke volumes as to the suffering felt by the working classes, which had thus come to overbear feelings the most powerful,

* “But, sir, I confess that when I have been passing in review all the signal triumphs which Scotland has achieved in all that adorns, and ennobles, and benefits the human race; when I have recalled the grace, the originality, and the genius of her poets, the eloquence, the accuracy, and research of her historians, the elaborate lucubrations, and the profound discoveries of her philosophers; when I have watched their progress, either when they traversed the delightful regions of fancy, or penetrated the depth and recesses of history or science, I never thought of including among her worthies the members of the Excise Board. Our present measures, dictated alone by the necessity of judicious retrenchment, may indeed be represented as punishments inflicted on an innocent and unoffending people, and the wrath of Scotland may be denounced against their author; but as long as I am armed with the consciousness of seeking to diminish the burdens, and to increase the happiness of the people, I can look without terror at the flashing of the Highland claymore, though evoked from its scabbard by the incantations of the first magician of the age.”—*Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer* (Mr. ROBINSON), Feb. 13, 1826; *Parl. Deb.*, vol. xiv., p. 1318, 1319.

† EMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1820 TO 1833.

1820	18,984	1827	28,003
1821	13,194	1828	26,092
1822	12,349	1829	31,198
1823	8,860	1830	56,907
1824	8,210	1831	88,160
1825	14,891	1832	103,140
1826	20,900	1833	62,684

—*Parliamentary Returns*; PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 12s, 3d edition.

and obliterate attachments the most profound. “The restlessness which forces upon us the question of emigration,” says Miss Martineau, “is of course greatest in seasons of adversity; and in the adversity of the year 1826 it was fierce enough to originate what may prove to be an important period in our national history.”¹

How little inclined soever Government at this time were to give any public encouragement to emigration, and however imbued with the popular doctrine that improvidence must be left to its own punishment, and misery, like other things, find its own level, the cry of distress which arose from all parts of the empire in the spring of 1826 was so piercing that they were compelled to make a show at least of doing something on the subject. Nothing more was attempted than to appoint a select committee to inquire into the expediency of encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom. In 1823, during the severe distress produced by the Bill of 1819 contracting the currency, a committee had been appointed, and an experimental grant of £50,000 voted for the removal of emigrants to Canada; and Mr. Wilmot Horton, one of the under-secretaries for the colonies, who now moved for a fresh committee, reported that two hundred and sixty-eight persons had availed themselves of the Government offer, who had been settled in Canada at an average expense of £22 a head. Several eminent political economists, however, and in particular Mr. McCulloch, had given strong opinions before the former Committee against any Government grant on the subject—a doctrine which met with the cordial approbation of the Lords of the Treasury, and was re-echoed by many whose intelligence and principles might have led them to a very different conclusion.²

In moving for this committee, Mr. Wilmot Horton, whose efforts on this subject are deserving of the very highest praise, observed: “I do not pretend to say whether Mr. McCulloch's doctrine is right or wrong; but at all events, the very first principle of emigration is, that the persons sent out should be assisted by the mother country for a certain time, until they receive such an impetus as will enable them to go forward themselves. Nor can the assistance thus afforded be considered as so much lost or thrown away, for the mother country will share its eventual advantages, and the capital thus employed, though transferred to another place, still remains within the empire. The question of emigration mixes itself up with our whole colonial system: both parties are benefited; and by increasing emigration we shall be increasing the aggregate profits of the empire. Is the system of our ancestors to be departed from or not? Is a measure which seems calculated to convert a riotous peasantry into a class of industrious yeomen and farmers not deserving of consideration at this present time, when we are devising improvements in our criminal code, and endeavoring to lessen crime?” “Give the poor man £20,” said Mr. Hume in reply, “and he will establish himself as well in Ireland as any where

^{27.} Appointment of a committee on emigration.

² Parl. Deb. xiv. 1362, 1363.

^{28.} Debate on the subject in the House of Commons.

else. Mr. McCulloch said that sending out one hundred thousand persons would be no more than a drop of water in the ocean. Five hundred thousand might have some effect, provided reproduction could be prevented; for otherwise, in two or three years we should have the same number again." The committee was in *Parl. Deb.* xiv 1363, agreed to in a very thin House, which 1364 narrowly escaped being counted out.¹

From such small beginnings did the great question of emigration take its rise, which has now assumed such colossal proportions! What would the members who now slipped away to dinner, or their clubs, the moment the subject was mentioned, have said if they could have foreseen that in less than thirty years this was to become the question of questions to the British empire and the whole globe; that three hundred and sixty thousand emigrants were for a course of years together to leave the shores of Great Britain and Ireland, and five hundred thousand annually those of Europe; that our exports to our colonies were to rise to thirty millions annually, and to one—that of Australia, not yet numbering five hundred thousand inhabitants—reach the enormous and almost incredible amount of £14,500,000, while it yielded to the local government a revenue of £3,600,000 a year!^{*} In this overlooked and neglected question was to be found the remedy, and the only remedy, for the manifold ills of Ireland—a source of daily increasing strength to the British empire, and the great means by which the ends of Providence, for the dispersion of mankind and the civilization of the world, were to be carried into effect.

A signal error, accompanied by the most disastrous consequences, long prevailed on this subject. This was the opinion, which was all but universal at that period, and is only now beginning to be abandoned, that the migration of the poor should be left to their own resources, and that any attempt to give an impetus to it by the assistance of Government was unwise, and might come to be pernicious. There never was a more erroneous opinion. Admitting that the strength of a State is at all times to be measured by its numbers, *coupled with their well-being*, what is to be said to the condition of a country which is overrun with paupers, who can not by possibility find a subsistence, and must, in one way or other, fall as a burden on the more prosperous classes of the community? Emigration, when they have it in their power, is, in such circumstances, their only resource; and if it is left to the unaided efforts of the working classes, what is to be expected but that the better conditioned of these classes will go off, and leave the destitute and paupers

EXPORTS TO UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA.

Years.	America.	Australia.
1845	£7,142,837	£1,201,076
1853	23,142,839	14,513,700

—*Parliamentary Returns*, Sept. 2, 1854.

Perhaps it is impossible to exhibit the wonderful influence of the gold regions of California and Australia so clearly as by these figures.

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behind? Thus the holders of small capital, whether in town or country, the little farmers, the small shop-keepers, the workmen who have amassed ten or fifteen pounds—in other words, the employers of labor—disappear, and none are left but the rich, who will not, and the poor, who can not, emigrate. No state of things can be imagined more calamitous; and it only becomes the more so when measures are in progress through the Legislature calculated to diminish the price of commodities, and consequently lessen the remuneration of industry, and passions afloat among the people which lead them to long passionately for a general, and, it is to be feared, unattainable felicity.

The common sophism, that it is useless to send the poor abroad, because their place will soon be supplied by others from the impulse given to population at home, admits of a short and decisive answer. It takes a week to send a poor man abroad: *it takes twenty years to supply his place*. In the interval between the two, the supply of the labor market is lessened, and the pressure on the working classes diminished. Even, therefore, if every one sent abroad caused the production of one at home who would not otherwise have come into the world, there is a great gain: the supply is kept twenty years behind the demand occasioned by the removal. But the truth is, that the emigration of the poor, so far from occasioning their reproduction, has a tendency to check it. It is among the utterly destitute that the principle of population always acts with most force, because they are wholly uninfluenced by the reason and artificial wants which in more comfortable circumstances restrain it. This has now been decisively demonstrated. Since the great emigration from Ireland began, in 1847, the population, so far from having increased, has declined above 2,000,000: the cottars have got better clothes, better beds, more comforts, higher wages, but not more children.

The prosperous state of the country during the preceding year enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take credit for the large amount of taxes, amounting to £3,146,000, taken off in that year, making, with those of the three preceding years, above eleven millions taken off since 1822, and £27,522,000 since 1815.* He observed with pride that, notwithstanding this great reduction of taxation, nearly £23,000,000 of debt had been paid off in the last three years, funded and unfunded, being at the rate of £7,500,000 a year, and that the annual charge of the debt during the same period had been diminished by no less than £1,339,000. Such were the financial resources of the country during the

* *Viz.:*

Years.	Repealed Sums.
1822.....	£3,335,000
1823.....	3,280,000
1824.....	1,727,000
1825.....	3,146,000
	£11,428,000

Debt paid off since 1822.

Funded Debt.....	£18,401,000
Unfunded.....	4,577,000
Paid off in three years.....	£22,978,000
Annual charge lessened by.....	£1,339,000

—*Ann. Reg.* 1826, 71, 72; and *Parl. Deb.*, xiv. 1311–1326.

three years that small notes had been in circulation, and the nation had enjoyed the advantage of a currency adequate to its necessities, and capable of sustaining prices. But the deplorable state of commerce and manufactures in the beginning of 1826 rendered it impossible in that year to make any reduction of taxation. On the contrary, he anticipated a diminution of no less than £1,300,000 in the excise alone, and could only hold out the hope of a surplus of £714,000, being not a tenth of that of the preceding year.¹

The year 1826 witnessed the first serious discussion which had occurred since 33. they were established in 1814, for the REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS. This question, which became so momentous in after years, had never been mooted for a long period—for this obvious reason, that the contraction of the currency had lowered prices of agricultural produce so much that it was thought they could not well be lower, and more distress prevailed among those engaged in its production than among those who depended on the various branches of manufacturing industry. Now, however, the case was in some measure altered. Distress had spread to all classes alike, and, if not more acutely felt, was at least more loudly complained of in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts. The operatives, suffering under a great and sudden fall of wages, vehemently demanded a corresponding diminution in the price of their subsistence. Government, anticipating such a demand, had in the close of the preceding year sent a very intelligent gentleman, Mr. Jacob, on a mission to the various harbors in the north of Europe, to ascertain the price of various kinds of grain, and at what rates they could be brought to this country. He brought back a great deal of valuable information, which was embodied in a Report that was printed and laid before both Houses of Parliament. From thence it appeared that the price of wheat in some parts of the north of Germany was 14s., and in some as low as 10s. a quarter; and that, including every charge, it could be brought to any British harbor at from 20s. to 25s. These prices, compared with 56s. to 60s., which wheat bore at the same time in England, made a prodigious impression, the more so, as the wages in the manufacturing districts had fallen during the last three months from thirty to forty per cent., and great numbers of persons of both sexes were out of employment altogether. The opinion consequently became general, and was eagerly spread by the leaders of the popular party, that all the public distresses were owing to the Corn Laws, and would be effectually, and forever, cured by their repeal. The time was deemed, in consequence, favorable for bringing forward the question, and a motion was made on the subject, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Whitmore.²

² Ann. Reg. 1826, 44, 49.

On the part of the advocates of the repeal, it was argued by Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Phillips, and Sir Thomas Lethbridge: "The present moment, when we are on the eve of a general election, may possibly be an inconven-

ient one for the discussion of this great question; but the circumstances of the country are so pressing, the general distress is so overwhelming, that it is not safe to delay the discussion of it for a single hour. After Government has applied the principles of free trade to every other branch of industry, it becomes indispensable to apply it also to that which has for its object the providing subsistence for the workman; for what can be so unjust as to pay him his wages at the reduced rate produced by free trade, and compel him to buy food for himself and his family at the high rate produced by a monopoly in the raising of grain? The British manufacturer can never enter unprotected into competition with his Continental rivals, while the chief means of his subsistence are kept up at an artificial rate, far above their cost in any other country of Europe. If reciprocity of trade is to be established at all, it is evident that we ought to select those articles for its operation in which foreign countries had the greatest interest. Now, to all the countries from which grain is to be obtained, nothing is of so much importance as the exportation of corn, and yet our system of Corn Laws had actually been diminishing in those countries the production of that with which alone they can purchase our manufactures. In consequence of our prohibitory system, the price of wheat in some parts of Germany is only 14s. the quarter, in some only 10s. The result is a diminished production of grain on their part, and a diminished ability, in consequence, to purchase our manufactures. This appears from Mr. Jacob's report, who states that the exportation from Dantzic and Memel, which from 1801 to 1805 had been 549,365 quarters, sunk, in the years from 1821 to 1825, to 83,000 quarters, and a similar falling off had every where taken place. If home grain was so low as 56s. to 60s., we need never fear a greater importation than 400,000 quarters; and with such an average price the English agriculturists ought not only to be satisfied, but to regard themselves as the most enviable class of the community.

"It is this free trade which Adam Smith has so beautifully described, as exhibiting the harmonious operation of the commercial system; by means of which the private interests of individuals, the more they are exercised, conduce the more to the general prosperity of the community. But the Corn Laws tend alike to depress the general interest, and to ruin the individual trade. Between 1817 and 1822 the fall of prices was from 94s. to 43s. a quarter—a fall quite sufficient to ruin all engaged, whether in its production or its purchase.* In consequence of that depression, both the agriculturist and the corn-dealer were constant losers. Corn in bond can now be purchased at from 20s. to 30s.,

* Viz.: 1817..... 94s. | 1820..... 65s. 10d.
1818..... 83s. 8d. | 1821..... 54s. 3d.
1819..... 72s. 9d. | 1822..... 43s. 3d.

—*Parl. Deb.*, xv. 325.

It never occurred to Mr. Whitmore that the Bill of 1819 had any thing to do with this great fall, or that of 1822 in restoring prices, which in the three following years stood thus:

1823..... 52s.
1824..... 64s. 3d.
1825..... 63s.

—*TOOKE ON PRICES*, ii. 390.

while that in the market brings 50s. or 60s. It is evident, from these prices, that no man in his senses will engage in the corn-trade under its present restrictions; and if the capital now engaged in that traffic is either destroyed or diverted into other channels, what resource will remain to the country in those seasons of periodical scarcity which must always, in this climate, be looked for? As matters now stand, a single bad season might bring us, without the possibility of relief, to the very borders of famine.

"The extremely small quantity of foreign wheat imported—only 12,577,000

36. quarters in twenty years, or about
Concluded. 600,000 quarters a year—proves how

little danger there is to apprehend any inordinate supply from foreign countries.* The importation, it is to be recollected, has been thus small, though the average price of corn during the period was 84s. 6d., and though until 1815 there was, in reality, no obstruction to the importation of foreign grain. It may safely be concluded, therefore, that, with prices from 55s. to 60s., the importation of wheat will never exceed 400,000 quarters. Mr. Jacob has stated that a duty of 10 or 12 per cent. would stop the importation of wheat altogether, even though the price were from 60s. to 64s. The cost of bringing a quarter of wheat from Poland to this country is 19s., which of itself fully compensates the difference of prices in labor, and affords an ample protection to the British agriculturist. On the other hand, if they persisted in their present course for some time longer, it required no great penetration to see

1 Parl. Deb. seasons, we shall be involved in the
xv. 334, 336. most frightful calamities."³¹

On the other hand, it was contended, in a most able speech by Sir Francis Burdett, who took an unexpected part on this question: "I shall vote for the motion to go into inquiry, but from very different motives from those from which it is brought forward. I am convinced that the particular interests of the land-holder and the general interest of the country are the same, and that they do not consist in that which the motion contemplates. The welfare of society is best promoted, not by employing a great number of hands to produce a comparatively small surplus for the use of the other classes of society, but by creating a large surplus by the skillful and well-directed labor of a few. The great and striking proof of the prosperity of the country is comprised in the fact, that, with

the small number of hands employed in agriculture, not exceeding a third of the whole, they raise enough to maintain themselves and all the rest in prosperity and abundance; for such, notwithstanding partial and passing visitations, is the general condition of the people of this country. The result of the labors of the agriculturist exhibits a spectacle not equaled in any other country in the world, that a third of the inhabitants raise food for double their own numbers besides themselves—a state of things quite unexampled, and which is the real cause of our acknowledged superiority in commerce and manufactures, as well as in the power of capital, over any other nation.

"Look at France. Four-fifths of the entire population, which amounts in all to thirty millions, is employed in agri-^{38.}

culture, and the remainder in manu-
factures and other pursuits. It may be judged from this circumstance in what a wretched state the agriculture of that country must be, and how inferior to that of this country. The infinite subdivision of landed property, and the consequent poverty of the cultivators, is the cause of this state of things in both interests; for how can the manufacturers be prosperous if their customers in the country are in a state of destitution, or the cultivators be affluent if they have not a ready market in towns for their produce? Nothing can be clearer than that there is, and ever must be, only one interest between the manufacturers and the farmers, for they mutually depend on each other for the disposal of their produce. The only reason why England has so large a body of manufacturers, the only reason why she is able to support them, is that her agriculturists produce, with so little labor, comparatively speaking, so much more than is needed for their own consumption. The more the agriculturist's labor produces, the more he has to sell to the manufacturer; the less exertion the manufacturer has to lay out upon his commodity, the more the agriculturist receives in exchange.

"It is said, on the other side, 'Give the manufacturer cheap bread, and he will give you cheap commodities;' but

those who reason thus do not con-
sider that the words 'cheap' and 'dear' are relative terms, and, applied in either way, become convertible. To say that manufactures are dear, is to say that corn is cheap, and *vice versa*. Both trades might flourish; the greater and easier production of both was an advantage to both; but that the produce of both should be dear when they came to mutual exchange is impossible. Those who are disposed to endanger the safety of agricultural property are short-sighted in their views of their own advantage, since they stop the source from which their own chief means of existence are derived. Without the agricultural produce it would be impossible for the manufacturer to live; and the same may be said of the merchant, the lawyer, the men of literature and science, who are the ornament of society, and all other classes. It is of no consequence to the working people what is the price of corn, provided their wages keep the same level; and the only effect of the low price of corn, for which the manufacturers so strenuously con-

* WHEAT IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM FOREIGN PORTS.

Years.	Quarters.	Years.	Quarters.
1800	1,263,771	1811	188,563
1801	1,424,211	1812	129,867
1802	538,144	1813	341,846
1803	312,458	1814	626,745
1804	391,068	1815	194,931
1805	836,747	1816	210,860
1806	207,879	1817	1,030,829
1807	359,835	1818	1,586,030
1808	41,592	1819	471,607
1809	387,863	1820	591,731
1810	1,439,615		
In all	12,577,029 quarters.		
Average	598,906 "		
Average price	84s. 6d.		

—Parl. Deb., xv. 329.

tend, will be low profits to the agricultural classes, and with them diminished purchases from, and low wages to, the manufacturing.

"Already the truth of these principles has become apparent. From Glasgow,

40. Manchester, Bradford, Paisley, we
Concluded. hear of nothing but 'stagnation in

trade,' and 'heavy low prices;' complaints which come with a very bad grace from those who are using every endeavor to bring about 'a heavy low price' in corn. The price of corn, as of every other article of commerce, measured in money, depends, on an average of years, entirely on the plenty or the scarcity of the currency; but the real value—that is, the exchangeable value, as measured by other commodities—depends upon an entirely different thing, viz., the quantity which the country had of surplus produce. The manufacturers complain of the high price of corn; but would the free trade in grain, for which they contend, better their condition, if their wages fell in the same proportion? If free trade in grain is to be admitted, there must be free trade in every thing else; but how is this possible, when the half of our public income, and the whole funds for payment of the interest of the national debt, are derived from duties on imported articles? And if such duties must be maintained—that is, the industry employed in their production be protected—what is repealing the Corn Laws but singling out one great interest in the country for destruction, while the others are preserved

and cherished? The Corn Laws may
1 Parl. Deb. be, and probably are, an evil; but
xv. 364, they arise necessarily from our social
368; Ann. position: repeal all import duties, or
Reg. 1826, none."¹
46, 48.

Ministers resisted the motion, not on its general merits, but on the inconvenience of going into such a general question, involving such weighty interests, at an advanced period of the session, and on the eve of a general election. The motion to go into a committee at that time accordingly was lost by a very large majority, the numbers being 215 to 81. The Government, however, pledged themselves to go into the whole question early next session; and as the distress of the manufacturing classes, owing to the sudden contraction of the currency, continued without mitigation, and alarming riots had taken place in several districts, particularly Lancashire, in which power-looms to a great extent were destroyed, and which were not suppressed without loss of life, it was deemed indispensable to adopt some measures calculated to afford immediate relief. With this view a bill was introduced, and carried by 214 to 82, allowing wheat to the extent of 500,000 quarters to be introduced at a duty of 10s. a quarter, and inferior grains at lower duties; and another, empowering Government during the recess to admit foreign grain during a limited time and at a limited duty, was also, as a temporary measure, though with great difficulty, carried through both Houses. Surprise was expressed by many members that last year, when the price of corn was 8s. a quarter higher than at present, Ministers asked for no such powers; but the reason was obvious—there were then high prices and no

distress. The monetary crisis and contraction of the currency had since intervened, and they invariably begat the cry for cheap bread, in ignorance of the fact that, if got, it is the very way to prolong and extend the suffering.¹

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who spoke so ably on, and took so unexpected a view of this question, was a very remarkable man, whose character deserves to be drawn, not only from the prominent part which, during a long parliamentary career, he took in public affairs, but from his being, as it were, the type of a class of men peculiar to England at that period, and which since has become well-nigh extinct. Descended from an ancient family, and inheriting a noble estate, he was a favorable example of the old English country gentleman. Passionately fond of field sports, his time was divided between hunting and politics. A commanding figure, a ready flow of language, and powerful elocution, gave him that power over his auditory which such qualities seldom fail to confer; and as his principles were extreme on the popular side, he was for a quarter of a century the idol of the democratic party. His ample estates lay in Derbyshire; but he was too great a favorite with the populace to be permitted to come in quietly for a county, and "England's pride and Westminster's glory" stood forward as the champion of that great democratic constituency which he long represented in Parliament. He vehemently opposed the Castlereagh administration, and contended for Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emancipation, a reduction of expenditure, and all the objects which the popular party at that time had at heart. But he was far from being the slave of the republicans. He inherited from his Norman ancestors all their independent spirit, and was equally inclined to resist oppression when it appeared in the encroachments of a popular assembly as in the stretches of arbitrary power. His long lead of democratic constituencies had rendered him somewhat fond of theatrical effect; and when his house was forced open, under the Speaker's warrant, in 1810, for a libel on the House of Commons, and he was conducted to the Tower, he was found quietly seated in his library hearing his son translate *Magna Charta*. His powers of eloquence were of the very highest order; second to none in the House of Commons in the days of Pitt and Fox, of Brougham and Canning. The preceding skeleton of his speech proves that he was capable of mastering the most intricate questions of political economy. His extreme political principles kept him at a distance from power during his long parliamentary career, but his talents were always respected, his capacity dreaded, by his political opponents; and in his later years, when popular principles were in the ascendant, he gave many unequivocal proofs, that, though willing to be the leader, he would not condescend to be the slave of the people.

The year 1826 was long remembered in Great Britain from the excessive drought which every where prevailed, and the extraordinary heat with which it was accompanied. The

¹ An. Reg. 1826, 51; 54; Parl. Deb. xv. 954, 965, 988.

dry weather began early in June, and continued almost without intermission till the end of October, during the greater part of which time the thermometer in the shade was above 80°. It was the climate of the West Indies, without its moisture or sea-breezes. The consequences were remarkable and curious in the extreme; they clearly demonstrated that a long succession of such seasons would change the character, and with it the destinies of the British people. Harvest began in the south of England in the beginning of July; it was general over the whole island in the first week of August.* The wheat crops did not suffer materially from this long drought. It was not likely that a vegetable which comes to perfection under the sun of Egypt should wither under his rays, however ardent, in Great Britain. But the oats were so deficient, that in the beginning of September they were 30s. the quarter, or double the usual price. The deer perished of thirst in the parks, the cattle in the fields. The green crops failed entirely; the grass was every where burned up, the hay-harvest was almost nothing; and the price of fodder, and all kinds of food for animals, rose to such a degree in the succeeding winter, that it was evident that a succession of such seasons would confine the use of animal food to the most wealthy classes of the community. Who can calculate the effect of such a change in unbracing the nerves, and lessening the courage and energy of the great body of the British people? And this shows how insensible we are to the greatest blessings of our social and physical situation. We lament our fogs and our rains, and envy the blue skies and cloudless sun of Italy, forgetting that it is these fogs and rains, and the mild and humid winters with which they are accompanied, which have provided the food for man by which his physical and mental energies are developed in the highest degree, and that but for them the Anglo-Saxon race, instead of performing its destined mission to "replenish the earth and subdue it," would have been pining in hopeless subjection to the Scythian, like the Ryots of Hindostan, or the Fellahs of Egypt.¹

The parliamentary session terminated on the 31st May, and next day the House of Commons was dissolved by royal proclamation. The elections were conducted without heat or animosity: the measures of Government had become so liberal and conciliatory that the Opposition had hardly a topic left whereon to declaim. Even the Corn Laws, the last strong-hold of the aristocracy, had been partially yielded to the demands of the people, and this concession begat the hope of still farther relaxation. The Catholic question was the principal topic on the hustings, and Mr. Canning and the Duke of York were the acknowledged leaders of the opposite parties. The future prime-minister and the heir-apparent to the throne divided

the affections of the thinking and religious portion of the community, and each of the two parties had a worthy leader to follow. To neither of these men had Providence allotted a long span of existence; ere two years had expired they were both gathered to their fathers. The anti-Catholic party, however, upon the whole, decidedly gained by the elections. Two candidates in Yorkshire were elected on the ground of opposing the Catholics.¹ Lord John Russell was defeated in Huntingdonshire, and the Bedford interest generally appeared to be waning, from the vigor of the Protestant party. The elections in Great Britain, however, passed over without riots; and they were memorable for one circumstance, heretofore unknown in England, that several persons going to them were struck down on the road by *coup de soleil*, and that it was often impossible to get water for the horses engaged in transporting them.

In Ireland, the elections gave token of a more alarming spirit, and augured unequivocally an approaching storm; for the priests, for the first time, took an active part in the contests. Mr. Sheehan said to them, "Here are the natural enemies of your country, and here are your priests, who wait on the bed of sickness, and we, your friends alike in prosperity or woe—follow us or them." Mr. Shiel afterward said, "The whole body of the peasantry have risen up in a tumultuous revolt against their landlords. I avow that this extraordinary political phenomenon is, to a great extent, the result of the interposition of the clergy, whose influence has been brought into full and unrestrained activity." Several elections in Ireland were gained to the Catholic cause by this new and powerful religious co-operation, but not so many as were lost in England from the zeal of the opposite party. The great majority in the two islands were arrayed under opposite banners, and stood in open hostility to each other—an ominous circumstance, which it was evident Catholic emancipation could not remove, and which augured ill for the peace of the empire in future times.²

The next session of Parliament was opened on the 14th November, in consequence of the necessity of providing an immediate remedy to the high price of oats. The rise in their price had been so rapid, in consequence of the drought of the summer, that the averages taken by the existing law, at the prices of the six weeks preceding, would not rise soon enough to let in the requisite supplies immediately from abroad, and partial famine might be the consequence. Parliament was assembled accordingly, and the general distress which prevailed formed a leading feature in the royal speech. "I have deeply sympathized," said his Majesty, "with the sufferings which, for some time past, have been so severely felt by the manufacturing class, and contemplated with satisfaction the exemplary patience with which they have been borne. The depression under which the trade and manufactures of the country have been laboring, has abated more slowly than I thought my-

* The Author saw a field of wheat cut down on the banks of the Esk, six miles to the south of Edinburgh, on the 11th of July. This is fully a month earlier than what is reckoned an early season, and about the season of harvest in Spain and Italy.

43.
Excessive
heat and
drought of
Great Britain
in 1826.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1826, 173.

44.
Dissolution of
Parliament,
and elections.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1826, 170, 171;
Martineau, i.
404, 405.

45.
General inter-
ference of the
priests in the
Irish elec-
tions.

² Ann. Reg.
1826, 171, 174.

46.
Opening of
the new Par-
liament, Nov.
14.

self warranted in anticipating; but I retain a firm expectation that this abatement will be progressive, and that the time is not far distant when, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the commerce and industry of the United Kingdom will have resumed their wonted activity."¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1826, 175, 177.

The measure proposed by Government to meet the existing crisis was an act of Parliament sanctioning an Order in Council, which had been issued on the 15th September preceding, authorizing the importation of foreign grain, at a duty of 2s. a quarter, till the 15th February, when the next averages might be struck. This measure, being founded in obvious necessity, the price of oats having risen to 30s. a quarter, met with general concurrence—the agricultural party only protesting that their acquiescence in it was not to be regarded as any abandonment of their general principles, but a concession only to the overbearing necessities of the moment; the adoption of such *temporary* relief, so far from a deviation from, being strictly in harmony with the spirit of the existing Corn Laws.²

² Ann. Reg. 1826, 179, 181; Parl. Deb. xvi. 126, 130.

Before the House of Commons, however, had sat many weeks, a topic of a far more momentous and exciting kind was brought before it, which, more than the rise in the price of oats, had been the real cause of its early convocation. On the 11th December, a message was brought from the King to both Houses of Parliament, which stated, in substance, that "an earnest application had been received by his Majesty from the Princess Regent of Portugal, claiming, in virtue of the ancient obligations of alliance and amity subsisting between his Majesty and the Crown of Portugal, his Majesty's aid against a hostile aggression from Spain; that repeated assurances had been given by the King of France that he would neither commit, nor allow to be committed, any hostile act on the realm of Portugal; but that, notwithstanding these assurances, hostile inroads into the territory of Portugal had been concerted in Spain, and executed under the eyes of the Spanish authorities, by Portuguese regiments, which had deserted into Spain, and which the Spanish government had repeatedly and solemnly engaged to disarm and disperse." This message took both Houses of Parliament, the country, and the world, entirely by surprise. No one had the slightest idea that any such events, so obviously ominous to the peace of Europe, were in progress, and the excitement thence arising throughout Europe was proportionally greater.³

³ Ann. Reg. 1826, 192; Parl. Deb. xvi. 334, 335.

To understand how this came about, and how the rival powers of England and France, and the principles of constitutional and despotic government, were thus openly brought into collision, it is only necessary to recollect that, though Spain had undergone a counter-revolution, in Portugal a constitutional monarchy still existed, under the sway of the infant daughter of the King of Brazil, the laws of which provided that its crown should never be united to that of Portugal. The government of Portugal, remodel-

ed, as already mentioned, after the counter-revolution of 1823,¹ was a constitutional one; but so moderate and tempered that it had excited no enthusiasm in the liberal party, either there or elsewhere. Such as it was, however, it was the object of great jealousy both to the Spanish government and the Royalist party in Portugal; and a civil war having arisen, as will be more fully narrated in the account of the transactions of the Peninsula, Don Miguel, the King of Brazil's younger brother, had been proclaimed king; and Portuguese regiments in the Royalist interest having been driven into Spain, they were there received with open arms, equipped afresh, and led back to maintain the cause of absolutism in the Portuguese dominions.²

In introducing this subject to the House of Commons, Mr. Canning, after narrating the treaties, offensive and defensive, between Great Britain and Portugal in 1661, 1703, and 1815, said: "This being the state of our relations with Portugal, when the Regency of that country, in apprehension of the coming storm, called on Great Britain for assistance, the only question we had to consider was, whether the *casus fœderis* had arisen. In our opinion it had. Bands of Portuguese rebels, armed, equipped, and trained in Spain, had crossed the Spanish frontier, carrying terror and devastation into their own country, and proclaiming sometimes the brother of the reigning sovereign of Portugal, sometimes a Spanish princess, sometimes even Ferdinand VII. of Spain, as the rightful occupant of the Portuguese throne. These rebels crossed the frontier, not at one, but at several different points—first on the province of Tras-os-Montes, and next in the south, where we on Friday received an account of the invasion of Alentejo, and the capture of Villa-Viciosa, a considerable town on the frontier. Can it be denied that these repeated and systematic attacks do not call for the interposition of this country, in virtue of the ancient treaties in behalf of its ancient ally? If a single company of Spanish soldiers had crossed the frontier in hostile array, there could not be a doubt as to the character of the invasion. Shall bodies of men, armed, clothed, and regimented by Spain, carry fire and sword into the bosom of her unoffending neighbor, and shall it be pretended that it is no invasion because these outrages have been committed by men to whom Portugal had given birth and nurture? Had Spain employed mercenaries to effect the invasion, there could not be a doubt of its hostile character; and does it render it less so that the mercenaries in this instance are the natives of Portugal?"

"In some quarters it has been said that an extraordinary delay has taken place between the taking of the determination to give assistance to Portugal, and the carrying of that determination into effect. But how stands the fact? On Sunday, December 3, the Portuguese ambassador made a formal demand of assistance against a hostile aggression from Spain. Our answer was, that although we had heard rumors to that effect, yet we had not yet received such precise infor-

¹ Ante, c. xii. § 98.

² Ann. Reg. 1826, 191.

^{50.} Mr. Canning's speech on the subject in the House of Commons.

^{51.} Continued.

mation as justified us in applying to Parliament. It was only on Friday that that information arrived. On Saturday his Majesty's confidential servants came to a decision—on Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty—on Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament—and to-day (Tuesday), at the hour on which I have the honor of addressing you, the troops of Great Britain are on their march for embarkation.

“The reasons I have stated entirely satisfy my judgment that we are imperatively called on at this crisis to render the aid to which we are bound by treaty to Portugal. Nothing short of a point of national faith or honor would justify me, at the present moment, in any thing that approximates even to war. Let it not be supposed from this that I dread war in a good cause—and in no other cause may it ever be the lot of this country to engage. I dread it upon other grounds. I dread it from an apprehension of the tremendous consequences which might arise from any hostilities in which we might now be engaged. Some years ago, on occasion of the invasion of Spain by France, I said that the next war that would arise in Europe would be a war, not of nations, but of opinions, and that it was by neutrality alone that we could maintain the balance between them. Not four years have elapsed, and already my anticipations are realized! It is a war of opinion that Spain is now waging against Portugal, and who will venture to foretell to what consequences such a war may lead? It is the contemplation of the new power which will rise up in any future war that fills me with apprehension. It is one thing to have a giant's strength, but it would be another to use it like a giant.

“The consciousness of such strength is undoubtedly a source of confidence and security, but in the situation in which the country now stands, our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it, but to content ourselves with letting the professors of violent and exaggerated opinions on both sides feel that it is not for their interest to convert an umpire into an adversary. The situation of England, amidst the struggle of political opinions which agitates more or less sensibly different countries of the world, may be compared to that of the ruler of the winds as described by the poet—

“Celsa sedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollitque animos et temperat iras;
Nī faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum,
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.”

The consequence of letting loose the passions, at present chained and confined, would be to produce a scene of desolation which no man can contemplate without horror, and I should not sleep easy on my couch if I were conscious that I had contributed to accelerate it by a single moment. This is the reason why I dread the recurrence of hostilities in any part of Europe, why I would forbear long on any point which did not taint the national honor ere I let slip the dogs of war, the leash of which we hold in our hands, not knowing whom they may reach, or how far their ravages may be carried. Such is the love of peace which the British government acknowledges, and such the necessity for

peace which the circumstances of the world inculcate. Let us fly to the aid of Portugal because it is our duty to do so; and let us cease our interference when that duty ends. We go to Portugal, not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe constitutions, but to defend and preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. 356, 369; Ann. Reg. 1826, 1827, foreign dominion shall not come.”¹ 198.

Never, perhaps, did a speech delivered in the British House of Commons produce such an effect as this did, which was enhanced by his still more eloquent reply, given in a former volume, in reference to the French invasion of Spain,² where he said he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. The effect was electrical, both upon the House and the country. All hearts were moved, all heads swept away by it. In vain Mr. Hume, and one or two others of the partisans of economy, urged the impolicy of thus hurrying into a war of which we could neither foresee the duration nor calculate the expense. His objections were overruled. Such were the murmurs of the House that he could scarce obtain a hearing; and his amendment, “that the House be called over this day week,” found only four supporters. Both Houses, by overwhelming majorities, supported the Government. The troops were embarked with such expedition that, though they only received their orders to march on December 11, on Christmas day they began to land in Lisbon, amidst the cheers of the multitude, in whom the well-known uniforms inspired confidence. Six thousand men were soon established there, and this vigorous demonstration, as is often the case, averted war by proving that it was not dreaded. The incursions from Spain ceased, the frontier was no longer disquieted; and France, which was the real principal in the affair, disavowed a proceeding which it was no longer prudent to acknowledge. No hostilities ensued. Before eighteen months had expired the troops had all returned to England, without having fired a shot; and this affair passed over with no other result but that of rendering Mr. Canning the idol of the liberal party throughout the world, and demonstrating to the astonished nations the elements of war which, amidst all their pacific interests, slumbered in the breasts of the British people.³

There can be no doubt that Mr. Canning's decision on this occasion was both wise and honorable. There could have been nothing more derogatory to British honor, or in the end subversive of British interests, than to have permitted French interest and domination to extend over the whole Peninsula—the very thing which it had been the object of all the campaigns of Marlborough and Wellington to prevent. The entire success of the demonstration leaves no doubt as to its wisdom. But it is a curious proof of the manner in which party influences or opposite interests can blind even the clearest intellects, that neither Mr. Canning, nor his

54. Vast effect of this speech, and the expedition sets out for Lisbon.

² Ante, c. xii. § 102, 103.

³ An. Reg. 1826, 202, 205; Parl. Deb. xvi. 370, 393.

55. Reflections on this point.

numerous and enthusiastic supporters in the House of Commons or the country, saw that the principles on which his intervention in *defense* of Portugal were based, were directly the reverse, and afforded the strongest condemnation of those on which his own previous conduct in regard to South America had been founded. If it was right of him, as it unquestionably was, to put forth the strength of England to resist the incursions of armed bands, raised and equipped in Spain to effect a revolution in Portugal—what shall we say to his own conduct in permitting bands of adventurers, armed and equipped in England, to sail from the Thames, with Tower muskets in their hands, to revolutionize South America? Intervention is always an odious and dangerous thing, and only the more dangerous when it invokes for its cover a sacred name, a heart-stirring principle; but it is not less so in the hands of the Liberals than in those of the Conservatives, when it sets forth from the Thames, in the name of freedom, to desolate South America, than when it starts from St. Petersburg, in the name of religion, to establish Muscovite domination at Constantinople. But so utterly blind are men to the plainest truths where their interests or passions are concerned, that the same individuals who had most cordially applauded English intervention in South America, the source of unnumbered woes to humanity, were now most vehement in their condemnation of Spanish intervention in Portugal in favor of absolutism; and it was hard to say whether the cheers of the House of Commons were loudest when Mr. Canning announced, in his opening speech, the departure of the British troops for the well-known heights of Lisbon, where foreign dominion shall not prevail, or on his reply, when he declared that when France made one aggression on Spain he determined that England should make another, and that “he called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.”

56.
Improved
state of the
country in
the begin-
ning of 1827.

This warlike interlude interrupted only for a very short period the fixed attention of the British people to objects of domestic interest. These soon resumed their accustomed course, and entirely absorbed general thought. The improvement of the country during the course of the winter of 1826–7, though slow, was steady: if the cheering symptoms of general prosperity had not yet returned, those of universal suffering had sensibly abated. There were no longer any failures of banks, and no call for additional public measures to restore commercial confidence. Those already adopted had gone far to assuage the general suffering; a crisis which had been brought on by a sudden and unexpected contraction of the currency in the midst of the greatest and most pressing money engagements, had been successfully arrested by the measures forced upon the Government, in opposition to their strongest prepossessions, by the public necessities. The issue of nine millions of additional Bank of England notes in the last three weeks of 1825 had stopped the panic; the guaranteeing by Government of loans to the extent of three millions more by the Bank had sensibly arrested its effects. Wages, indeed, were still low—

in many branches of industry distressingly so—but employment was general; and though the failure of the home market was still severely felt, yet foreign ones had generally revived, and the happy prospect of the continuance of general peace enabled the merchants to begin again, though as yet with fear and trembling, their renovating speculations.¹

Two domestic events occurred in the early part of this year, attended with important consequences, and which, in the critical state and equal balance of parties at that period in the British empire, were attended with lasting effects. The first of these was the death of the Duke of York, who expired on the 5th January. The health of the illustrious Prince had been long declining, though no immediate danger was apprehended; but during the last six months the symptoms had assumed the character of decided dropsy, which, though for some time baffled by the skill of his physicians, assumed, in December, 1826, the most alarming symptoms. The increase of his bodily sufferings, however, and the near approach of death, with which he was well acquainted, could not for a moment render him insensible to the call of patriotism. He continued to the very last to discharge all his important duties as Commander-in-Chief; and when grievously oppressed by breathlessness, and supported by pillows in bed, he personally gave the whole orders, and made the entire arrangements for the small but brilliant expedition which left the British shores in the middle of December, and did such service to the interests of humanity by preserving the peace of Europe, when violently threatened in the close of 1826. On the 28th December the sacrament was administered to him, along with his sister the Princess Sophia, by the hands of the Bishop of London; on the next day he received the parting visit of his royal brother; and on the 5th January he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.²

57.
Death of the
Duke of York.
Jan. 5, 1827.

² Ann. Reg.
1827, 2, 3;
Martineau,
i. 428.

The character of the Duke of York, as of all persons who have taken a decided part in great political questions which divided society, has been variously drawn by writers of different parties; but it is possible at this distance of time to represent it in its true colors, without intemperate bias on either side. By one party he is represented as a firm patriot, a sincere politician, the intrepid assertor of the principles which had placed his family on the throne; by another, as an obstinate bigot, who willfully shut his eyes to the lights of the age, and obstructed, as long as he had the power, the greatest social amelioration in the British empire. He was in reality neither so great a man as his panegyrists represent, nor so reprehensible as his detractors assert. He was an honest, kind-hearted, intrepid Prince, without any extensive reach of vision, but with a clear perception of his duty within the limits over which it extended, and the resolute will which, having once discerned, never hesitated to discharge it. Possessed of good abilities, he had exhibited early in life, in the campaign in Flanders, the decision and daring which form such material elements in the character of a

58.
His char-
acter.

great general; and when subsequently raised to the important situation of Commander-in-Chief, which he held for thirty-two years, the services he rendered to the army were such that he may be truly said to have laid the foundation of the edifice of which Wellington raised the superstructure.

Indefatigable in his attention to business, zealous in the discharge of duty, easy of access, affable in manner, he won the

59. Continued. hearts of the officers by the courtesy of his demeanor, the straightforwardness of his conduct, and the equity of his distribution of patronage; while he endeared himself to the private soldiers by his unwearied attention to their interests, and the vast improvements which he introduced both in their material comforts and moral training. With truth he said, on his death-bed, that if the condition of the first English expedition, which landed at Ostend in 1794, were compared with that which he recently dispatched to Lisbon, it would not be believed that they belonged to the same age or nation. Mr. Peel said, in moving an address of condolence to the King on the death of his brother, that he did not believe that, during the ten thousand days he had held his exalted situation, there had been one on which he had not devoted some time to his duties. It was by his long and judicious efforts that the numerous abuses existing in the army at his entry on office were rooted out, promotion put on a better footing, the station of the soldier elevated, and that noble body of men created, who carried the English standards in triumph to Paris, Delhi, and Nankin. That he was not an immaculate character, is only to say that he was a child of Adam. Liberal even to profusion in private life, his attention was so incessantly absorbed by the cares of his office, that he allowed his affairs to fall into confusion, and he left nothing but the memory of his great services behind him. His irregularities of another kind, the frequent accompaniment of exalted rank and an ardent disposition, were fastened on, during one memorable investigation, by the combined forces of scandal and faction, with such intensity as rendered his temporary retirement from office a matter of necessity. But he was soon restored to it with the unanimous approbation of the nation, which, however frequently overborne for a time by the vehemence of party or the clamor of the press, is rarely in the end unjust in the estimate of private character, or ungrateful for public services. His decided and manly declaration of his sentiments on Catholic emancipation, shortly before his death, exposed him again to unbounded obloquy at the time; but experience has long since stilled that clamor, and suggested a doubt whether those who are reckoned, during their life, to have

1 Ann. Reg. 1827, 7. been behind the age, were not sometimes in reality in advance of it.¹

The Duke of York was soon followed to the grave by another public man, who had long held a prominent place in the councils of the country. Lord Liverpool, who since 1812 had been prime-minister, had himself moved the address of condolence to the King on his brother's death in the beginning of February, and had announced that he would on the 15th

introduce the intended alteration on the Corn Laws in the House of Peers, when he was suddenly seized with a paralytic attack, which, though not at the time fatal, was of such severity as to render his retention of office impossible. He tendered his resignation to his Majesty as soon as returning consciousness, six weeks after, enabled him to do so; and his situation was such as to give the Sovereign no alternative but to accept it. During the long interval the nation remained without a prime-minister.¹

Lord Liverpool was not a man of striking abilities, and still less of decision of character; but on that very account he was peculiarly fitted for the situation which he so long held. The period during which he was prime-minister was, at least during its last twelve years, essentially one of transition. He came into office when the crisis of the war was over, and he had only to reap the fruits of the courage and capacity of his predecessors. His long reign occurred when difficulties of another kind were accumulating round the throne, when new ideas were fermenting in the nation, when extended power was loudly demanded by the people, and when whole classes of society, enriched by industry and peace, were prosecuting their objects of separate aggrandizement. The utopian dream of the interests of all classes being identical, was then fast giving way to the stern reality of the more powerful enriching itself at the expense of the weaker. The opposite parties at that period were so nearly balanced, that if he had acted with decision, and thrown himself, without reserve, into the arms of either party, he would have inevitably brought on a collision, which would have certainly proved fatal to his administration, probably to the peace and liberties of the country. The Conservatives were too firmly intrenched in power, and rested too strongly on ancient traditions, to relinquish it without a struggle; the Liberals too aspiring, and too sensible of their growing ascendancy, to shrink from the encounter. Lord Liverpool's whole reign was a long preparation on either part for the strife which all foresaw was approaching; and his great skill and prudence in postponing the period of collision, was proved by the rapidity with which it ensued when he was removed by the stroke of fate from the helm.

Prudent, sagacious, and reflecting, carefully watching the signs of the times, and still more carefully shunning those which portended danger, his great object was to steer the vessel of the state in present safety through the shoals by which it was surrounded. His skill consisted in his discernment of the means by which this was to be brought about, and the characters by whose agency it was to be effected. In these respects, he had very great merit, if merit it can be called, which consists in adjourning danger, not averting it, and purchasing present tranquillity by postponing the conflict to future times. He clearly discerned where the ruling party on every great question was to be found, and ranged himself with the dominant side; holding out, at the same time, the olive-branch to

¹ Ann. Reg. 1827, 90, 91; Twiss's Life of Eldon, ii. 583, 584.

61. His character, and its adaptation to his times.

62. Continued.

60. Illness and retirement of Lord Liverpool.

the minority, by conceding to them lesser, but still material objects of ambition. Thus, while he stood firm with the then ruling Conservative majority in the nation on the great questions of Catholic emancipation and reform in Parliament, he cordially joined the Liberals on the minor, but still important, points of free trade, a contracted currency, and the reciprocity system, which were so many outworks, the possession of which enabled them to breach the body of the place. By standing firm on the first, he retained the confidence of his old Conservative friends; by yielding on the last, he awakened the hopes and disarmed the hostility of his new Liberal supporters.

He brought Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson into the Cabinet, and had influence

63. enough to make them act along with
Concluded. Lord Eldon and the Duke of Wellington—a perilous conjunction, as much fraught with future danger as it was with present tranquillity. His greatest failing was a constitutional nervousness, which made him, as he himself said, never on one day during which he held office break the seals of a heap of letters without a feeling of apprehension; his greatest error the cordial support which he gave to the measure for the contraction of the currency, urged upon him by the Liberal portion of the Cabinet, and supported by so great a majority in both Houses of Parliament. But that was the error of the age in which he lived, and it would be unjust to visit upon him the responsibility shared by him with all the strongest heads in the realm. He was disinterested and just in the extreme in the administration of Government; unostentatious and conciliatory in private life; his mind was stored with a vast variety of facts on every important question, which he brought out with equal judgment and skill in debate; and he left behind him the reputation of being, if not the greatest, certainly the most prudent and fortunate Minister, that ever conducted the affairs of Great Britain.

Lord Liverpool's retirement from the direction of the Government brought
64. Difficulty in the choice of his successor, and Mr. Canning's appointment. the schism which had long existed in the Cabinet prominently into their own view, before the dissension was yet fully known to the country. The King was under the necessity of appointing a successor; and the question was, who was to be the new prime-minister? The temporizing system could no longer be carried on; the selection must be made; the leader of the Cabinet could only be taken from one or other of the parties into which it was divided, and the appointment would at once confer or indicate the superiority. The King, for many reasons, was averse to Mr. Canning, who had on several occasions exhibited symptoms of an ambitious, intriguing spirit, little suited for a prime-minister, and had rendered himself personally obnoxious to the Sovereign, by the prominent part he had taken as an adviser of Queen Caroline. But the circumstances left him no alternative. Mr. Canning was the leader of the House of Commons, and the most popular minister who, since the days of Chatham, had directed the foreign affairs of the country; while the anti-Catholic party in the Cabinet did not contain any man

qualified to be placed at its head. Lord Eldon was disqualified by age, the Duke of Wellington by his military habits, and Mr. Peel was as yet too young for such a situation. In these circumstances, the King, though most reluctantly, sent for Mr. Canning, with whom he had a long conference, which, at first, led to no definite result. But Mr. Peel, who also was consulted, gave it as his opinion that an anti-Catholic Ministry could not be formed; and the issue was, that, after a fortnight of anxious suspense and difficulty, the King intrusted Mr. Canning with the formation of a Ministry; and the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, Lord Eldon, Lord Bathurst, Lord Westmoreland, and Lord Melville, resigned.¹

In taking this decided step, the great Tory lords were not so much actuated by political differences as by personal feeling. It was not that they dreaded Catholic emancipation, or the placing England in the van-guard of the liberal powers of Europe: their feeling was, that they had been supplanted by a political adventurer—a man of genius, indeed, and eloquence, but without family connections, and who had raised himself, independent of aristocratic support, to the highest position in the State. They were mortified at the thought of power having slipped from the old influences; they felt the jealousy which rank invariably does of genius, when it is not entirely subservient to its wishes. They dreaded the ascendancy of a rival power. On the other hand, Mr. Canning, anticipating the defection of his Tory colleagues, had made overtures to the Liberal chiefs, and secret communications had passed between him and Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Brougham. All was jealousy and commotion; the female political coteries were in incessant activity; party spirit had never run so high; and the rancor of the rival leaders at each other found vent in bitter taunts and reproaches.* The Whig peers were in secret not less exasperated at the aspiring commoner, who threatened to shake the long-established dominion of their order, than the Tory; and Earl Grey's hostility, in particular, exhaled in a powerful and sarcastic speech against Mr. Canning in the House of Peers, which made a great sensation at the time, and contributed not a little, by pointing out the inconsistencies of his public career, to diminish his reputation in the country.

In the midst of these dissensions, however, the King remained firm to his new promise; and after a considerable delay and much difficulty the new Cabinet was formed, containing, as might have been expected, a decided majority of Whigs, or persons of known liberal opinions. The most prominent changes were, that the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Copley, was made Lord Chancellor by the title of Lord Lyndhurst, in room of Lord Eldon; the Duke of Clarence, Lord High Admiral, in room of Lord

* "The whole conversation in town is made up of abusive, bitterly abusive, talk of people about each other; all fire and flame: I have known nothing like it. I think political enmity runs higher, and waxes warmer, than I ever knew it."—Lord ELDON to Lady J. T. BANKES, April 7, 1827; *Eldon's Life*, ii. 588.

March 27.

April. 10.

¹ Life of Canning, 359; Life of Eldon, ii. 588, 591, 604; Ann. Reg. 1827, 93, 105.

65.

What made his Tory colleagues resign?

66.

Composition of the new Cabinet.

Melville, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Wellington was succeeded as Master-General of the Ordnance by the Marquess of Anglesea; Mr. Robinson, with the title of Viscount Goderich, was made Colonial Secretary in room of Lord Bathurst; Lord Dudley, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in room of Mr. Canning, appointed to the Premiership; and Mr. Sturges Bourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, in room of Mr. Peel, in which important office he was, after a few weeks, succeeded by the Marquess Lord Eldon, of Lansdowne. By these appointments the Government became entirely Whig or Liberal, and the long-established dominion of the Tories, established by Mr. Pitt in 1784, was subverted.^{1*}

These three events, the death of the Duke of York, the appointment of Mr. Canning as prime-minister, and the entire remodeling of the Cabinet on Liberal principles, succeeding one another in rapid succession in the first months of 1827, deserve to be particularly noticed as turning-points in the modern history of England, and big with vast consequences in future times. The first changed the heir-apparent to the throne, and brought forward as its immediate inheritor a prince who, with many good and amiable qualities, was by no means endowed with the strong understanding and masculine intrepidity of the Duke of York, and was influenced by a secret love of popularity, the quality of all others the most dangerous in a ruling character in stormy times. The second placed the avowed and elegant leader of the House of Commons in the situation of prime-minister, and that not as the "Great Commoner" in the days of George II., from the combined influence of aristocratic connections and personal talents, but from the last of these influences alone. The steady and intrepid opponent of Catholic emancipation now rested in the vault of Windsor, its supporter wielded the whole power and patronage of Government; the hero of the Peninsula was in retirement, and the new premier had recently sent the British standards to Lisbon to support a liberal constitution, and boasted he had severed the dominions of an ancient ally, and "called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Changes so vast could not fail to exercise a powerful influence on the course of events in future times; and it was the greater that they were in great part themselves the

result of an alteration in general opinion, and the approach of a new era in human affairs.

The magnitude of the change which had taken place appeared in the most decided manner when the ministerial explanations, as usual in such cases, took place in Parliament. Both Houses were crowded to excess, both in the highest degree excited; but the excitement in the two was as different as the poles are asunder. In the Commons it was the triumph of victory; in the Peers the consternation of defeat. So clearly was this evinced, that it obliterated for a time the deep lines of party distinction, and brought the two Houses, almost as hostile bodies united under different standards, into the presence of each other. The Commons rung with acclamations when the new premier made his triumphant explanation from the head of the ministerial bench; but they were still louder, when Mr. Peel from the cross benches out of office said, "They may call me illiberal and Tory; but it will be found that some of the most necessary measures of useful legislation of late years are inscribed with my name." The tide of reform had become so strong that even the avowed Tory leaders in the Lower House were fain to take credit by sailing along with it. In the House of Lords, on the other hand, the feeling of the majority was decidedly hostile to the new administration, and that not merely on the Tory benches, where it might naturally have been looked for, but among the old Whig nobility, who had long considered government as an appanage of their estates. The forms of that decorous assembly prevented any outward indication of excitement, but it was not felt the less strongly within; and it was hard to say whether the old Peers on both sides responded more strongly to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Eldon's explanation of their reasons for declining to hold office, or to Earl Grey's powerful and impassioned attack on the new premier. The division of the two Houses was clearly pronounced: the one presaged its approaching triumph, the other its coming downfall. A secret sense of coming change had ranged their members in unwonted combinations, and the vital distinction of interest and order had for the time superseded the old divisions of party.¹

LORD ELDON, who resigned with his Tory colleagues on this occasion, and from his advanced years, and the semi-liberal character of all subsequent administrations, never was again called to the labors of office, was one of the most remarkable men who ever sat on the Woolsack, and, from the decided uncompromising character of his political opinions, the most exposed to party violence and misrepresentation. Indeed, so uniformly has such vituperation, for a long period, attached to every independent intrepid character on either side in politics, that its intensity may be considered as not the worst test of real merit and ability. The people can tolerate any thing but independence of their wishes and commands; but they will not waste their abuse except on those they fear. The insignificant

67.
Importance of these events on England's future history.

¹ Life of Lord Eldon, ii. 604; Martineau, i. 437, 438; Ann. Reg. 1827, 100, 105.

68.
Manner in which the changes were received in Parliament.

¹ Parl. Deb. xvii. 410, 411, 722, 731, May 10, 1827.

69.
Character of Lord Eldon, who now retired from public life.

* The new Cabinet stood as follows:

In the Cabinet.—Lord-Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst; Earl of Harrowby, Lord President; Duke of Portland, Lord Privy Seal; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Bexley; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Dudley; Secretary for Colonies, Viscount Goderich; Secretary for Home Department, Mr. Sturges Bourne; President of Board of Trade, Mr. Huskisson; Secretary at War, Viscount Palmerston; First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Canning.

Not in the Cabinet.—Lord High Admiral, Duke of Clarence; Master-General of the Ordnance, Marquess of Anglesea; Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Devonshire; Master of the Horse, Duke of Leeds; Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Lamb.

Law Appointments.—Master of the Rolls, Sir John Leach; Vice-Chancellor, Sir A. Hart; Attorney-General, Sir Jas. Scarlett; Solicitor-General, Sir N. Tindall.—Ann. Reg., 1827, p. 105.

they pass over in silence. As a lawyer, Lord Eldon is now acknowledged, by all men of all parties capable of judging of the subject, to have attained the very highest eminence. He was the greatest of the many great lawyers who ever sat on the English bench. He was said at the time to be dilatory and undecided; but the first is now known to have arisen from the enormous and overwhelming mass of business with which he was oppressed; the last is the frequent accompaniment of the most acute and penetrating intellect. Men of such mental characters often seem undecided, not because they see little, but because they see much. Every thing which can be adduced on either side presents itself at once and so forcibly to their clear and far-seeing mental vision, that instant decision is impossible. Decision of character, the quality of all others the most important for success in life, often arises from the will being more powerful than the judgment; and the opposite side being disregarded, not because it can not, but because it will not, be looked at. Witness Napoleon's obstinate perseverance in the Moscow campaign.

As a political character, while there is every thing to esteem, so far as purity of intention, conscientiousness of disposition, and intrepidity of mind are concerned, there is less in Lord Eldon to admire without reservation. He was the very first of the steadfast class of statesmen, those who abide by the ancient landmarks, and resist as dangerous or pernicious every change from the established order of things. Such men must always be respectable, if their motives are disinterested, from the principles by which they are guided, and sometimes useful from the obstacles they oppose to hasty and ill-advised legislation; but they are as often detrimental, from the resistance they present to real improvement, and dangerous, from the vehemence which their firmness excites in the movement party. A great general is not he who never retreats, and would be cut to pieces where he stands rather than retire; but he who knows when to advance and when to recede, and prepares by cautious movements, whether to the front or rear, the means of ultimate victory. Wellington was even greater when he retired to Torres Vedras, than when he gave the signal of advance at Waterloo. It belongs to the highest class of intellect to discern the time and place for resolute resistance, and the season for judicious concession. But it is scarcely possible that this frame of mind can coexist with that of a great lawyer; for the latter is based on the invariable observance of, and vast acquaintance with, precedent; the former is dependent on the power to discern when it is to be discarded, and entrance afforded to new influences. In private life Lord Eldon was simple and unostentatious in his manners, kindly and affectionate in his disposition. During the quarter of a century that he held office, he made a judicious and conscientious use of the immense patronage at his disposal; and though he died rich, he had become so from the legitimate emoluments of his office, not any improper devices to increase his fortune.*

* Lord Eldon has left a curious proof of the grasping disposition of applicants for situations, in which all who

Although, however, liberal principles were thus in the ascendant in the Cabinet and the House of Commons, there was one question on which the Whigs had lost ground by the election. For the first time, for several years, the Catholic question was lost in the Lower House. The debate began on March 5, and was opened by a most powerful speech by Sir Francis Burdett. It continued three nights, and was concluded at five in the morning of the 7th, by a majority of *four against* the Catholics, the numbers being 276 to 272. The arguments were the same as those so often before urged, and of which a summary will be given in recounting the final debate on the subject. But the speech of Mr. Peel on this occasion deserves to be recorded, both from the weight of the arguments it contained, and the strange contrast it presented to those adduced by him so soon after on the same subject; and it was evident, from the increase in the anti-Catholic party in the House, and the manner in which his speech was received by the country, that, under a real representation of the people of Great Britain, the Catholic question had little chance of being carried.¹

Mr. Peel observed on this occasion: "The reasons advanced for the emancipation of the Catholics increase my dislike to it; and I can not admit that the great names pressed into the service stand at all in my way. Mr. Pitt had always ruled his reasons for the removal of Catholic disabilities upon grounds entirely different from those now adduced. When Mr. Fox proposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1790, a measure the same in principle as the one now proposed, Mr. Pitt repudiated the change in the strongest terms which it was possible for man to use; and in 1805, he said that he would not allow, at any time, or under any circumstances, the Catholics could claim the removal of their disabilities as a matter of right. Neither can I do so; and looking on it only as a question deeply involving the public good, I find myself unable to vote for what is termed Emancipation, and compelled to say frankly that I prefer a system of exclusion to one of securities."

"I fairly confess that I have a distrust of the Roman Catholics. I do not find fault with the faith of any man, and I think quite as highly of a Catholic as a Protestant; but if on a man's faith there be founded a scheme of political influence, then we have a right to inquire into that scheme; and I can not contemplate the doctrines of absolution, and confession, and indulgences, without having a strong suspicion that these doctrines are maintained for the purpose of confirming the influence which man exercises over

have had the misfortune to be intrusted with patronage will probably concur. On the eve of his retirement he thus wrote to Lady J. T. Bankes: "If I had all the livings in the kingdom vacant when I communicated my resignation (for what *since* that falls vacant I have nothing to do with), and they were cut each into three-score livings, I could not do what is asked of me, by letters received every five minutes, full of eulogies upon my virtues, all which will depart when my resignation actually takes place, and all concluding with: '*Pray give me a living before you go out.*'"—Lord ELDON to Lady J. T. BANKES, April 7, 1827; *Eldon's Life*, p. 531.

^{71.} The Catholic Bill is rejected. March 7.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1827, 48, 72.

^{72.} Mr. Peel's speech against Catholic emancipation.

^{73.} Continued.

man. What is it to me whether that authority be called spiritual or otherwise, if it is such as practically to influence man's conduct in society? Is it because religious doctrines are made subservient to worldly and political purposes that they are therefore to be excluded from the consideration of the Legislature in the discussion of the present question? On the contrary, if the authority derived from these doctrines be only the stronger on account of their being borrowed from religion, and misapplied to worldly purposes, that, in my opinion, furnishes an additional motive for closely investigating the doctrines themselves. When I find the Pope issuing bulls to the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, and such documents sent forth to four or five millions of people destitute of education, I must say that they are very apt to influence their conduct in life. When I hear, too, such doctrines ascribed to a desire to promote the pure doctrines of Christianity, I can not help having a lurking suspicion that they are rather intended to maintain a spiritual authority, capable of being applied to temporal purposes, which is said to be extinct, but which it is evident is still existing.

74. Continued. "I have no objection to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion as individuals; I quarrel not with their religious tenets as a matter of faith; but I am jealous of the political system which is ingrafted on those tenets; and I think I have a perfect right, on the present occasion, to consider what has been the influence of that political influence in different countries. Without going back to dark and distant ages, and viewing the effect of the Catholic religion, as it exists at the present day in different countries—in some where it luxuriates in undisputed growth, in others where it is only struggling for supremacy, in a third class where it is subordinate to another and a purer system—the result of my investigation and observation is, that it is expedient to maintain in this country the mild, mitigated, and temperate predominance of the Protestant Church. It is the natural desire of every man to promote the welfare of the religious faith to which he is sincerely attached. If Roman Catholics were admitted into Parliament, what could be more natural than that they should labor to extend the influence of their religious system over the country, and to bring it into closer connection with the Government? The consequence would be to bring the Catholic and Protestant religions into collision, in such a manner as might prove the destruction of the latter; and I consider the confusion and disorders which must prevail for ages before that event takes place as a greater evil than the event itself.

75. Continued. "Although I believe that the admission of Catholics into Parliament and the great offices would endanger the constitution, yet, if I was satisfied that it would tranquilize Ireland, and produce all the benefits which are anticipated from it, I would sacrifice my apprehensions to the attainment of so immense a benefit. But I can not bring my mind to believe that the removal of the disabilities would produce such a consummation. If, indeed, the friends of the Catholics proposed, after having carried this point,

to make the religion of the great majority of the Irish people the religion of the state, to restore the possessions of the Church to the Catholics, and open to them the great offices of state, possibly such a line of policy might appease and tranquilize the Catholics. But this they do not say; on the contrary, they disavow any intention to attack the Established Church. But if they maintain the Protestant Church, there will still be a barrier between the two religions: the real apple of discord will remain, only you will have augmented the power of the Catholics to produce the confusion. Would not the Catholic priests exercise their spiritual authority for temporal purposes? The priests have already been lauded for exercising their influence at elections, which they have done to an extent which is utterly unjustifiable; but that is nothing to what may be expected in future, if by such interference they have the prospect of advancing, for the interests of their faith and their temporal advantage, the measures of the Legislature. And this is the measure which is to tranquilize Ireland, and eradicate the poison of faction from the land.

"The influence of some great names, of some great men, has been lately lost to the cause I support; but I never adopted my opinions upon it from deference either to high station or high ability. Keen as the feelings of regret must be with which the loss of these associates is recollected, it is still a matter of consolation to me that in the absence of these individuals I have now an opportunity of showing my adherence to those tenets which I formerly espoused—of showing that, if my opinions be unpopular, I stand by them still, when the influence and authority that may have given them currency are gone, and when it is impossible that in the mind of any human being I can stand suspected of pursuing them with any view to favor or personal aggrandizement." The honorable consistency of Mr. Peel on this occasion deserves to be particularly noticed, and his sincerity can not be doubted; for the death of the Duke of York and of Lord Liverpool had deprived the Protestant party of their chief support; and the state of the Cabinet, and probable accession of Mr. Canning to its head, rendered the opinions then so man- 1 Parl. Deb. fully delivered to all appearance a xvi. 963, 971; very long, if not perpetual, exclu- Ann. Reg. sion from office.¹ 1827, 51, 55.

Equal, if not superior, to the agitation excited by the discussion of this great political question, was that awakened by the Government measure on the Corn Laws, which, in pursuance of the pledge given last session, the Ministers brought forward. The bill originally framed by Lord Liverpool's cabinet was introduced by Mr. Canning, on March 1st, in a speech of very great ability, which added another to the many proofs which history affords, that ability of the highest order is capable of application at the will of its possessor to any imaginable subject. He began by stating: "Every body admitted the necessity of protecting the agricultural interests; the only question was the mode and degree in which that

77. Ministerial measure on the Corn Laws.

protection should be administered. That protection is due to domestic agriculture can hardly be denied; and, on the other hand, stern inflexible prohibition can hardly be defended; for even those of the agriculturists who were most attached to it, uniformly made it a recommendation of their plan, that Parliament, if it were sitting, and if not, the executive government, might always step in, in cases of necessity. Three modes of protection had been proposed: the first, that of Mr. Ricardo, that the duty on wheat should be 20s. a quarter, to diminish a shilling with every year till it reached a *minimum* of 10s.; the second, a similar duty, lowering 1s. every year, but beginning at 16s. and coming down to 10s.; the third, a fixed duty of 5s. or 6s. once for all, without any reference to the price.

78. The great fluctuations of price between 1815 and 1822 proved that some modification of the Corn Law, introduced in the former of these years, was accordingly necessary, and a new act was passed which gave up unlimited protection, and recognized a certain duty; but the effect of it was in a great measure lost by a clause which declared that the new act should come into operation only when the price exceeded 80s., which it had never since done, so that the act had remained a dead letter. Instead of this, what is now proposed is, to adopt, not a fixed, but a variable duty, which should vary in the relative proportion to the price of corn. The duty on wheat is to be 20s. when the price has reached 60s. a quarter, and to diminish 2s. a quarter with every 4s. advance of the price, so that at 70s. all duty would cease. On the other hand, when the price was 59s., the duty would be 22s., and so on, till, when it fell to 55s., it would amount to 30s., which might be considered as equivalent to a prohibition. On inferior grains, the same variable duty, but at a lower rate. Barley, at 30s., was to pay a duty of 10s. a quarter; oats, at 21s., of 7s.: the former to diminish by 1s. 6d. for every 1s. advance in the price, and increase for every 1s. in the fall below that standard; the latter to increase or diminish by 1s." The obvious intention of this proposal was to fix the price of wheat as nearly as possible at 60s. a quarter, that of barley at 30s., that of oats at 21s.¹

79. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the arguments used on this occasion on either side, which were substantially the same as those adduced in the preceding session, of which an account has already been given.

Result of the debate in the Commons and Lords. But several very curious things occurred in the course of it, indicating at once the strength of the agricultural interest in the Legislature as then constituted, and the strange mistakes on the subject which were made on both sides in the discussion of it. "On a division," says the annalist, "the amendment was lost, and the resolutions of Ministers carried by a majority of 335 to 50; so small was the proportion of members from whom the agriculturists had to fear any very near approach to a free trade in grain." In the committee the majorities in favor of Ministers were generally 3 to 2, and the bill passed the Lower House ultimately without a division;

but its fate was very different in the House of Lords. Before it went there the change of Ministry had taken place; Mr. Canning was Premier, and the Duke of Wellington leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords. The Corn Laws, which so powerfully affected the interests of the greater part of that assembly, were deemed a favorable ground on which to combat the new Ministry with the forces of the old Tory aristocracy, and an amendment was prepared which it was hoped might prove fatal to the bill. The result did not belie these anticipations. There were, it was understood, above 500,000 quarters of foreign grain in bond in the country; and the Duke of Wellington moved as an amendment, that "no foreign grain in bond shall be taken out of bond until the average price of corn shall have reached 66s." This was resisted by Ministers on the ground that the effect of this clause would be to keep the average price up at 66s., and entirely defeat the principle of the bill; but on a division it was carried against them by a majority of 4, the numbers being 78 to 74. This majority, upon a subsequent division in a much fuller House, increased to 11, the numbers being 133 to 122. Upon this the Ministers threw up the bill, not without many expressions of anger and disappointment. Even Mr. Canning, in speaking of the subject in the House of Commons, in the last speech he ever made in that assembly, said that the Duke, "while meaning no harm, had made himself the instrument of others for their own particular views."¹*

As the Corn Laws were settled on a footing which lasted some years in the next session of Parliament, this defeat was a matter of little public importance; but three things are very curious, and deserving of being recorded, which occurred in the course of it. The first is, that Mr. Peel said, in reference to an amendment of Sir John Newport to raise the duty on wheat flour by a permanent duty of 4s. at all times, "no other country besides the United States could enter into competition with our markets, and she had not much to send. The largest importation of American flour was in 1817, and that was only 100,000 barrels, equal to 68,000 quarters." To us, who see several millions of American flour annually imported into Great Britain, this is a curious instance of the danger of legislating for future times, on the supposition that they are to remain the same as the present. The second was, that, from the returns of prices for forty-four years prior to 1827, the average price of wheat had been 56s. a quarter, of barley 30s., and of oats 20s. 6d. Third, these returns were referred to by Mr. Peel as affording the best criterion of the rates at which cultivation could be carried

* It appeared from a correspondence between the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson on this amendment, that the Duke had labored under a misapprehension of the views of Government regarding it. Mr. Huskisson stated that Ministers would not object to the amendment, understanding it to apply only to the corn "then in bond;" but the Duke of Wellington thought he meant they had no objections to the prohibition up to 66s. as a permanent restriction on foreign importation. There is no reason to doubt the good faith of either in the affair; but assuredly they were very different things.—See the *Correspondence*, June, 1827, in *Ann. Reg.*, p. 148, 153.

1 Parl. Deb. xvii. 1338; Ann. Reg. 1827, 147, 155.

80. Important and curious things occurring in the course of the debate

on at a profit in the British Islands; and so they would, if no changes in the currency had taken place during the period embraced by the returns. But it never seems to have crossed his mind that the successive expansion and contraction of the currency had entirely changed prices of every article of subsistence during their continuance, and that the price of food was much more dependent on the number of notes in circulation than even on the number of quarters of foreign grain imported. But that was the prevailing error of the age; and it speaks not a little for the penetration and statesmanlike wisdom of Sir Francis Burdett, that nearly alone in the House of Commons he supported the opposite views, and referred to the bill of 1819 as far more instrumental in producing the depression of prices, of which the agriculturists so much complained, than either the *vaxi.* 1119, riations of season or any importation 1122. of foreign grain.^{1*}

The finances of the country during the years 81. 1826, 1827, and 1828, exhibited a Finances of painful proof of the extent to which 1826, '27, '28. the industrial resources of the country had been affected by the monetary crisis of December, 1825, and the contraction of the currency by the suppression of small notes in the spring succeeding. There was no more boast of a remission of £12,000,000 of taxation in three years, as had been done in the three preceding years: it was with great difficulty, and only by pressing the dead-weight into the service, that a surplus of revenue at all above the expenditure was exhibited, or the real sinking fund in terms of the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1819. As the dead-weight was in truth a loan, paid annually by installments on the credit of future years, this view was of course fallacious, and gave a melancholy proof of the shifts to which successive administrations were now reduced to conceal the effect upon the finances which their own measures had produced. During these three years the entire taxation reduced was £261,000 a year; and the sums applied to the reduction of debt, funded and unfunded, were in all £15,993,902.²

² Porter's Parl. Tables, li. 6, 8.

* The following parliamentary return, referred to in the course of this debate, will show how close had been, in the preceding ten years, the connection between the price of grain and the amount of the currency:

Years.	Price of Wheat.	Circulation of Notes in England.
1818.....	84s.	£46,000,000
1819.....	73s.	42,000,000
1820.....	65s.	38,000,000
1821.....	54s.	34,000,000
1822.....	43s.	31,000,000
1823.....	52s.	35,000,000
1824.....	64s.	39,000,000
1825.....	66s.	42,000,000
1826.....	57s.	36,000,000

—*Parl. Deb.* xvii. p. 288.

Years.	Taxes remitted.	Money applied to Debt.
1826.....	£84,000	£5,621,231
1827.....	51,000	5,704,706
1828.....	126,000	4,667,965
	£261,000	£15,993,902

The finances of the three years stood as follows:

The other proceedings in Parliament during this session do not require particular notice, as they were chiefly the consequence of measures already adopted, and of which the bearing has already been discussed. Mr. Peel, though out of office, continued his meritorious labors for the reform of the criminal law, and the capital punishment was taken from many offenses which it was a disgrace to English legislation to have ever affixed to them. The silk-weavers and ship-owners made loud complaints of the manner in which their interests had been sacrificed at the altar of Free Trade, and referred to numerous arrays of figures in support of their petitions, which produced long and interesting debates in both Houses of Parliament. No result, however, followed from these discussions, except the usual one of confirming both parties in their opinions. The weavers and ship-owners referred, in support of their complaints, to the miserably low wages—not a half of those of the preceding year—which they were able to earn, and the diminished number of ships and tonnage they employed. Mr. Huskisson and the Free-traders replied by referring to the steady importation of the raw material, and the increase of the *entire* tonnage, foreign and domestic, employed in conducting our trade. Neither answer was decisive—for persons in distress generally try to compensate lessened profits by increased production, and thus enlarged consumption of the raw material arises from the very suffering of those engaged in working it up; and the question in regard to shipping was not how our whole tonnage, foreign and domestic, stood, so much as the proportion increasing or diminishing of the one to the other, which has been already ¹ Ante, c. fully given.¹ The curious thing, how- xix. § 30.

INCOME. ORDINARY.

	1826.	1827.	1828.
Customs.....	£17,280,711	£17,894,405	£17,235,408
Excise.....	19,172,019	18,483,707	20,759,635
Stamps.....	6,702,350	6,811,226	7,107,950
Taxes.....	4,702,743	4,768,273	4,849,303
Post-office.....	1,570,000	1,463,000	1,508,000
Lesser Sources	197,657	205,911	200,729
Ordinary rev.	£49,625,485	£49,581,576	£51,665,077
EXTRAORDINARY.			
Dead Weight..	4,380,000	4,245,000	3,082,500
Lesser Sources	889,501	1,005,930	339,564
	£54,894,989	£54,932,518	£55,187,142

EXPENDITURE.

	1826.	1827.	1828.
Interest of Funded Debt.	£27,245,750	£27,366,601	£27,146,076
Unfunded.....	831,207	873,246	949,429
Army & Navy Pensions....	2,800,000	2,800,000	1,692,870
Civil List.....	2,164,173	2,218,218	2,204,553
Publ. Advances	510,000	254,200	2,337,497
Army.....	8,297,360	7,876,682	8,084,042
Navy.....	6,540,634	6,414,727	5,667,969
Ordnance.....	1,869,606	1,914,403	1,446,972
Miscellaneous.	2,566,783	2,863,247	2,012,115
Do.....	1,060,024	1,217,964	.....
	£59,272,925	£59,068,778	£54,623,565

¹ Including charges of collection.

—*Finance Accounts in Ann. Reg.*, 1827, 264; 1828, 271, 272; 1829, 256, 258.

ever, is, that scarce any mention was made by either party of the contraction of the currency as affecting prices, and imposing a weight on the springs of industry which all the energies of the country were unable to shake off. And the insensibility of the Legislature to the complaints of the persons suffering under these changes is to be remarked, as one of the many causes concurring at this period to shake the confidence of the people in existing institutions, and spreading far and wide the opinion that any change would be for the better, and that some alteration had become

¹ Parl. Deb. xvi. necessary in the composition of a Legislature which had proved itself indifferent to the sufferings of the people.¹
1266, 1271; xvii. 547, 553, 1265, 1300.

When men's minds were in this unsettled state, and the working classes were in many places petitioning for some compulsory law to arrest the fall of wages, an event occurred which gave the ill humors which were afloat a definite direction, and turned them into a torrent which ere long became irresistible. At the last election—as is generally the case when parties run very high, and great exertions are made on opposite sides to increase their adherents in Parliament—bribery had prevailed to a very great, and, as it was said by the advocates of reform, unprecedented extent. Numerous petitions against returns upon this ground were presented, and in two instances—those of PENRYN and EAST RETFORD—the proof of corruption on the greatest scale was so complete that not only were both returns set aside, but leave was given to bring in bills to disfranchise both boroughs. The bill brought in by Government proposed only to extend the franchise to the adjacent hundred, that being, as Mr. Canning said, “a mitigated penalty suited to the nature of the offense proved, although, in more flagrant cases, such as Grampound, he should not hesitate to vote for total disfranchisement.” The Whigs, however, led by Lord Milton and Mr. Brougham, insisted for total disfranchisement, and an amendment to that effect was carried by a majority of 124 to 69. No resolution was taken concerning the place to which the franchise should be transferred, but great anxiety was already felt on the subject. The Liberals contended for Birmingham, the Conservatives inclined to the circumjacent hundred. Both parties felt the vital importance of the question, but they mutually feared each other, and the session closed without any determination having been come to on the subject. But the point was mooted, and could no longer be avoided; and this deserves to be

noted as the commencement of the great question of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.²
² Ann. Reg. 1827, 179, 181.

The session was closed by a speech from the throne, by the Lords Commissioners, on the 2d July; and an event of Mr. Canning's soon after occurred which made a profound impression on England and the world, and afforded a memorable example of the unstable tenure by which worldly greatness is held. Mr. Canning now saw every wish of his heart gratified. He had raised himself,

by the unaided force of genius and eloquence, from a private station to the highest position in the State. He was the Prime Minister of the Crown, the admired leader of the House of Commons, the head of an administration stronger than any since the days of Pitt, and looked up to, in every part of the world, as the protector of the oppressed, the enlightened asserter of liberal principles. He was still in the prime of life; he had done much in conciliating the regard of his Sovereign; his sway in Parliament was unbounded; and he might hope for a long career of fame, fortune, and usefulness. “Vanity, vanity—all is vanity!” the hand of fate was already upon him, and he was to be suddenly snatched from the scene of his glory, at the very moment when he seemed to have attained the summit of earthly felicity!

Though by no means of a weakly constitution, Mr. Canning shared in an infirmity common to all men of genius, and which, though it is sometimes concealed by the vigor of a powerful understanding, is never probably entirely absent from a mind gifted with the highest imaginative faculties. He was not irritable, but eminently *susceptible*; he felt kindly, but he also felt warmly; incapable of harboring an ungenerous sentiment, he suffered grievously under what seemed a want of generosity or justice in others. To a mind of this temperament, the very greatness to which he had been elevated became a source of anguish, the cause of disappointment. He had ascended the ladder, not at the head of his friends, but alone. At the summit of the battlement, he found himself surrounded by new faces, supported by former antagonists, while his old comrades, in sullen discontent, stood at a distance, lending no assistance. Cheered as he was from all sides of the House, leading a decided majority in his country, revered in every quarter of the globe, he yet felt that one thing was now wanting—the confidence of old friends, the sympathy of former associates. He had attained the pinnacle of ambition, but he found himself there in solitary grandeur. He felt like Burke: “I am alone; I know I have lost my former friends, and I am too old to form new ones.” The cold look, the averted eyes, the unreturned pressure of the hand, told at what price he had purchased his present elevation; and this was felt the more keenly, that his own heart was still overflowing with the generous affections, and he experienced in success none of the irritation which his former friends, perhaps not unnatu-
¹ Ann. Reg. 1827, 191.

These causes of irritation proved the more serious to Mr. Canning, that, although temperate in his general habits, and addicted to no excess, he participated in the pleasure, as much as he excelled in the powers of conversation; and when in company, he sought a momentary relaxation from the cares of office, the irritation at defection, in the brilliant and animated discourse which spread so great a charm over his private society. This insensibly led to a greater indulgence in the pleasures of company than was perhaps prudent in a person of his excitable temperament; and the result was an in-

83.
Penryn and East Retford are convicted of bribery. Commencement of the Reform question.

85.
His susceptible disposition and increasing illness.

84.
Proud position of Mr. Canning.

86.
His last illness and death.

flamed state of mind and body, which led to fatal results. On the 15th of July he became seriously indisposed, from having caught cold while sitting under a tree, when warm with walking, at Lord Lyndhurst's, at Wimbledon. On the 25th, he was, on the recommendation of his medical advisers, removed to Chiswick, the beautiful villa of the Duke of Devonshire, where he was lodged in the room in which Mr. Fox had died. His complaint, which turned into inflammation of the bowels, after having more than once abated so as to give hopes of convalescence, returned ere long with redoubled violence. His sufferings were dreadful, and painful to witness, but he never lost his serenity of mind; and on the Sunday before his death he had prayers read to him by his daughter, his custom always when he could not attend church. Shortly after this, his sufferings ceased, but it was from the commencement of mortification in the seat of the disease. He gradually sunk, and breathed his last on the morning of Wednesday, August 8th. His funeral, at his own request, was a private one; but he was laid in Westminster Abbey, among the ashes of the great, and it was voluntarily attended by a large concourse of the nobility and estimable persons, as well as an immense crowd of spectators, anxious to testify their respect to the first and most gifted citizen of a free people.¹

Mr. Canning's death made a prodigious impression in the world, second only to that produced twenty-five years after by the decease of the Duke of Wellington. It was not merely the genius and talents of the departed statesman, great as they were, which led to this sensation—it was the direction which they had latterly taken, the objects to which they had come to be applied, which caused the heart of the world to thrill with emotion. "His," it has been finely said, "was a life in which all put trust, more, perhaps, than they should in that of mortal, from the isles of Greece to the ridges of the Andes."² For the first time since the French Revolution, the Government of England, under his direction, had been turned to the support of democratic principles: he was looked up to as the head of the Liberal party throughout the globe. Great was the sensation produced by this conversion. The popular party in every country anticipated a speedy triumph to their principles, the immediate elevation of themselves to power and riches, now that the great antagonist State, which had conquered the child of Revolution, was brought round to the other side at the voice of this mighty enchanter. Proportionally deep was the gloom, general the distress, when he was thus cut off in the very zenith of his career, and at the very time when he had attained the means of carrying his principles into practice.

And yet there can be no doubt that these anticipations were fallacious, and that these hopes would have been disappointed had his earthly career been much prolonged. Mr. Canning was too great a man to be a republican: his was not the tem-

per that would yield to the dictates of an imperious democracy. Questions were coming on, and could no longer be avoided, which would have dispelled the illusion, and deprived the great commoner of the halo of renown with which he descended to the tomb. He was averse to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the steady and uncompromising opponent of parliamentary reform. His opposition to the Liberals on these questions would have speedily alienated the popular party, who can bear any thing rather than a check from their own leaders; and a few years more of his life would probably have seen the windows of the emancipator of South America barricaded, like those of the deliverer of the Peninsula. He was essentially Conservative and *national* in his feelings, and that was the secret of his otherwise inconsistent career. He was a Conservative on principle, a Liberal from feeling and ambition. His sympathies were with freedom; but his judgment told him it was not to be won by yielding to the people. His most celebrated acts, the expedition to Portugal and recognition of the republics of South America, were not, as the Liberals suppose, instigated by a desire to elevate popular power, but from a strong patriotic principle, and a desire to counterbalance the influence and divert the ambition of France.

Many of Mr. Canning's last acts, which occasioned so much excitement at the time, were plainly justifiable. His Review of his interference in favor of Greece, and his conclusion of the treaty of 6th July, which established its independence, was a noble act, called for by every consideration of justice and expedience, and calculated to avert one of the greatest evils of modern times, the government of the Turks in Europe. His expedition to Portugal was done on the call of an ancient ally, and necessary to maintain the character of England among nations, as well as stop the ambitious projects of France. But his interference in favor of the insurgents of South America, which chiefly gained him the applause of the Liberals, was an unjustifiable measure, calculated to partition the territory of an ancient ally, and spread the discordant passion for republicanism among a people unable to exercise its rights or bear its excitement. It has, accordingly, been attended with the most disastrous results. Mr. Canning said he resolved, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain and the Indies, and that he called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. What was this but to imitate the example of Maria Theresa, who said, when the Empress Catharine invaded Poland, "If you take Lithuania, it shall not be Lithuania with *Gallicia*; and I will appropriate the latter province to maintain the balance of European power." It is justifiable to assert the rights, and maintain, by fair means, the influence of your country; but it is a very different thing to do so by partitioning an ancient ally, and spreading a form of government, in a new hemisphere, unsuited to its character and ruinous to its happiness.

Mr. Canning's talents, both for business and debate, were of the very first order. Like all other men gifted with the highest class of intel-

lect, his was capable of application at will to

90. any subject; and the man whose eloquence and play of fancy had so often charmed and enchained the House of Commons was equally felicitous, when he came to discuss the details of finance or the corn averages, as Chancellor of the Exchequer or leader of the House of Commons. But though his powers were thus capable of various application, his disposition led him to the realms of imagination; his longing was to the world of fancy more than the world of reality: he was fitted by nature to have been a great author rather than a great statesman. As it was his powers of eloquence which gave him the lead in the House of Commons, so it was the qualities with which they were allied which cut him short at the highest point of his career. The susceptibility to sentiment, the fineness of feeling, the refinement of thought, which constituted the charm of his eloquence not less than logical precision its strength, were mainly owing to the unhappy sensitiveness with which, in poetic minds, they are so frequently allied, and which threw him, on the alienation of his friends, into the state of mental excitement which led to results that proved fatal to his constitution. If the brevity of his career as Minister gave him few opportunities of engraving his acts in indelible characters on the annals of his country, he made good use of the short time that was allotted him, and has left a name second to none, in point of brilliancy, of all the statesmen who ever guided the destinies of England.

The King, it is now known, had been personally hurt at the resignation of the six Cabinet Ministers when Mr. Canning was appointed,* and for this reason, as well as the strength of the Liberal party in the Cabinet, no attempt was made to offer the premiership to any of their party. Mr. Huskisson, whose health, as well as that of Mr. Canning, had suffered severely from the anxieties of office during the last six months, had gone abroad on the close of the session, and was in the Styrian Alps when the intelligence of Mr. Canning's death reached him. He was not, moreover, of sufficient weight in the House to justify his being placed at the head of the Cabinet. The King, therefore, as a matter of necessity, sent for Lord Goderich, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the days of prosperity, had been a very popular Minister, and he was appointed Premier. Mr. Huskisson succeeded Lord Goderich as Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Herries was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. His appointment gave such offense to the Whigs that Lord Lansdowne waited on his Majesty with his resignation of his office as Home Secretary, and was only prevailed on to hold it, on the assurance that it was not the King who had recommended him to Lord Goderich, but Lord Goderich who had recommended him to the King. Lord Harrowby retired from the office of President of the

Council, which was bestowed on the Duke of Portland, and Lord Carlisle succeeded his grace as Lord Privy Seal. Sir A. Hart was made Chancellor of Ireland, and Mr. Shadwell Vice-Chancellor of England. The Duke of Wellington, who had retired chiefly from a sense of personal slight on Mr. Canning's appointment, immediately resumed his place as Commander-in-Chief, though without a seat in the Cabinet. The Government, as remodeled, was, upon the whole, of a Whig character, though several members of it adhered to Conservative principles.¹

Lord Goderich's Cabinet has become a by-word in subsequent times; and certainly its troubled existence, and speedy termination without external causes, prove that the seeds of dissolution were from the first implanted in its bosom. It was not, however, from any deficiency in ability that this tendency to decay arose; on the contrary, the Cabinet presented a splendid array of names, which it would have been difficult to have found a parallel to, in point of ability, in any other list in the kingdom. Its weakness arose from that very ability itself, and the different sentiments with which its highly-gifted members were animated. The weakness of a coalition is in the direct ratio of the talent and vigor of its members; its strength of their weakness, provided there are one or two brilliant exceptions. What makes them, in general, after a brief period, fall to pieces, is not that they want talents to do great things, but that those things are different. Weak men of different opinions can hold together, because they all yield to the ascendant of superior genius; but strong men can not do so for any length of time, because no one will yield to another.

Though nearly impotent from this cause for good, the new Ministry showed, even in its cradle, it was adequate to evil. One of its first steps was to reduce to a third of its former amount the yeomanry cavalry of Great Britain, the numbers being reduced from 35,500 to 13,500. Various additions have since been made to this noble force, which unites the high and the low by the bonds of common loyalty to their country and each other; but it has never attained any thing like the numerical amount which it had then reached. This strange step was the more reprehensible that the military force of Great Britain, reduced to the lowest point by the clamor for economy, was dispersed over every quarter of the globe in defense of our colonies; that the alarming insurrections of 1820 and 1821 had been put down mainly by the yeomanry force, which had a moral influence much beyond its physical strength; and that the state of Ireland, as will be immediately shown, was so threatening that every regular soldier was required from Great Britain to prevent rebellion openly breaking out. All these considerations, how pressing soever, yielded to the desire to suppress the "Tory clubs,"* as the yeomanry regi-

* "The King blamed all the ministers who had retired when Mr. Canning was made Minister, and represented in substance, that it was they, and not he, who had made Mr. Canning minister."—Twiss's *Life of Lord Eldon*, iii. 82.

* The Author often heard them so designated at that time by persons of the highest eminence in the confidence of Government.

1 Ann. Reg.
1827, 191, 192;
Eldon's Life,
iii. 20, 24;
Huskisson's
Memoirs, 142,
143.

92.
Weakness of
the new Cab-
inet, and its
cause.

93.

Impolitic reduc-
tion of the yeo-
manry.

ments were called in private by the Whig leaders. This reduction excited the greatest discontent, and many of the regiments offered to serve without pay, but it was refused; a decision which demonstrated it was political, not financial, considerations which had suggested the reduction. It was a melancholy proof of the length to which party spirit can carry even estimable and able men, when the first use of power made by a great party, when they had obtained it after a long exclusion, was to weaken the bulwarks of the throne in order that they might extinguish the cradle of loyalty.

The divisions in the Cabinet were so well known that it was generally expected it would break up before the end of the year. It dragged a painful existence on, however, to the beginning of 1828. Matters were brought to a crisis in the first week of January by the necessity of appointing a finance committee, agreeably to a promise made by Mr. Canning, when opening the budget of the preceding year. The Cabinet, on the suggestion of Mr. Tierney, who took the lead on the occasion, had resolved on LORD ALTHORPE, eldest son of Earl Spencer, a Whig leader, who soon after rose to eminence. This resolution was taken with the concurrence of Lord Goderich, but without the knowledge of Mr. Herries, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, naturally thought he should at least have been consulted on such an appointment. The result was, that Mr. Herries tendered his resignation, which Lord Goderich received with considerable agitation. On his side, Mr. Huskisson intimated to Lord Goderich that he would resign if the nomination of Lord Althorpe was not carried through; and as Lord Goderich now deemed it requisite to put a veto on that appointment, Mr. Huskisson tendered his resignation, and Lord Goderich, seeing it impossible to carry on the Government, escaped the difficulty by resigning himself.¹

Nov. 30, 1827. The King, thus deserted by the Coalition Ministry, as a matter of necessity sent for the Duke of Wellington, who, albeit of military habits, and little skilled in the intrigues of courts, hastened, with his wonted patriotic spirit, to respond to the summons of his Sovereign. Few changes in the Cabinet, in the first instance at least, took place on his appointment. The Liberal Tories remained, but the decided Whigs retired. Lord Lansdowne resigned his situation as Home Secretary, which Mr. Peel, with the entire concurrence of the nation, resumed. Mr. Tierney resigned the Mastership of the Mint; Lord Melville was restored to his position as head of the Admiralty; Mr. Goulburn was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl Bathurst President of the Council. Sir James Scarlett resigned the office of Attorney General, and was succeeded by Sir Charles Wetherall. But the whole Canning party—Lord Dudley and Ward,

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1 Mr. Huskisson to Lord Goderich, Jan. 7, 1828; Ann. Reg. 1828, 9, 11. Jan. 8. himself.¹

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95. The Duke of Wellington appointed premier, and his Cabinet.

2 Ann. Reg. 1828, 9, 12; Martineau, i. 458, 459. Lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant—retained their places;² and even Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries, whose hostility had proved fatal

to the late Ministry, remained in power, not without some regret on the part of the friends of the former.

Mr. Huskisson, however, soon found that it is easier to retain office in a divided

Cabinet than public estimation by forming part of it. A question ere long arose, on which the divergence of opinion between him and the majority of his colleagues became apparent. The great question of parliamentary reform lay as a stumbling-block in their way, and it was brought on early in the next session of Parliament by the pending bills for the disfranchisement of Penryn and East Retford. The bill for the first passed the Commons without opposition, with a clause transferring the franchise to Manchester—the Tories trusting that it would be thrown out in the Peers, and wishing to throw upon the Upper House the odium of an unpopular step. But as a town had got one of the disfranchised seats, they contended, not without some show of reason, that the country should get the next; and, accordingly, they all voted, with the exception of Mr. Huskisson, against transferring the seat to Birmingham. It was carried against giving the seat to Birmingham by a majority of 19; the numbers, 141 to 122. Mr. Huskisson, however, voted with the minority; and deeming this deviation from his colleagues, on a vital question, a sufficient reason for not longer retaining office, he sent a letter to the Duke of Wellington, at two in the morning, after returning from the debate, resigning his office.* This resignation the Duke next day carried to the King, by whom it was accepted. Mr. Huskisson does not seem to have reckoned on this being done; for Lord Dudley, on his part, went to the Duke, to endeavor to convince his Grace that he labored under a mistake, and that no resignation was intended. The laconic answer of the Duke, however, since become proverbial, cut the matter short: "It is no mistake; it can be no mistake; and it shall be no mistake." The Duke persisted, after some correspondence, in regarding it in this light; and Mr. Huskisson being thus out of the Cabinet, his retirement was followed by that of the whole Canning party. Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant, immediately resigned, and this was soon after followed by that of the Duke of Clarence from the situation of Lord High Admiral. This last resignation, however, was on separate grounds from the general withdrawal of Mr. Canning's friends.¹

96. Mr. Huskisson's resignation on the East Retford question, and that of his friends. May 20.

These resignations deprived the Ministry of

"DOWNING STREET, 2 A.M., May 2.

* "MY DEAR DUKE,—After the vote which, in regard to my own consistency and personal character, I have found myself compelled to give on the East Retford question, I owe it to you, as the head of the Administration, and to Mr. Peel, as the leader of the House of Commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands, as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the King's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his Majesty's Councils, however unfounded in reality, or however unimportant in itself the question which has given rise to that appearance."—Ann. Reg., 1828, p. 15. This was couched in almost the express words of the resignation of Mr. Herries, not many weeks before.

its coalition character, and the Duke of Wellington proceeded with his usual decision in filling up the vacant offices. The persons to whom situations were offered were partly military; but the capacity they evinced in their new duties soon proved that the Duke had not been mistaken in his estimate of their characters.

Mr. Huskisson was succeeded in the Colonial Office by Sir George Murray, the tried and able Quartermaster-General in all the Peninsular campaigns; Lord Dudley in the Foreign Office by Lord Aberdeen; Sir Henry Hardinge, the hero of Albuera, was made Secretary at War instead of Lord Palmerston; Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was put at the head of the Board of Trade in room of Mr. C. Grant. The Cabinet was now reconstructed entirely out of the Tory party, and the weakness incident to a coalition was at an end. But it soon appeared that the days of Tory domination were also closed, and that even the decided will of the "Iron Duke" must yield to the necessities of his new situation,

and the opinions of a growing Liberal majority in the House of Commons.¹

One of the first debates in the next session of Parliament was on the celebrated speech from the throne concerning the battle of Navarino, which was justly looked forward to with great interest by all Europe, as embodying the sentiments of the new ministry on the Greek revolution. His Majesty then said: "In the course of the measures adopted with the view to carry into effect the treaty of July 6, a collision wholly unexpected by his Majesty took place in the port of Navarin, between the fleets of the contracting powers and that of the Ottoman Porte. Notwithstanding the valor displayed by the combined fleet, his Majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that this *untoward event* will not be followed by farther hostilities, and will not prevent that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede." These words, and especially the expression "*untoward event*," which was certainly unsuitable for so glorious an achievement as that which delivered an entire Christian people from the Ottoman yoke, excited an immense sensation both in this country and all over Europe, and was justly deemed an undeserved slight on the commander who brought on the engagement. They were obviously dictated by the strong sense which the Duke of Wellington entertained, and has often expressed, of the importance of the independence of Turkey to the general balance of power in Europe, and of the obvious fact that the de-

struction of the Ottoman fleet exposed Constantinople without defense to an attack from the Russians issuing from Sebastopol. But that has always been the inherent and insurmountable difficulty of the Eastern Question, that justice can not be done to the Christian population of Turkey without weakening its Mussulman Government, or independence given to its oppressed provinces without endangering that of the European States.

Ministers, much to their honor, brought forward, early in the session, a proposal for a suitable provision for the family of Mr. Canning, which had been raised to the peerage the day after his funeral. Richly as this testimonial to long and valuable public services was deserved, the proposal met with a strenuous opposition from Lord Althorpe, Mr. Hume, Mr. Bankes, and other leaders of the retrenching party in the House of Commons, who, while they admitted the splendid talents of the deceased, objected on economical grounds to such an appropriation of the public money. The grant, however, of £6000 a year was carried by a majority of 161 to 54, and the debate was chiefly memorable as containing a tribute from eminent men to the merits of the deceased. "That he was a man," said Sir James Mackintosh, "of the purest honor, I know; that he was a man of the most rare and splendid talents, I know; that he was a man renowned through Europe for his brilliant genius and philosophic thinking, not a member of this House can be ignorant; or that, with his best zeal, as well as with success, he applied that genius and those views of policy to advance the service and glory of his country. If there were those from whom he had differed—and can it be doubted that every politician will have some opposed to him?—this is not an hour when those differences should be recollected. A friendship of thirty-six years with him has given me, and I am not ashamed to confess it, a deep interest in any measure which is intended to do honor to his memory."²

The Finance Committee, which had proved so fatal to the Goderich Administration, was appointed without opposition; Mr. Peel was chairman, and both Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson were members. The Catholic question was again introduced, in a most eloquent speech by Sir Francis Burdett; and, after a prolonged debate of three nights, carried in favor of emancipation by a majority of 6, the numbers being 272 to 266. This majority, in a Parliament which, in the preceding session, had decided the other way by a majority of 11, proved how very nearly balanced the parties were on this momentous question, inasmuch that it was a mere accident which way the vote went. It was well known also that there was a division, nearly as equal, even in the Duke of Wellington's cabinet, on the subject; and this equality, alike in the cabinet and

* The Duke of Wellington's cabinet, as finally constructed, stood as follows:

First Lord of the Treasury, Duke of Wellington; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goulburn; Home Secretary, Mr. Peel; Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen; Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray; Lord Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst; Secretary at War, Sir H. Hardinge; First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville; President of the Council, Lord Bathurst; Privy Seal, Lord Ellenborough; Board of Trade, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Anglesea.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1828, p. 19, 21.

¹ Mr. Canning's eldest son, to whom the title descended, was in the navy, and perished accidentally soon after his father. Fortunately the pension was granted for the life of the second son, to whom the family honors descended.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1828, p. 78.

the Legislature, deserves to be specially noted, as obviously tying up the hands of Government, and precluding the adoption of vigorous measures against the Irish malcontents. It was, in truth, the main cause of the sudden conversion of the Duke of Wellington's cabinet on the subject, and the carrying of Catholic emancipation so soon after. It led, however, at the moment, to no practical result; for when the matter was

¹ Parl. Deb. carried to the House of Peers, it was xix. 378, thrown out by a majority of 44, the 375, 1294. numbers being 181 to 137.¹

The two great measures of the session were 101. the Corn-law Settlement, and the RE-CORN-LAW PEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION BILL.

ACTS. Both were legislative acts of the utmost moment; for the first settled for a long period the disputed question between town and country, and the last struck the first successful blow which had been delivered during a hundred and fifty years at the supremacy of the Church of England. It was obviously indispensable to come to some arrangement in regard to the Corn Laws—the bill for which, after having passed the Commons by a large majority, had been abandoned, as already mentioned, in the Peers, in consequence of an amendment deemed fatal to the principle of the bill, prohibiting the letting out of bonded corn, hav-

ing been carried by the Duke of Wellington.² The new bill, introduced xxi. 9 78.

now by Mr. V. Fitzgerald, adopted the principle of the sliding-scale, and made no alteration on the duties proposed the preceding year on barley, oats, and rye; but in regard to wheat the turning-point was different, beginning at 52s., when the duty was to be 34s. 8d., and falling 1s. by every shilling the price advanced, till at 73s. it became 1s. only. The bill met with considerable opposition, the agriculturists contending for a higher, the Liberals for a lower rate; but at length it passed both Houses by large majorities, that in the Commons being 202 to 58; in the Lords, 86 to 19; so firmly

fixed was the agricultural interest at this period, in both Houses, at no great distance, in point of time, from Deb. xviii. 1379, 1411, 1364, 1442. an organic change which was to deprive them of all protection whatever.³

So strongly was the cheapening party, notwithstanding this, entrenched in the Legislature, that Government brought forward a bill to prohibit the circulation of Scotch bank-notes in England. These notes, being for £1 each, were found to be extremely convenient in practice, and accordingly they every where crept across the Border, and were received at last in all the northern counties of England, as far as York and Preston. This was justly complained of as a grievance by the English bankers, who, restrained from issuing small notes themselves, found this profitable branch of their business taken out of their hands by strangers who still enjoyed the privilege of doing so. It never occurred to the Legislature that the system of excluding such notes from circulation was the really erroneous thing; and that the English public would not testify such anxiety to get Scotch notes, unless their circulation was found to be convenient in business

and advantageous to the operations of commerce. All these considerations yielded to the desire felt to contract the circulation, and rest it entirely upon a metallic basis; and in this desire the landed interest, in total blindness as to the effect of such measures upon their own fortunes, for the most part concurred. Sir James Graham—whose tenantry at Netherby, on the western border, had largely shared in the benefits of the Scotch notes, and who himself had published an able pamphlet against the existing monetary system—in vain moved for a committee to inquire into the subject. He was answered by the argument, that to make any inquiry would be tantamount to going back on our whole monetary system. The result was that the bill passed both Houses by great majorities—in the Commons by eighty-two to seventeen—and the circulation of Scotch notes in England was entirely stopped. Very great distress was in consequence brought on the northern counties, especially among the small traders and farmers, who had long been supported by the advances of the Scotch bankers in the same way as they every where were to the north of the Tweed. This law, which excited little attention at the time, deserves to be noted as one of the many circumstances which concurred at this period to spread distress among the industrious classes, and consequently dissatisfaction at existing institutions, and which were silently but irresistibly preparing a change in the constitution.^{1*}

¹ Parl. Deb. xviii. 982, 1033; Ann. Reg. 1828, 79, 83.

* This bill did not pass without the strongest opposition and clearest prophecy of future evils from the few in the House of Commons who entertained views different from those of the majority on the subject. Sir James Graham, who made a most admirable speech on the occasion, thus expressed himself: "To think that things could return to what they were before the war, was one of the most dangerous errors that could be entertained. The gentlemen opposite had contrived, however, not only to reduce corn to the standard that it maintained before the war, but in 1822 to 43s., lower than it had been since the Revolution. This miracle was produced by a very simple process—merely that of tampering with the currency, from which the landlord is sure to be the first to suffer. The value of money was heavily increased, while all contracts remained fixed to their nominal amount. The change bore down the amount of the landlord's receipt for his produce, while all the fixed charges and incumbrances on his property were increased. He was bound to pay in a currency 30 per cent. higher in value than that in which he had borrowed, and the consequence was that he must retrench, abandon the hospitality and liberality of his ancestors, and live like a niggard and degraded man, and squeeze his tenants like an oppressor, or the moneyed man in five years walked in and took possession. The error was in the system: we had attempted a change which we could not bear, and we should be compelled to abandon. A decrease in the quantity of money in any country is the first step in the high-road to ruin. The right honorable gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel) had said the other evening, in the debate on the Corn Laws, 'that the calling in the one-pound notes would increase the value of money, and consequently increase the amount of those duties out of which the protection was derived.'

"Suppose there should be a bad harvest. It is admitted that there is not more in the country than would afford a short supply. How was this to be made good but by an importation from abroad? and how could that be got but by an exportation of gold from this country? Here, then, would a want of currency be felt; and what was certain on the one hand would be uncertain on the other; for the intended limitation of the small paper currency would prevent the reissue of the notes, and this would bring about such a difficulty as was felt in 1825, the only difference being that the one case was a domestic demand for gold, the other would be a foreign. The results would be the same. It was foolish in the extreme, because the paper system wanted regulation, to abolish it at once, without inquiry as to the probable effects of the abolition.

The next important question of the session, however, was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which, in themselves momentous, acquired additional importance at the period when it was brought forward, from its being an obvious step to Catholic emancipation. To understand this subject it is necessary to premise that, by the 13th and 25th Charles II., all persons, before they were admitted into situations in corporations, or received into any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the Crown, were obliged to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. By the 16th George II. certain penalties were removed from persons who had not qualified in terms of this Act, who were appointed to situations under Government; but still it remained in force, especially so far as regarded situations in corporations, and acted as a barrier against the admission of Dissenters into places of trust and emolument at their disposal. As such it was regarded as one of the most important bulwarks of the Church of England; for not only did it prevent persons of adverse religious principles from getting into situations of trust, but it secured the advantages of such situations to those of the orthodox creed. On the other hand, the Dissenters alleged with reason that such distinctions were unjust and invidious between persons professing at bottom the same religious belief, and that it argued little of the strength in reason of the Established Church when it required to be propped up by such temporal considerations.

The question came on for debate on the 18th March, when it was argued by Lord John Russell, Lord Althorpe, the repeal. Mr. Smith of Norwich, and Mr. Fergusson.* "However necessary and proper these restrictions may have been at the time they were originally imposed, to guard against an existing and overwhelming danger, that necessity no longer exists. There then did exist a party in the country which was set upon undermining our institutions, and whom it was perhaps necessary to exclude from situations of power, lest they should carry their designs into effect; but is it possible to assert that any such danger now exists? What pretext is there

for any sacramental or other test to protect the Church from danger? Had any complaint ever been made against the principles and practice of such of the Dissenters as had got into office by the tests being not exacted during the last half century? Practically speaking, the act has been for nearly a century in abeyance, in Government appointments, and no danger had accrued to the Established Church. All that is now required is, to efface an obsolete but invidious and discreditable act from our statute-book. When it has been ascertained by experience that no danger exists, is it either just or wise to keep up distinctions introduced and justified only by its reality? It is never expedient to presume disaffection against any class of society: such presumption is more likely than any thing else to work out its own realization. Better, far better, to leave the opinion to prevail, that all men are equally bound to obey the laws upon the same obligations of common compact, than to take for one class as against the rest a form of words as a security which elsewhere was deemed unnecessary.

"Look at Scotland: the Presbyterian religion is the established faith of that country. It is therefore a State religion as well as that of England; yet its members are affected by these laws, and prevented from serving their King, but at the risk of incurring these penalties, or renouncing their religion. Why proscribe a whole nation, upon the pretext that it is necessary to defend the Church and State as by law established? Why deny a community of privilege to those who encountered equal dangers, and bore equal burdens? On what occasion have the people of Scotland failed to contribute their full share to the support of Great Britain? Did the Church of England aspire, like the Mussulmans of Turkey, to be exclusively charged with the defense of the empire? If so, let the Presbyterians and Dissenters withdraw, and it will be seen what sort of defense it will have. Take the battle of Waterloo, which has crowned the renown of the most illustrious leader of these times. Take from the field the Scottish regiments; take away the aid, too, of the sons of Ireland; what would have been the chance of their arms, divested of the Scottish and Irish soldiers who filled their ranks, and served their navy in every quarter of the globe? If, then, they sought their aid in the hour of peril, ought they to deny them their confidence in times of tranquillity and peace?

"Equally futile is the argument that these laws are necessary as a security to the Church, which must always find its true protection, not in exclusion, but in its moderation, its fair temper, and decent worship, conformable to the sentiments and consciences of the majority of the people. The Dissenters can have no views against Church property; for they did not hold that great wealth was a recommendation to a church; and therefore they would not seek to aggrandize themselves. So long as they were excluded from their civil rights on account of religious distinction, it is impossible that they can view the Church with feelings of good-will; but when it laid down the character of a persecutor, it will cease to be an object of jealousy.

It would be just as foolish to dash a watch in pieces because it wanted regulation. The paper currency was one of the great wheels of our system, and if it worked smoothly and without jerks, it was a most important one, for it was cheaper, and better, and more easily managed. I would say of a paper currency what was said in the *Inferno* of Dante to be inscribed over the gates of hell, 'Who enters here leaves all hope behind.' We have begun and gone on too far with the paper system to recede. The debt had been for the greater part contracted in paper, and must be paid in paper. It was impossible to think of taking any other course with effect."—*Parl. Deb.*, xix. p. 999-1010. One of the most curious things in history is the clear manner in which the consequences of measures are seen by some people, and the entire blindness to them in others. This might pass for a description of the monetary crisis of 1848, deduced from its real cause. Still more curious, perhaps, is the way in which, after the truth has been clearly seen, it is lost sight of, in after times, even by the same individual.

* Of Craigdarroch in Dumfriesshire, afterward Judge-Advocate of England, and a barrister of great ability in Calcutta, who had lately returned with a splendid fortune from India, and redeemed his ancient paternal inheritance in Scotland, and had been returned member for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

The question as to the security of the Church had been practically decided in other parts of the kingdom. If the security of the Church of England is founded on the Test and Corporation Acts, where is the security for the Church of Scotland, where no such acts exist? The Corporation Act never was extended to Ireland, and the Test Act there was abolished forty-eight years ago, and yet no danger has accrued to the Church of England from its want. In fine, these statutes are a relic of a former age, introduced when we were afraid of driving the Church into the arms of the Jacobites, wholly unsuitable to a period when the Church will look for promotion and favor through no other channel than the legitimate one of his Majesty's Treasury and Chancery. The obvious effect of the repeal of these laws will be, to render the Dissenters better affected to the Government, to dispose them to submit to the heavy burdens imposed on them

with cheerfulness, and, above all, it will be more consonant to the spirit of the age than those angry yet inefficient and impracticable laws which are a disgrace to the statute-book."¹

On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr. Peel and Mr. Huskisson: "The question is certainly attended with considerable difficulty; and it can not be said that it is interwoven with the interest of the Church of England, so that that establishment must fall if these acts are repealed. We are not, however, in an ancient monarchy like this, to alter every thing merely because it does not suit the idea of a subsequent age. If we were to do so, how much of our time-honored institutions would survive the changes of time? Is there any thing so absurd in these acts as to render their repeal necessary? If they are repealed, will the Dissenters be in a better situation? It is said, on the other side, the acts have been for nearly a century in abeyance, from the tests not having been exacted—if so, where is the practical grievance calling for their repeal? If, indeed, the large and respectable body of Dissenters really labored under the grievances of which they complain, a very strong argument would arise from that circumstance for their removal; but are the grievances now brought forward in Parliament really felt as such by the Dissenters out of doors? So far from it, there have been only six petitions presented on the subject from 1816 to 1827; and as to the petitions got up last year, they were obviously done so for a political purpose. During the discussions on the Catholic question, these acts were never once referred to as a practical grievance. So far from it, in the Catholic Relief Bill, while all other grievances were proposed to be removed, those arising from these acts were left untouched. Mr. Canning, the warm supporter of the Catholic claims, said, in the debate on that subject in 1825, 'This bill does not tend to equalize *all* the religions in the State, but to equalize all the *dissenting* sects of England. I am, and this bill is, for a predominant church; and I would not, even in appearance, meddle with the laws which secure that predominance to the Church of England. What is the state of the Protestant Dissenters? It is that they labor under no practical grievances on account of this difference with the Estab-

lished Church; that they sit with us in this House, and share our councils; that they are admissible into the highest offices of State, and often hold them—such is the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, as mitigated by the Annual Indemnity Act. This much, and *no more*, I contend the Catholics should enjoy.'

"We are told that in Scotland these acts operate as a proscription of a whole nation! Where, then, are the complaints from that country? From the whole population of Scotland there is not one solitary petition; so slight and impalpable is the grievance which is now magnified in debate into a serious ill. The Scotch have shed, it is said, their blood in the Peninsula and Waterloo. They have done so; and is there any military or naval office or command from which they have been shut out? But your test acts exclude them from the higher offices of Government. Why, look at the present Cabinet; out of fourteen members who compose it, three—Lord Aberdeen, Lord Melville, and Mr. Grant—are Scotchmen, and good Presbyterians. Even in England the shutting out is merely nominal. Last year the Lord Mayor of London was a Protestant Dissenter, and so in other corporations. The acts have practically gone into desuetude. In truth, the existing law merely gives a nominal preponderance to the Established Church, which it is admitted on all sides it should possess."¹

The bill was carried by a majority of 44 in the Commons, the numbers being 237 to 193. In the Peers it experienced a more decided opposition. Lord Eldon, in particular, was vehement in resisting it; declaring that, if these acts were repealed, there was nothing to hinder corporations being entirely filled up with adherents of the Church of Rome. The bill passed, however, with some trifling amendments, on 28th April, by a majority of 40, and soon received the royal assent. The only security taken was, that a solemn declaration, "on the true faith of a Christian," was substituted for the sacramental test of the former act.²

It was evident from this result, as well as from the tone adopted by Mr. Peel and Mr. Huskisson in the House of Commons, that Government were far from being in reality hostile to the change, and that they were by no means averse to being left in a minority on this occasion. The High Church Party were in despair. Lord Eldon declared "that, if he stood alone, he would go below the bar, and vote against the bill; and were he called that night to render his account before Heaven, he would go with the consoling reflection that he had never advocated any thing mischievous to his country." He added, "I have been fatigued and distressed by what has lately passed in the House of Lords. I have fought like a lion; but my talons have been cut off."³ It is evident now, however, that these apprehensions were groundless; and that the Church of England has been strengthened, instead of being weakened, by this just and wise removal of disabilities from the Dissenters. Religious dif-

¹ Parl. Deb. xviii. 1156, 1198; Ann. Reg. 1828, 87, 89.

^{107.} Answer of Ministers.

^{108.} Concluded.

¹ Parl. Deb. xviii. 1182, 1202; Ann. Reg. 1828, 94.

^{109.} The bill is carried in both Houses.

² Parl. Deb. xix. 42, 49; Ann. Reg. 1828, 100, 103.

^{110.} Reflections on this subject.

³ Life of Eldon, iii. 42, 43.

ference is never, taken by itself, a reason for political exclusion; it is when it is mixed up, as it unfortunately is in the case of the Roman Catholics, with political divisions, and subjection to a *foreign* authority, that such exclusion can alone be founded on it. It was obviously unjust to impose any test which had the effect of excluding any class of Protestant Dissenters along with the Catholics, because they acknowledged no foreign spiritual head, and their conduct had not afforded grounds for such disabilities. If, as was wisely alleged by Mr. Peel, the exclusion had virtually become obsolete, from the test never being called for, and the penalties removed by the annual bill of indemnity, that only strengthened the argument for a repeal of the statutes imposing them; for why retain irritating and obnoxious acts on the statute-book which might afford a plausible ground of complaint, and confessedly were of no real utility?

All these questions, however, were subordinate, and, in fact, but introductory to the great one of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, which in the course of this year assumed such importance as to force itself upon the consideration even of the most reluctant Government. The Catholics, who had, ever since the commencement of the Catholic Association, been moulded by the priests into a state of entire subjection to their spiritual and political leaders, had been very quiet during the brief period of Mr. Canning's administration, became more noisy and active under that of Lord Goderich, and, on the accession of the Duke of Wellington to the helm, suddenly started up into portentous activity. The Association, which had been struck at by act of Parliament, had never been in reality put down; its activity was only in abeyance; and on the return of the Tories to power, it recommenced its operations with the utmost vigor. No prosecutions were or could be thought of; for such was the division of opinion in Ireland, that it was next to impossible to get twelve men to agree on any political question; and by the strange infatuation of the English lawyers for their own institutions, without any regard to the character or circumstances of the people to whom they were applied, unanimity in juries was required where unanimity could never be expected. Thus impunity from punishment was certain, and the Catholic Association pursued its course with unrelenting vigor, under the direction of skillful leaders, who caused it to abstain carefully from any overt acts of treason, and were indifferent how much sedition was spoken in its assemblies.¹

But the Association had now acquired such power that its operations were no longer confined to empty declamation, but directed openly and avowedly to obtaining a majority in Parliament for its partisans.

A peculiar circumstance—the result of the unhappy extension of English institutions to a country unfitted for their reception—afforded great facilities for the attainment of this object. The forty-shilling freeholder, the stout yeoman owning a heritage worth £40 a year of our money, when he was enfranchised in England

in the time of Henry VI., had sunk by the change in the value of money sufficiently low even in that country; but in Ireland he had come to represent a class as different from the yeomen of England as darkness is from light. As every estate enjoyed for life constituted a freehold, the expedient was fallen upon of multiplying farms, or rather crofts, worth forty shillings each, and giving the tenants a right in them for life, in order to increase the political influence of the owner of the estates. The situation of Ireland—without commerce or manufactures over the greater part of its surface, and consequently without outlets for the younger sons of the land-holders—rendered this multiplication of voters a great object to the proprietors, because it promised to increase their influence at the Castle of Dublin, from whence commissions in the army or political appointments might flow. The priests cordially supported the same system, because, by multiplying the holders of land who had a bare subsistence and no more, it both increased their influence and enlarged the circle from which the heavy fees on marriages and births, the chief source of their income, were derived. Finally, the extension of the elective franchise to Catholics by Mr. Pitt, in 1793, let in the whole cultivators of that persuasion to the suffrage—a portentous state of things in a country possessing at that period above a million of cultivators. It is a curious but instructive circumstance, that the greatest misfortunes of Ireland in recent times have arisen from the extension to its inhabitants of the most highly-prized privileges of English subjects, and for which her own patriots had most warmly and resolutely contended.¹

Mr. O'Connell, and the other able leaders of the Catholic Association, saw the advantage which this state of things would afford them, and prepared to turn it to the best advantage. He did not destroy the battery, but seized it, and turned its guns against the enemy. Hitherto the land-owners had entirely directed the votes of their tenantry, and both would not have been more surprised if the mountains had fallen, or the earth opened beneath their feet, than if any separation had taken place between them. But now the fatal effects of the domination of a foreign power over the priesthood at once appeared. In obedience to orders received from Rome, and communicated through the Catholic hierarchy, the clergy of that persuasion every where set themselves with the utmost vigor to aid the efforts of the Association. In Mr. Sheil's words, one of their ablest supporters, "every altar became a tribune." Those who were slow in the work, or leagued with the enemy, were denounced in all the churches as enemies to God and His Anointed. Immense was the effect of this new engine applied to the human mind. The inflammatory harangues of the itinerant orators, who were sent down into every part of the country by the Catholic Association, were aided by the still more powerful voice which issued from the altar, and proclaimed the rewards of heaven to those who engaged in the good fight, the pains of hell to

111.

Rapid increase of disturbances in Ireland.

to the great one of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, which in the course of this year assumed such importance as to force itself upon the consideration even of the most reluctant Government. The Catholics, who had, ever since the commencement of the Catholic Association, been moulded by the priests into a state of entire subjection to their spiritual and political leaders, had been very quiet during the brief period of Mr. Canning's administration, became more noisy and active under that of Lord Goderich, and, on the accession of the Duke of Wellington to the helm, suddenly started up into portentous activity. The Association, which had been struck at by act of Parliament, had never been in reality put down; its activity was only in abeyance; and on the return of the Tories to power, it recommenced its operations with the utmost vigor. No prosecutions were or could be thought of; for such was the division of opinion in Ireland, that it was next to impossible to get twelve men to agree on any political question; and by the strange infatuation of the English lawyers for their own institutions, without any regard to the character or circumstances of the people to whom they were applied, unanimity in juries was required where unanimity could never be expected. Thus impunity from punishment was certain, and the Catholic Association pursued its course with unrelenting vigor, under the direction of skillful leaders, who caused it to abstain carefully from any overt acts

¹ Ann. Reg. 1828, 121 Martineau, i. 472.

of treason, and were indifferent how much sedition was spoken in its assemblies.¹

112.

Facilities which the forty-shilling freeholders gave to their designs.

A peculiar circumstance—the result of the unhappy extension of English institutions to a country unfitted for their reception—afforded great facilities for the attainment of this object. The forty-shilling freeholder, the stout yeoman owning a heritage worth £40 a year of our money, when he was enfranchised in England

113.

The Catholic Association gets the complete command of the forty-shilling freeholders.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1828, 122, 123; Martineau, i. 472.

such as were backward in the cause of the true faith. The effect of this, and of the admirable organization which, by means of the hierarchy and local clergy, the Church of Rome had established over the whole country, and their unbounded influence over their flocks, was, that the entire peasantry of Ireland were prepared, at the next election, to vote for the candidate

¹ Martineau, i. 472; An. Reg. 1828, 122, 123. of the Association in opposition to their landlords; and all other influences were utterly swept away.¹

The first trial of the new system was made in the county of Clare, on occasion of the vacancy occasioned by the acceptance by Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald of the office of President of the Board of Trade under the Duke of Wellington's administration. It proved eminently successful. There was no impediment by the existing law to a Roman Catholic sitting in either House of Parliament, excepting the oaths to be taken by persons elected before they took their seat, which were purposely intended to exclude persons of that persuasion, and had hitherto effectually done so. Mr. O'Connell, however, whose reputation as a lawyer deservedly stood very high in Ireland, pledged himself and his legal character that he would sit and vote in the English House without taking the oaths; and in this he was supported by the elaborate written opinion of Mr. Butler, an eminent English Catholic conveyancer. Fortified by this authority, Mr. O'Connell presented himself as a candidate for the county of Clare, and the whole Catholic influence of Ireland was immediately brought to bear on its electors. Mr. Fitzgerald was the sitting member—a Whig, an advocate of Catholic emancipation, a Cabinet Minister, and supported warmly by the whole body of proprietors, by whom he was much beloved. All these influences, however, which in former times would have been all-powerful, were blown to the winds by the first blast of the Catholic Association. Its emissaries and the priests traversed the county in every direction. Night and day the work of agitation went on—crowds assembled in every church, around every chapel: if an orator arrived at dead of night, he was surrounded by a crowd in five minutes. Nothing was thought of, nothing done, but the work of agitation. When the election began, Mr. O'Connell was proposed by O'Gorman Mahon, the secretary of the Association. Bands of electors, escorted by excited crowds headed by their priests, came pouring in from all quarters—all old influences and connections were snapped asunder, all former obligations forgotten. The result was, that, after a few days' polling, Mr. Fitzgerald retired from the contest, and Mr. O'Connell was declared duly elected. An objection to his return, upon the ground of his being a Roman Catholic, was rightly overruled by the assessor, upon the

ground that there was nothing to hinder a Roman Catholic sitting in Parliament except the taking of the test, and that it could not be anticipated *ab ante* that he would refuse to do so.²

Vast was the sensation produced by this victory, not in Ireland merely, but over the whole empire. The Catholics were every where in

raptures. Mr. O'Connell was lauded to the skies as a saviour, a deliverer; and in the first moments of his triumph he boasted, apparently with reason, that at the next election he would

displace eight-and-twenty county and borough members, and return such a majority of Catholics as would "make the Great Captain start," and compel a recognition of their rights even from a reluctant House of Peers. The Catholic Association had never been proceeded against under the Act of Parliament intended to put it down, from the certainty that the unhappy requisite of unanimity in the jury would cause any prosecution, how well founded soever, to fail; and now, after having gained such a victory, it became more audacious than ever, and was, in truth, the governing power in the country. The Catholics became so threatening, they met so often, and in such enormous masses, that the Orangemen in the north, justly alarmed, organized themselves in a counter-defensive league, which was immediately denounced in the most violent terms by the Roman Catholics. It is a curious circumstance, that none are so alive to the dangers of any proceedings, or declaim against them so violently, as those who are engaged in, or prepared to set about, similar acts themselves.¹

So bold did the Catholic leaders become, and so fully did they rely on the number and organization of their followers, that one of the most unscrupulous of their number, Mr.

Lawless, openly boasted that he would beard the lion in his den, and enter the strong-holds of the Orange party in the north at the head of fifty thousand Catholics. In effect, he did enter several Protestant towns, at the head of thirty thousand, banded, and marching in military array. This so roused the Orangemen that they mustered in similar numbers, and on the day on which he had announced his intention of entering Armagh, they were assembled in its vicinity in such numbers that he was obliged to turn aside and desist from his purpose. He proceeded to Ballybay, in Monaghan, which he entered, according to his own account, at the head of 250,000 followers, and who perhaps might amount to a fifth of the number. So sturdy, however, was the resistance of the Protestants, that it led to bloodshed in some quarters; and the Catholic Association, not deeming things sufficiently advanced, issued orders to stop these tumultuous assemblages, which order was immediately and universally obeyed: so complete was the discipline and organization of the country under their orders. Meanwhile crime every where diminished and agrarian outrages disappeared, inso-much that the judges every where congratulated the grand juries upon the unprecedented lightness of the calendar! A perilous and portentous state of things, when faction and party spirit have gained such a command of a country that it has fettered even the tendency to crime itself, and turned outrage, from separate acts, into one united volume to overwhelm the State.²

The condition of Ireland at this period was

115.

Immense results of this triumph.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1828, 129, 130; Martineau, i. 474.

116.

Mr. Lawless's progress to the north.

² Ann. Reg. 1828, 135, 140; Martineau, 476, 479.

described with not less truth than eloquence, in a speech delivered by Mr. Sheil, a leading orator of the Catholics in the Association in Dublin, in the end of September. "The Catholics," he said, "have attained the perfection of national organization; they have almost reached the excellence of military array. But an immense population, thus united, thus affiliated, thus controlled, in such a state of complete subordination, affords matter of the most solemn meditation. A feeling of expectation has begun to manifest itself among the people; they put painful questions. But if the state of the Catholics be deserving of attention, that of the Protestants calls also for remark. It is in vain for us to hide it from ourselves. The Protestants are becoming every day more alienated by our display of power. The great proprietors, and all who have an influence in the State, are anxious for a settlement of the question; but still their pride is wounded, and they see with some disrelish the attitude of just equality which we have assumed. Our Protestant advocates, with some exceptions, declined to attend our late meetings. As individuals, I hold them in no sort of account; but their absence is a feature in the existing circumstances of the country. It is clear that the division between Catholic and Protestant is widening. They were before parted, but they are now rent asunder; and while the Catholic Association rises up from the indignant passions of one great section of the community, the 'Brunswick Club' is springing out of the irritated pride and sectarian rancor of the Protestants of Ireland. The Catholic Association owes its parentage to heavy wrong operating on deeply sensitive and strongly susceptible feelings. The Protestant Association has its birth in the hereditary love of power and inveterate habits of domination. These two great rivals are brought into political existence, and enter the lists against each other. As yet they have not engaged in the great struggle—they have not closed in the combat; but as they advance upon each other, and collect their might, it is easy to discern the terrible passions by which they are influenced, and the full determination with which they rush to the encounter. Meanwhile the Government stand by, and the Minister folds his arms, as if he were a mere indifferent observer, and the terrific contest only afforded him a spectacle for the amusement of his official leisure. He sits as if two gladiators were crossing their swords for his recreation. *The Cabinet seems to be little better than a box*

¹ Ann. Reg. 1828, 140, 141. *in an amphitheatre, from whence his Majesty's Ministers may survey the business of blood."*

At length appearances became so threatening, especially in Tipperary, where the people were on the verge of insurrection, that the able leaders of the Association, who were aware how soon they would be crushed in the field by the military strength of England, deemed it necessary to interfere to moderate the movement. Notwithstanding all their boasts, they were well aware that their millions would only be an incumbrance in the field, from the impossibility of arming or feed-

ing such multitudes. "In a week," said Mr. Sheil, "they would cut us down." It was wisely resolved, therefore, to postpone the insurrection which had been so often threatened, and trust only to agitation, and the display of vehement popular excitement. The Association accordingly passed resolutions condemning the meetings lately held in Tipperary, "*humbly imploring*" the Catholic clergy to co-operate with them in carrying this resolution into effect; calling on Mr. O'Connell to exert his deserved influence over the people of Tipperary in deterring them from holding such meetings. He immediately obeyed the injunction, and issued an address to the people of the county of Tipperary, conjuring them to discontinue these alarming assemblages.* Such was the influence which he possessed with the peasantry, and so perfect the system of organization and discipline to which, under the direction of their priests, they had been brought, that a vast assemblage of not less than fifty thousand persons in Tipperary, arrayed in uniform equipments, with flags and drums, was arrested by single messengers of the Association, bearing copies of his address, who met the bodies which were pouring into the town. In one place only, at Castletown, where they were not so met, a collision took place with the police, the barracks were attacked, and the police obliged to seek safety in flight.¹

Encouraged by this movement on the part of their opponents, the Cabinet at length gave symptoms of life. On 1st October a proclamation came forth from the Lord-Lieutenant, enjoining that to be done which the Association had already enjoined to be done for them. Meetings such as those which had taken place in Tipperary were denounced as illegal, and the magistrates were called on to suppress them. It was unnecessary. The meetings had already disappeared at a more powerful voice—that of Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Lawless was held to bail for his heading of the Monaghan meeting, but no ulterior proceedings were adopted. With such success were the efforts of the Association and Mr. O'Connell to regulate the movement attended, that early in October he said, at a meeting of the Association: "We had taken care to render Tipperary so tranquil that a single policeman was scarcely required to preserve the peace. There the proclamation of Government was issued, but we had quieted the country before it came forth, and the Government but heel-tapped the work which had already been done by the Catholic Association."²

* "Obey the laws; follow the advice of the Catholic Association; listen to the counsels I will give you; discontinue those large meetings; avoid secret societies and illegal oaths; contribute according to your means to that sacred and national fund the Catholic Rent; cultivate your moral duties; attend seriously and solemnly to your holy and divine religion. You will then exalt yourselves as men and Christians. Bigotry and oppression will wither from among us. *A parental Government, now held out to us, will compensate for centuries of misrule. I adjure you, however great may be your irritation, not to commit any breach of the peace, which is just the very thing by which your enemies would be delighted, and which would rive the hearts of your friends with unutterable agony.*"—*Mr. O'Connell's Address*, Sept. 26, 1828; *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, 142.

117.
Mr. Sheil's
description
of Ireland
at this pe-
riod.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1828, 141,
143; Mar-
tineau, i.
477, 478.

119.
Proclamation
of Govern-
ment against
the meetings.
Oct. 1, 1828.

² Ann. Reg.
1828, 141;
Martineau,
i. 478.

118.
The Catholic
Association
interferes to
moderate the
transports.

These proceedings in Ireland, and, above all, the decisive evidence which had been afforded of the entire and thorough control which the leaders of the Catholics had obtained over the whole body, excited the greatest alarm in England; and the friends of the Protestants condemned Government in no measured terms for permitting the agitation to go on, and not at once putting it down by the arrest and trial of its leaders. Meetings were held in various places to give expression to this feeling; and one on Penenden Heath, in Kent, on October 1, was so remarkable as to deserve especial notice. It was attended by twenty thousand persons, for the most part of a very superior class; and a motion condemnatory of the proceedings in Ireland, and expressing their "inviolable attachment to those Protestant principles which have proved to be the best security for the civil and religious liberty of the kingdom," was carried on the motion of the Earl of Winchelsea, seconded by Sir E. Knatchbull, the county member, by a large majority. Similar meetings were held in Leeds, Leicester, and other places. These meetings immediately became the object of the most violent abuse by the whole Catholic party in England and Ireland, who unhesitatingly condemned that as treason and revolution which was only a slight imitation of their own example.¹

¹ An. Reg. 1828, 145.

If Ireland, however, was thus falling into a state of pacific anarchy and smothered insurrection, to which there is perhaps no parallel to be found in any other age or country, it was not without the most vigorous opposition on the part of the chief magistrate of the State that the change was going forward. The King strongly urged the adoption of decisive measures against the Roman Catholics. He disapproved of the Association Bill as too inefficient, and, in particular, impressed upon his Ministers his opinion of the necessity of acting decidedly on occasion of Mr. Lawless's crusade into the north of Ireland in the autumn of 1848. So strongly was his Majesty's opinion expressed on this point, that he afterward said to Lord Eldon, in a confidential interview, "that every thing was revolutionary; that the condition of Ireland had not been taken into consideration; that the Association Bill had passed both Houses before he had seen it; that it was a very inefficient measure, compared to those which he had himself in vain recommended; that he had frequently suggested the necessity of putting down the Roman Catholic Association, and suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, especially at the time that Lawless made his march; that he was in the condition of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that he had nothing to fall back upon; that he had been deserted by the aristocracy who had supported his father; and that every thing was tending to revolution."²

² Eldon's Life, iii. 83, 84.

But although the King thus felt and spoke as became a king of England, and with the hereditary courage of his race, when he urged a more vigorous course upon his Ministers, yet they, being charged with the execu-

tion of the laws, had a very different task to perform, and were beset with difficulties which were not so obvious to one in his exalted station. They had to consider, not merely what was in itself wise, and, *if practicable*, would at once have remedied the existing disorders, but what was really practicable under existing circumstances. They experienced now the force of the eternal truth, that a constitutional monarchy, when united the strongest, is, when disunited, the weakest of all governments. So divided was not only Ireland, but Great Britain, upon this question, that it had become more than doubtful whether any means of coercion really remained to the executive. The unhappy extension of English institutions to a people wholly unsuited for their reception, had rendered Government in Ireland almost powerless. If prosecutions were tried, the necessity of unanimity in juries, in a country where it was hopeless to expect it, rendered it almost certain they would fail. If a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was attempted, it was more than doubtful whether, in a House of Commons now equally divided on the Catholic question, it would be carried; and if carried, it was quite certain that its execution would give rise to endless heats and animosities. O'Connell was already powerful enough; there was no need of augmenting his sway by stretching out to him the crown of martyrdom. If a dissolution was resorted to, an increase of anti-Catholic members might be expected in Great Britain; but would they not be more than neutralized by thirty or forty seats which would certainly be changed in Ireland, and, under the new-born influence of the priesthood, filled with the most violent Romish revolutionists? It was quite certain that the Liberals of every shade would unite together, both in and out of Parliament, to keep alive the agitation in both islands, and drive home a wedge in the Cabinet by which they hoped to split asunder the Administration, and terminate the ascendancy of Tory counsels in the Government. Even the army, if matters came to extremities, was not to be entirely relied on; for although the fidelity of the officers in every arm might confidently be trusted, and the cavalry, almost entirely composed of Englishmen, and the artillery, of Scotchmen, would certainly adhere to their duty, yet defections might take place in the infantry, two-thirds of which was composed of Irishmen; and the history of the Continental states during the last half century contained too many proofs of the fatal results to which the treachery of a single regiment might lead.

These difficulties strongly presented themselves to the Cabinet ministers, and especially the Duke of Wellington, whose mind, eminently practical and sagacious, had been trained, amidst the ever-changing vicissitudes of military warfare, to abandon old positions, and take up new ones when the former had become untenable, and who looked rather to the real and lasting interests of the State than to the individual consistency or reputation of the public men intrusted with its defense. From the time, accordingly, that the Catholic Association had become so formidable, and the Clare election had proved how powerfully it

^{122.} Difficulties with which the question was beset.

^{123.} Commencement of yielding in the Cabinet. July and August.

might be brought to bear on the majority in Parliament, the necessity of "settling the question," as it was called—that is, conceding all the demands of the Catholics—had been secretly discussed in the Cabinet, and plans regarding it submitted to the King. His Majesty, however, was immovable, and not only manifested the utmost repugnance to any concession, but again and strongly urged the adoption of vigorous coercive measures against the Romish agitators. Beset thus with difficulties on all sides, the Ministers determined on feeling their way with the country, and for this purpose putting forward a confidential agent, whose words, if imprudent or unsuccessful, might be disavowed by the Government. This expedient, so well known in the diplomacy of despotic states, and more easily vindicated on grounds of expedience or necessity than either integrity or honor, was early resorted to; and the person selected was Mr. Dawson, one of the members for the county of Londonderry, brother-in-law to Sir R. Peel, and holding office under Government. The time and place chosen was a public dinner given at Londonderry, on the 12th August, to celebrate the defense of that city against the Catholic arms of James II.

Mr. Dawson said on this occasion: "The state of Ireland is an anomaly in the history of civilized nations. It is true we have a government to which an outward show of obedience is given, which is responsible to Parliament, and answerable to God for the manner of administering its functions; but it is equally true that an immense majority of the people look up, not to the legitimate Government, but to an irresponsible and self-constituted Association, for the administration of the affairs of the country. The peace of Ireland depends, not upon the government of the King, but upon the dictation of the Catholic Association. It has defied the Government, and trampled upon the law of the land; and it is beyond contradiction, that the same power which banished a Cabinet minister from the representation of his county, because he was a minister of the King, can maintain or disturb the peace of the country, just as it suits the caprice or ambition of those who exert it. The same danger impends over every institution established by law. The Church enjoys its dignity, and the clergy their revenues, by the laws of the land; and we know not how soon the Catholic Association may issue its anathemas against the payment of tithes; and what man is hardy enough to say the Catholic people will disobey its mandates? It depends on the Catholic Association whether the clergy receive their incomes or not. The condition of the landlords is not more consoling. Already they have become ciphers on their estates; in many places they have become, worse still, the tools of their domineering masters, the Catholic priesthood; and it depends upon a single breath, a single resolution, of the Catholic Association, whether they are robbed of their rents or not. So perfect an organization was never yet achieved by any body not possessing the legitimate power of government. It is powerful, it is arrogant, it derides, it has triumphed over the enactments of the Legislature, and it goes on filling its coffers from the voluntary

contributions of the people. There is but one alternative—either to crush the Association, or to look at the question with an intention to settle it. *The latter is the course I prefer*; the former is neither practicable nor desirable."¹

This speech, coming from the quarter it did, made an immense sensation. The Catholics shouted victory; the Protestants, amazed and dejected, could only express their indignation in impotent declamation. Such was the consternation produced, that Mr. Dawson was disavowed, and deprived of his situation. It soon appeared, however, from still higher authority, that some settlement of the question was in the contemplation of the Cabinet. Dr. Curtis, titular Catholic Primate of Ireland, who, when in a situation at Salamanca, had been intimate with the Duke of Wellington during his Peninsular campaigns, addressed a letter to his Grace on the state of Ireland, to which he returned an answer, in terms cautious indeed, but indicating, not obscurely, an intention to concede emancipation.* This letter was carried by Dr. Curtis to a meeting of the Catholic Association, where it was received with tumultuous applause, and universally considered as an indication on the part of the Government to yield. A still more unequivocal symptom of the same disposition appeared, a few days afterward, in a letter of the Marquess of Anglesea, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to Dr. Curtis, on receiving a copy of the Duke's letter, in which emancipation was openly spoken of as the only means of pacifying Ireland.† Whatever the views of the Cabinet

* "I have received your letter of 4th December; and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the State, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory result."—WELLINGTON to DR. CURTIS, Dec. 11, 1828; *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, p. 149.

† "I venture to offer my opinion upon the course which it behoves the Catholics to pursue. Perfectly convinced that the final and cordial settlement of this great question can alone give peace, harmony, and prosperity to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, I must acknowledge my disappointment on learning that there is no prospect of its being effected during the present session of Parliament. I, however, derive great satisfaction from observing that his Grace is not wholly averse to the measure; for, if he can be induced to promote it, he of all men will have the greatest facility in carrying it into effect. . . . I differ from the opinion of the Duke, that an attempt should be made to 'bury in oblivion' the question for a short time. First, because the thing is utterly impossible; and, next, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming that, if the Government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years in Ireland will be to be reacted. What I do recommend is, that the measure should not be for a moment lost sight of; that anxiety should continue to be manifested; that all constitutional (in contradiction to merely legal) means should be resorted to, to forward the cause; but that, at the same time, the most patient forbearance, the most submissive obedience to the laws, should be inculcated; that no personal and offensive language should be held toward those who oppose the claims. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause, and the growing liberality of man-

124.

Mr. Dawson's
speech at Lon-
donderry.
Aug. 12.

125.

Ambiguous
letter of the
Duke of
Wellington,
and explicit
one of the
Lord-Lieu-
tenant.

were at this period, this letter went beyond them; and it was deemed necessary to mark the disapproval of it by a very decided measure. The next post brought the recall of Lord Anglesea from the government of Ireland, and the appointment of the Duke of Northumberland in his stead.¹

But whatever vacillation the Cabinet may have experienced at this juncture, there was none evinced by the leaders of the Catholics. On the contrary, the more that disunion appeared in the ranks of their adversaries, the more united did they become, and the more loudly did they proclaim their determination to abate in nothing from their claims, to accept of no compromise, to take every thing that was offered, but agitate unceasingly for the remainder. "The detailed paltry question of political discount," said Mr. O'Connell, "shall not be listened to. We despise, we abhor it. We degraded ourselves by such a traffic before, and it would be double delinquency to assent to it again. I therefore want that we should pledge ourselves to have unqualified emancipation, or nothing at all. I don't care if the Government bring in a bill for our relief unconnected with any existing privileges. *We will take any thing they give us.* They owe us twenty-eight shillings in the pound. Let them give us fifteen shillings in the pound; *we will proceed against them for the remainder.* We'll take the installment, and demand the residue with greater earnestness. I'll not object to any bill for our emancipation, if we were only to look at it; for since the abominable Union we have not gotten the least increase of our rights. I am not, therefore, opposed to partial relief; all I say is, that I shall oppose any bargain or absurd securities with all my force. I myself may be taunted with consenting to the measure called 'the Wings,' for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders in 1825. I know that I deserve that reproach; and I answer to those who assail me, that the only way in which I can atone for my error is, by a firm and determined opposition to any encroachments hereafter. *Sooner than give up the forty-shilling freeholders, I would go back to the penal code.* They form part of the constitution: their right is as sacred as that of the King to the throne, and it would be treason against the people to make any attempt to disfranchise them. I am loyal to the throne; but if an attempt were made to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders, I would conceive it just to *resist that attempt with force*, and in such resistance I would be ready to perish in the field or on the scaffold." In pursuance of this principle, the Association unanimously passed a resolution "that they would deem any attempt to deprive the forty-shilling freeholders of their franchise a direct violation of the constitution." "The Duke of Wellington," said Mr. Sheil, "could not adopt a plan

kind. It is the Legislature which must decide this question: and my greatest anxiety is, that it should be met by the Parliament under the most favorable circumstances, and that the opposers of Catholic emancipation should be disarmed by the patient forbearance, as well as the unwearied perseverance of its advocates."—Marquess of Anglesea to Dr. CURTIS, 23d Dec. 1828; *Ann. Reg.*, 1828, p. 150, note.

more calculated to throw the country in a blaze than such an atrocious attempt at spoliating the rights of the Irish people. I trust he will not pursue this course; but if he should, I tell him we would rather submit forever to the pressure of the parricidal code, which crushed our fathers to the grave, than assent to this robbery of a generous peasantry's privileges."¹

While the nation was in a state of the most anxious suspense from these alternate indications of policy, and all eyes were turned toward the meeting of Parliament, when something definite might be expected on the subject, the Cabinet was not only at first divided in regard to it, but they experienced, when they became united, the most strenuous opposition on the part of the Sovereign to any concession. The Duke of Wellington was the first of the anti-Catholic party in the Cabinet who became convinced of the necessity of yielding, and when he first communicated his views to Mr. Peel, the latter acquiesced in them, but declared his intention of resigning both his situation in the Cabinet and his seat for Oxford. It would have been well for his reputation if he had adhered entirely to his first impression; but he was induced to forego it,* upon the representation that it would be a dereliction of duty to desert his Sovereign and the prime-minister on a crisis like the present, when that Sovereign was probably suffering more than any of his confidential servants. He contented himself, therefore, though with great reluctance, with resigning his seat for Oxford, and consented to bring in the bill into the House of Commons. The Cabinet was then united on the subject; but when they came to the King they experienced the utmost resistance. George IV., with all his faults,

* "I know well that all personal feelings must be subordinate to the public good; but I can not help feeling, at the same time, that my own position was materially different from that of any other Minister, and I would willingly have retired from that interference in the settlement of the question which now devolved upon me. In the course of the discussions, however, connected with the consideration of this subject, my noble friend (Wellington) said that my retirement would greatly embarrass him; and this being the case, and it having been proved to my satisfaction that the difficulties in the way of settling the question would be increased if I pressed my retirement, I said to my noble friend, that if such was likely to be the consequence, no consideration should induce me to urge my own personal wishes, but that I was ready to uphold, in my place, a measure which I was firmly convinced had now become necessary. My noble friend has done every thing in his power to render the measure about to be proposed satisfactory to all parties; neither had he, in the consideration of this measure, been at all intimidated by the proceedings of the Catholic Association. My noble friend had felt it to be his duty to advise his Majesty to resort to the proposed measure, and would not allow any imputations which he felt to be unjust to influence his conduct. To myself, the adoption of this measure has been a most painful sacrifice. I have done all in my power to free myself from any engagements which might prevent me from exercising the most unfettered judgment on this vital question. I considered the path which led to a satisfactory settlement of it to be, under all the circumstances of the country, the course most free from peril; and whatever part I may have taken on former occasions with respect to this question, I considered it perfectly reconcilable with my duty, as a member of that House and a servant of the Crown, to do all I could to fulfill the solemn injunction of his Majesty to consider this question, involving so deeply not only the best feelings of the people, but the tranquillity of the United Kingdom."—See Sir R. PEEL's Speech, Feb. 5, 1829; *Parl. Deb.*, xx. 87.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1828, 149,
151; Mar-
tineau, i.
479, 480.

^{126.}
Increased
violence of
the Catho-
lic leaders.

¹ Mr. O'Con-
nell and
Mr. Sheil's
speeches,
Dec. 16, 1828,
and Nov. 19;
Ann. Reg.
1828, 146,
147.

^{127.}
Difficulties
which Min-
isters had
with the
King on the
subject.

possessed much of his father's firmness of character and penetration of mind, and he inherited all his convictions on the vital importance of Protestant principles toward the maintenance of his family on the throne. The Cabinet, however, were united and firm, and twice over tendered their resignation if not permitted to bring in a measure which they deemed essential to the public welfare, and, in fact, of absolute necessity. Thus pressed, and being aware of the impossibility of forming an anti-Catholic cabinet, or, if formed, of obtaining for it a majority in the House of Commons, the King, after much struggling, and with the greatest pain, gave a reluctant consent to the measure. He did so, however, still clinging to the hope that in the interim the country would be so much

¹ Eldon's Life, iii. 83; roused on the subject as to enable Mr. Peel's Explanation, Parl. Deb. xx. 87, possibly authorize him to put his constitutional veto upon the whole measure.^{1*}

At length Parliament met, and the speech from the throne contained the following passage: "His Majesty lamented that in that part of the United Kingdom an Association still exists which is dangerous to the public peace and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, which keeps alive discord and ill-will among his Majesty's subjects, and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland. His Majesty confidently relies on the wisdom and on the support of his Parliament, and he feels assured that you will commit to him such powers as may enable his Majesty to maintain his just authority. His Majesty recommends that, when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of these disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge."²

Feb. 10. 1829. A few days after, a bill was brought

* The King's own account of the matter to Lord Eldon was as follows: "That at the time the Administration was formed, no reason was given him to suppose that any measure for the relief of the Roman Catholics was in contemplation; that he had frequently himself suggested the absolute necessity of putting down the Roman Catholic Association, of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, to destroy the power of the most seditious and rebellious of the members of it, particularly at the time when Lawless began his march; that instead of following what he so strongly recommended, after some time, not long before the commencement of the present session, he was applied to, to allow his Ministers to propose to him, as a united Cabinet, the opening of Parliament, by sending such a message as his speech contained; that after much struggling against it, and after the measure had been pressed upon him as an *absolute necessity*, he had consented that the Protestant members of his Cabinet, if they could so persuade themselves to act, might join in such a representation to him, but that he would not then, nor in his recommendation to Parliament, pledge himself to any thing. He repeatedly mentioned that he represented to his Ministers the infinite pain it gave him to consent even to that."

—Lord Eldon's Life, iii. 83.

in for the suppression of the Catholic Association, and vested in the Lord-Lieutenant, to exercise that power whenever it should seem to him expedient to do so.

Immense was the sensation which this speech created in the country: nothing had been witnessed like it since the Revolution which dethroned James II. The Catholics were comparatively quiescent both in Great Britain and Ireland; they had gained the day in the mean time, and awaited the proper season for ulterior proceedings. The bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association passed both Houses without any opposition. Not so the Protestants. Deserted, and, as they deemed themselves, betrayed, by those to whom they had hitherto looked up as their natural guardians, they every where broke out into the fiercest demonstrations, the most gloomy prophecies of ruin, if the threatened measure were carried into effect. The staunchest of the Tory press commenced the most violent attacks on the Government, which they accused of treachery, cowardice, and desertion of their most sacred duties to their country. Sir Charles Wetherall, the Attorney-General, made, while still holding office, the most withering and impassioned harangue against the Ministry, and especially Mr. Peel, the avowed leader of the anti-Catholic party. The country quickly and energetically answered the appeal. From all quarters petitions against the Roman Catholics poured into both Houses; and it was soon apparent that, if the matter were to be decided by a numerical majority of the whole inhabitants of the country, or if the House of Commons were a real representation of the feelings of the people, the bill would at once be thrown out by a large majority. Mr. Peel honorably resigned his seat for Oxford, and was defeated, in his attempt to be re-elected, by Sir R. Inglis, after a keen and protracted contest, by a majority of 146 out of 1364 voters. "The strength of the anti-Catholic party," says Miss Martineau, "as shown in the petitions, was great; but in the House of Commons it was not so. The same reason which caused the conversion of the Administration caused that of their adherents generally, and the power of argument was all on one side."¹

The bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association having passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, leave to bring in the bill for the concession of the Roman Catholic claims was moved for in the House of Commons by Mr. Peel, in an uncommonly full house. The argument urged was to the following effect: "The subject is surrounded by many difficulties, but the time has now arrived when the amicable adjustment of the question would be attended with less danger than any other which I could suggest. On that opinion I am prepared to act, unchanged by any expression of an opposite opinion, however general or deep, unchanged by the forfeiture of political confidence, or by the heavy loss of private friendship. In 1825, when the bill passed the Commons, I intimated to Lord Liverpool my desire to resign in order to facilitate

129.
Immense sensation which this speech excited in the country.

¹ Martineau, i. 499; An. Reg. 1829, 7, 13; Parl. Deb. xx. 146, 178, 519, 578.

130.
Argument of Mr. Peel in favor of the Catholics.

the adjustment of the question, and was prevailed on not to do so only by the assurance that it would dissolve the Ministry. In 1828, when the bill was again passed, I intimated a similar wish to the Duke of Wellington, with the addition that, seeing the current of public opinion, I was ready to sacrifice consistency and friendship, and support the measure, provided it was undertaken on principles consistent with the safety of the Protestant Establishment. I am aware that it is incumbent on me to make out a case for this change of policy, and that case is made out from the following considerations.

“Matters can not continue as they are: the evils of divided councils are so great
 131. that something must be done, and a
 Continued. Government must be formed with a united opinion on the subject. Secondly, a united Government must do one of two things; it must either grant further political rights to the Catholics, or recall those which they already possess. But, thirdly, to deprive the Catholics of what they already possess would be impossible, or, at least, would be infinitely more mischievous than to grant them more; and therefore no course really remains but that of concession. That something must be done to enable the King to form a united ministry, is proved by the mischievous influence which the diversity of opinion on the subject has had on the general government of the country, the state of Parliament, and the government of Ireland. For thirty-five years the state of government in this country, on the Catholic question, has been that of disunion. Lord Fitzwilliam had gone to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant in 1794, and his government came to a termination on account of a difference about the Catholic question. Mr. Pitt’s administration came to a close in 1801 on the same ground. After his death the Whigs came in, and their ministry, after enduring eighteen months, was terminated still on the same ground—a difference about the Catholic question. During Mr. Percival’s administration, resistance to the Catholics was the principle of Government; but this was out of deference to the feelings of his late Majesty; for Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, who both supported emancipation, were members of this Cabinet. Since 1812, the Catholic question has been what is called neutral; that is, every member of the Cabinet adopts the view on it which accords with his own opinion. The Cabinet have been always nearly, sometimes exactly, balanced; and this was also the case with the Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary, the Attorney and Solicitor General of Ireland, these being always on opposite sides. It need not be said to what consequence such a divided system of government must lead; it has defeated the best intentions of the Cabinet, paralyzed the whole action of the executive, and brought Ireland to the very verge of ruin.

“The proceedings of the Legislature are still more indicative of the paralyzing influence of this divided state of opinion upon every part of the government.
 132. From the year 1807 to the present time
 Continued. there have been five successive Parliaments, consequently five appeals to the great body of the people on this momentous question. The House

elected for four of these Parliaments has, on some occasion or other, generally more than once decided against the Catholics. The divisions have been generally very narrow, the majorities often not more than four or five. In 1813 the Catholic Relief Bill was carried by a majority of forty-two in the Commons; in 1821, by one of nineteen; in 1828, by one of six. On the other hand, in 1816 the majority against the Catholics was thirty-one; in 1819, two; in 1827, four. At all these times the majority was fixed, generally thirty or forty, in the House of Peers. What has been the result of these repeated vacillations of the Legislature on this vital question? Nothing but this, that each party has been able to paralyze the other in every measure connected with Ireland, that what has been gained one year has been lost the next, and that that unhappy country has been the seat of never-ending party conflicts, which have effectually blasted every attempt at social improvement, or the removal even of the most frightful and acknowledged evils. *‘Sedemus desedis domi, inter nos altercantes, præsentî pace læti, nec cernentes ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum rediturum.’*

“The House of Commons, trembling in the nice balance of opinion, has at length
 133. inclined to the side of concession.
 Continued. Why should its decision not be considered as a fair representation of public opinion upon this great question? Nearly all the popular places, towns, and counties are equally divided upon it—one member is for emancipation, and one against it. Again, if we look to this House, nearly all the rising talent which has appeared during the last fifteen years has been on the side of the Catholics. Session after session we have had defections from our side, but not a single convert. Are these indications to be neglected? Are they not just elements of consideration, to be weighed by those who must calculate, if they are wise legislators, and, above all, if they are responsible ministers, to what extent resistance can be safely and wisely carried? Are the few who have borne the brunt of the battle for ten years to be taunted as responsible for failure? are they not to consider what support they have had in the division, what assistance in the debate? It is within these walls that the question is really to be decided, and the victories of Penenden Heath are no compensation for defeat here.

“If these are the evils with which the continual discussion of the subject is fraught in the Government and the
 134. Legislature, what has been the state
 Continued. of Ireland during these unfortunate dissensions? The dissensions of our councils, and the distractions of Ireland, if not standing in the relation of cause and effect, have at least been nearly concurrent; and there is no present prospect of the restoration of peace or tranquillity to Ireland, unless our own differences can in some way or other be reconciled. I will not prophesy what will be the ultimate effect of the measures which I propose, but the true recommendation of them I apprehend to be, that it is scarcely possible we can change for the worse. It is a melancholy fact that, since the year 1801, when the retirement of Mr. Pitt brought this question prominently before the

country, Ireland has been scarce ever governed by the ordinary law. The Insurrection Act, or some equally stringent coercive measure, has been in operation, with the exception scarcely of a single year, ever since the Union. Shall this state of things continue without some decisive effort at a remedy? Can any thing be clearer than that the present state of things can not continue, that the system of open governments and neutral questions must be abandoned, and that there is no safety except in the united councils and joint responsibility of the King's government?

“If this be conceded, the only choice that remains is between permanent un-
 135. qualified resistance to concession on
 Continued. the one side, and the settlement of the Catholic question on the other. There is no intermediate line to be discovered. Can, then, a government be formed on the principle of permanent unqualified resistance to the Catholics? Supposing it formed, how is it to govern Ireland? What is to be done with the Catholic Association? Suppress it, is the ready answer. Be it so. By what means? The existing state of the law provides no means for doing so; at least such is the unanimous opinion of the law officers both of England and Ireland. They have deprecated prosecution, either under the common law or the Act of 1793. The evil of such an Association is not of recent occurrence. In one form or another it has existed ever since 1793, and no administration has been able to devise a measure for its effectual suppression. Why, then, it is said, not pass a new law? Can that be done without the concurrence of the House of Commons? and is there any prospect, in the present state of the House of Commons, of such a law being agreed to? If it was, is there the least chance, in the divided state of Ireland, of verdicts being obtained under it? Lord Eldon has declared ‘that the Act recently passed will do nothing. That it has been said of the Act of 1825, that a coach-and-six might be driven through it; but he would engage to drive the meanest conveyance, even a donkey-cart, through the Act of 1829.’

“But supposing all these difficulties overcome, another still greater remains
 136. behind. What is to be done with the
 Continued. elective franchise in Ireland? The new member for Oxford (Sir R. Inglis) has declared that, in the event of a general election, twenty-three counties in Ireland are prepared to follow the example of Clare. Be it so. What will be the result of such a change of seats upon the present nicely-balanced state of parties in the House of Commons? What will you do with that power, that tremendous power, which the elective franchise, exercised under the control of religion, at this moment confers upon the Roman Catholics? Take away the franchise, it is said. But is this possible in a House in which two hundred and seventy-two members voted in a majority for a still greater extension of privileges to the Roman Catholics? There is no recourse against their decision but in an immediate appeal to the electors of Great Britain; and it is probable that, in such an event, an increased majority against the Roman Catholics will be obtained. But will Ire-

land be passive in the mean time? What will you do with the thirty or forty seats that will be changed in Ireland by the persevering efforts of the Irish agitators, directed by the Catholic Association, and carried out by the agency of every priest and bishop in Ireland?

“Even if the Irish majority for the Catholics were to be overcome by the majority in Great Britain against them, can
 137. this compensate the dreadful evil of
 Continued. severing every remaining tie between the landlords and the Roman Catholic tenantry in Ireland; of confirming the spiritual ascendancy, in matters of faith, of the Roman Catholic clergy; of binding together, in a dangerous but not illegal exercise of a great constitutional right, the combined and desperate efforts of Roman Catholic wealth, intelligence, numbers, and religion? The infusion of such a body of representatives as Ireland would send to this House, under such circumstances, would be a real evil; but what is that in comparison of the impossibility of governing Ireland in opposition to such a united body as would then be banded together under the most complete priestly direction, and supported in the Legislature by at least half the representatives of the United Kingdom?

“We can not replace the Roman Catholics in the position in which we found them.
 138. We have given them opportunities
 Continued. of acquiring education, wealth, and power; we have removed with our own hands the seal from the vessel in which a mighty spirit was inclosed; but it will not, like the genius in the fable, return within its narrow confines after having gratified our curiosity, and enable us to cast it back into the obscurity from which we evoked it. If we begin to recede, no limit can be assigned to our retrocession. We shall produce a violent reaction—violent in proportion to the hopes which have been excited. Fresh rigors will become necessary. The re-enactment of the penal code would be insufficient; we must abolish trial by jury, or at least incapacitate Catholics from sitting on juries. What can result from this but a more marked separation of the people of Ireland into distinct and hostile classes; a more entire monopoly of offices and power by the Protestants; a more unmixed and unqualified degradation of the Roman Catholics? How is this state of matters to go on in a country in which there are in all 5,000,000 of Catholics, and 2,000,000 of Protestants all congregated in the northeastern parts of the island, and in the remaining three-fourths of which the Catholics are four to one, often twenty to one, compared to the Protestants?

“These are real and practical evils, which could not fail to be felt the moment
 139. that the system of resistance to the
 Concluded. Catholics is resumed. But are there no contingent evils likely to arise, and still more to be dreaded? Is there no danger of rebellion and civil war? To go no farther back than 1798, the character of the rebellion in that year is written in the statute book. The preamble of the statute which contributed to its suppression declared it to be ‘a wicked rebellion, that desolates and lays waste the country by the most savage and wanton violence, ex-

cess, and outrage, which has utterly set at defiance the civil power, and has stopped the ordinary course of justice and of the common law.' The rebellion thus characterized was defeated by force; Government completely triumphed; but was there an end, in consequence, of the Catholic question? So far from it, Mr. Pitt, before the dying embers of the Union were cold—before the ink of the contract of union was dry—resigned office because he could not carry this very question of Catholic relief. Will the issue, even the successful issue, of civil war leave us in a better condition now than it left us in the year 1800? Shall we not, on the contrary, at its close have to discuss this same question of emancipation with bitter animosities, with a more imperious necessity for the adjustment of the question, and with a diminished chance of effecting it on safe and satisfactory principles? No doubt there are real difficulties in the way of a solution of the question by concession—no man is more disposed to admit that than I am; but what great measure, which has stamped its name upon the era of its adoption, has been ever carried through without objections insuperable, if they had been abstractly considered? Our difficulties may be great, but they are as nothing compared with those which obstructed the great measure which united in one whole the two separate and hostile kingdoms into which this island was divided. We must contemplate the measure now proposed in the same spirit in which our ancestors acted under similar circumstances—we must look to the end to be achieved, and the danger to be avoided; we must be content to make mutual sacrifices, if they are essential to the attainment of a paramount object, and withdraw objections to separate parts of a comprehensive scheme, if, by insisting on these objections, we shall endanger its final accomplishment."¹

¹ Parl. Deb. xx. 728, 756.

On the other hand, it was maintained by Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Banks, and Mr. Sadler: "Not one of the grounds stated in justification of the proposed measure will bear examination. The state of Ireland, the difficulty of governing the country with a divided cabinet, the impossibility of managing a House of Commons which left the Minister in a minority, the mischief consequent upon a division between the two branches of the Legislature, are not imaginary evils; but the question is, Are they likely to be remedied by the measure now proposed? Is it not rather calculated to aggravate and enhance them? The distracted state of Ireland is unhappily too well known, and has been of too long continuance to admit of any dubiety concerning it; but from what does it date? From the concession of political privileges to the Catholics in 1793, which has rendered the country ever since the arena of party contention, and a scene of turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed. The penal code was relaxed, the elective franchise extended to the Catholics, a university endowed for their education, the army and navy thrown open to their ambition. What has been the result? The rebellion of 1798, and thirty years of subsequent agitation and discord. Every thing conceded, instead of lessening, has only added fuel to the flame.

Every acquisition made has been converted into a platform from whence fresh attacks on the constitution have been directed. Guided by this experience, what are we to expect from throwing open the portals of the Legislature to the entire Catholic body? What but this, that the advanced work now gained will become the salient angle from which the fire will be directed on the body of the fortress; and that the work of agitation, headed by the Romish leaders in either House of Parliament, will be renewed with increased vigor to effect the overthrow of the Protestant Establishment, the severance of the Union, the dismemberment of the British empire?

"According to the confession of Ministers themselves, the Catholic Association, and organized agitation it kept up by means of the priests in the country, is one main ground for this concession. It had produced the disease for which they now professed themselves unable to find a remedy. Confessedly, also, not an attempt had been made to crush that aspiring convention. Acts had been passed by large majorities in Parliament to put down the Association, but Ministers allowed them to remain a dead letter. If the acts were defective, and incapable of execution, with whom did the responsibility of that lie but with their own crown officers who drew up the bill? As to the argument founded on the divided state of the Cabinet, why did Arthur Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, who declared that their opinion on the subject was unchanged, not try to convert their colleagues to their views, instead of themselves becoming the converted party; or, if they could not do this, look out for other colleagues? Surely they could not be fearful of being able to form a cabinet on the principle of exclusion, and therefore should never have struck their colors, under which there were no difficulties too great to surmount.

"As to the dangers of a civil war, Ministers must have strangely mistaken the moral determination and force of public opinion in England, if they feared want of adequate support in conducting the contest. Besides, it was not a choice between civil war and concession, as far as the people of Ireland are concerned, but a far greater chance of civil war in Great Britain, if the Catholics are admitted, with their ambitious views, to the entire privileges of the constitution. At best it is only postponing the evil day; and it is for the House to consider under what different circumstances the attack could be resisted now, from those under which it would be possible to meet it when the Catholics possessed all the political immunities of the constitution. Unfortunately, the manner of concession is only a provocation to further attack. It is not the triumph of those who had long espoused the cause, gradually working their way by the power of opinion; it is the victory of force driving former enemies into desertion by intimidation. It openly told the Catholic agitators that they were too strong for the Government of Great Britain; that whatever they asked would be conceded, even to the giving up the constitution, provided only it was asked with sufficient clamor and violence. Ministers

141.

Continued.

142.

Continued.

themselves did not venture to represent this measure as an act of grace, but as one which had been forced upon them by imperious necessity, many of them still retaining their former opinions, and having their eyes open to all the evils likely to result from the course they were pursuing. No rational man could expect that the Catholics and Catholic priesthood will remain contented even with what is now given. The entire re-establishment of their Church will be the next object; it is not only their interest to contend for that object, but if they are good Catholics, they must regard it as a sacred duty, to the attainment of which the civil privileges now proposed to be conferred are chiefly valuable in their eyes as a means. Even Mr. Peel seemed to anticipate at no distant period an ulterior struggle; and is it wisdom to prepare for a contest by clothing your enemy in new armor, and putting in his hands fresh weapons of offense?

“The securities for the Church, of which so much is said, amount to nothing. 143. What do they amount to? Nothing Continued. but the exclusion of the Catholics from two offices, all the power connected with which is in reality vested in other offices which the Catholics may fill. The Lord Chancellor may not be a Roman Catholic, but what avails that when the prime-minister and all the rest of the Cabinet may be of that persuasion? The prime-minister, who recommended all persons for bishoprics, might be a Catholic, and the influence of that faith might be exercised in the choice of persons who were to be forced on the Lord Chancellor by the rest of the Cabinet. The securities taken are just enough to fix a badge or mark on the Catholics, as belonging to an inferior sect, but for all practical purposes they are perfectly useless. Small as they are, they admit the existence of ulterior dangers; for if there are no dangers, why make any distinctions, or insist on any securities?

“Why is this change in the constitution, subversive of the principles alike of the 144. Reformation and the Revolution, to Continued. be forced upon the country in defiance of the opinions of the great majority of the people? No man can doubt that the preponderance of the anti-Catholics in Great Britain is immense; the petitions bearing twenty and thirty thousand signatures, daily laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament, are a sufficient proof of this. If Ministers have any doubt of it, why not dissolve the House of Commons, and then it will at once be seen with whom the preponderance lies? Why is every thing to be sacrificed to the Roman Catholics? And are the claims of the Protestants, at least four times their number in the United Kingdom, to be entirely overlooked? Mr. Peel admits that, in the event of a dissolution, Great Britain would return an enlarged majority against the Catholics. What is this but admitting that the measure is forced through now, against the will of the inhabitants of this country? The election of 1826 was not a test of public opinion on this question, because the people then saw a Minister in power who, supported by the very men who now propose concession, would, it was known, resist it to the

utmost. Can any thing be so inconsistent as to say in the same breath, ‘We must grant emancipation, because a majority of four, in the present House so elected, have so determined; and we won’t dissolve Parliament to ascertain what the feeling of the country, when fairly awakened to the subject, really is?’ Let them say at once they were determined to surrender the constitution, be the opinion of the country what it might; but let them not seek, in the divided state of parliamentary opinion regarding this measure, a false and flimsy excuse for capitulating, while they declined to adopt the only expedient by which a parliamentary opinion really in harmony with that of the country could be obtained.

“The singular character of this measure is this: Its promoters themselves fore-see the difficulties which will ultimately attend even their own policy. 145. Continued. They themselves are aware that futurity is big with dangers as to its final consequences, but still, with a political cowardice which has seldom been equaled in the annals of the country (and which has always met its first recompense of punishment and shame wherever it has), it is proposed to transmit the momentary difficulties, which might be dissipated by dealing with them with a firm but kind hand, to another day—to postpone the conflict to our children, whom we are at this moment disarming of their constitutional rights, and sending to the struggle which awaits them, with a foe whose powers we are now thus increasing. We are surrendering the vantage-ground, dispossessing them of the position in which our ancestors placed us, in anticipation of this perpetual struggle with the enemy of our existing institutions.

“What, then, is the apology for this strange course, in which cowardice and apostasy are the avowed guides? It is 146. Concluded. expediency. This is the Alpha and Omega of the modern school—expediency as to the future character of our religious institutions! Expediency, based on religion and fortified by experience, is indeed the safest of all guides; but what is it when it purposely divests itself of both? It is the ready apology of the practiced intriguer; the excuse of the ambitious slave; the justification of the inexorable tyrant; the life defense of the most unprincipled policy, the most heinous crimes that ever desolated the earth. And is this principle to supplant, in this hitherto Christian country, that safe, that necessary, that universal guide of human beings, in the most exalted as in the humblest walks of existence, a rule of right as inflexible as its Author, and which, like all his ordinations, however shrouded for a moment by doubts and difficulties, will ultimately resolve itself into benevolence, justice, and truth? History affords examples in every page, inscribed in the most appalling characters, of the just punishment which has ever awaited individuals, or bodies of men, or nations, following so selfish and tortuous a path. What did expediency do for France? Boundless felicity was promised by ‘large and triumphant majorities.’ How well that assurance was justified by the result, all know—how far the grave of the murdered minister was apart from the grave of the murdered monarch.

The *denouement* of this tragedy, of which expediency was the prompter throughout, was exhibited in the front of that edifice which you are now repairing. Expediency destroyed the Church, expediency murdered the King."¹*

On a division, leave was given to bring in the bill by a majority of 188; the numbers being 348 for the motion, and 160 against it. The country was surprised, but not intimidated, by this sudden and extraordinary conversion on a question on which the opinions of the Legislature had been so divided that a majority of six against it had been succeeded by one of four in its favor. The Protestants, however, were not wanting to themselves in this crisis. From the moment that the determination of the Cabinet was announced, and still more from the time that the majority in the Lower House was known, petitions against the measure flowed in from all quarters with such vehemence as to astonish Ministers themselves, and leave no doubt as to the opinions of the country on the subject. Between the first division on the bill and the first reading, a period of only five days, 957 petitions were presented against the bill, and only 357 in its favor. In vain were the latter represented as the only index to enlightened opinion, and the former as the expression merely of antiquated bigotry and prejudice. The fact remained, that the people of England had loudly and decidedly spoken out on the occasion, and that it was evident to all the world that, if carried at all, it would not be in conformity with the wish of the majority of the nation, but by Government influence, in opposition to their loudly expressed and decided opinion. Great was the sensation excited by this state of things. The public indignation was loudly expressed against what was deemed the treachery of some, the slavishness of others, the tergiversation of all, and a great and irremediable shake given to the confidence of the people in the integrity of public men, which, as it had been in time past the palladium of the nation's fortune, so its loss presaged its future boundless calamities.²

The bill was read a third time on March 30 with a majority of 178; the numbers being 320 to 142; and the same day it was carried by Mr. Secretary Peel, accompanied by an unusually large attendance of members of the Commons, to the bar of the House of Lords. The debate which ensued in that House, though displaying all the ability by which its discussions have long been distinguished, presented little in addition to what had been urged for and against the measure in the House of Commons. But there were words fell from the Duke of Wellington, in the course of the debate, which deserve to be recorded, both as coming with peculiar grace from so illustrious a warrior, and as illustrating on a momentous occasion the love of peace, which

formed so remarkable a feature in his character. "It has been my fortune," said he, "to have seen much of war—more than most men. I have been constantly engaged in the active duties of the military profession from boyhood until I have grown gray. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering. Circumstances have placed me in countries where the war was internal, between opposite parties in the same nation; and rather than a country I loved should be visited with the calamities which I have seen, with the unutterable horrors of civil war, I would run any risk, I would make any sacrifice, I would freely lay down my life. There is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralizes character to the extent which civil war does. By it the hand of man is raised against his neighbor, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays his master, and the master ruins his servant. Yet this is the resource to which we must have looked, these are the means which we must have applied in order to have put an end to this state of things, if we had not embraced the option of bringing forward the measure, for which I hold myself responsible."¹

The bill was carried on the third reading in the House of Peers by a majority of 149, of 104; the numbers being 213 for the bill, and 109 against it. This was a much greater and more astounding change than the majority in the Commons, for the House of Lords had hitherto always thrown out the bills for Catholic emancipation by a majority of from 40 to 50; and as their lordships were fixed legislators, the alteration was much more remarkable than what had occurred in the changing representatives of the people. As such, it tended still farther to unsettle men's minds, and shake that trust in the integrity of statesmen which had hitherto been always felt, even in the worst times, in Great Britain, and been the main source of the national strength in all its difficulties. The people knew not where to turn, or whom to look to, when they were deserted in one House by the representatives whom they had sent to Parliament pledged to defend what they regarded as a sacred cause; and in the other by the hereditary legislators, whose fathers had stood by them 97; Parliament in the good fight, and come off victorious.²

But although the bill had thus passed both Houses by overwhelming majorities, and therefore might be regarded as, practically speaking, already the law of the land, yet no small difficulty remained behind; for the Sovereign was resolute against it, and he was supported by an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the whole empire: so that the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited, unprecedented in English history, of the King and people being decided on one side, and both Houses of Parliament on another. From the outset of the Irish agitation the monarch had become extremely uneasy on the affairs of that island, and most earnestly impressed upon his ministers the necessity of the most vigorous measures to re-

* The two last eloquent paragraphs are taken *verbatim* from Mr. Sadler's splendid speech.—*Parl. Deb.*, xxi. 1618, 1620.

¹ 148. Speech of the Duke of Wellington in the Lords on the subject.

² Ann. Reg. 1829, 35, 36; *Parl. Deb.* xx. 898, 1631.

¹ *Parl. Deb.* xxi. 44, 46.

² 149. The bill is carried in the Peers, and by a large majority.

² An. Reg. 1829, 96; *Parl. Deb.* xxi. 694.

¹⁵⁰. Great reluctance of the King to the bill.

press it.* It was only by unremitting exertions, and representing the measure, on repeated occasions, to his Majesty, as one of absolute necessity, that the King's consent to bring in the bill had been obtained; and even when it was given, he repeatedly declared that "he only allowed them to go on, and pledged himself to nothing." He indulged to the very last in the hope that the bill would be rejected by the House of Peers, which would enable him, as his father had done with the India Bill in 1784, to dissolve the House of Commons, and appeal to the people on the subject. The passing of the bill by the Peers by so large a majority struck him with consternation, and revealed at once the helplessness to which the monarch of these mighty realms might be reduced when deprived of the support of his Parliament. In his agony he sent for Lord Eldon, to whom he declared "that the measures proposed gave him the greatest possible pain; that he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that he had nothing to fall back upon; that his ministers had twice threatened to resign if he did not allow the measure to be introduced; that he had been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father; that, instead of forty-five peers, as he had expected, against the measure, there were twice that number for it; that every thing was revolutionary, that the Peers and aristocracy were giving way to it; that, if he did give his consent, he would go to Hanover, and return no more to England—they may get a Catholic king in Sussex." Such was his despair that the unhappy monarch threw his arms round Lord Eldon's neck and wept, entreating him not to desert him, for he had no other to advise with. Lord Eldon, however, was too sensible a man not to see that when the King had, by his own admission, consented to a measure which had been fully explained to him, a ministry could not be found which would support him in rejecting it, and that, after the bill had passed both Houses by such large majorities in consequence of that consent, the King had no longer any choice in the matter. He advised his Majesty, therefore, to yield, which the latter agreed to with infinite reluctance, and the bill received the royal assent on April 13 *by commission*: the established mode of indicating it was the measure

¹ Eldon's Life, iii. 83, 86. of the Ministry rather than the Sovereign.[†]

* "I can not express to you adequately the extent of the difficulties which these and other occurrences in Ireland create in all discussions with his Majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is every day violated with impunity by those whose duty it is to preserve it; that a formidable conspiracy exists; and that the supposed conspirators—those whose language and conduct point them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country—are admitted to the presence of his Majesty's representative in Ireland, and equally well received with the King's most loyal subjects."—Duke of WELLINGTON to Lord ANGLESEA, 11th Nov., 1828; *Ann. Reg.*, 1829, p. 96, 97.

† The circumstances attending the King's original consent to bringing in the bill were thus stated by George IV. to Lord Eldon on this occasion: "In the former interview it had been represented by his Majesty that, after much conversation, twice with his Ministers, or such as had come down, he had said, 'Go on;' and upon the latter of those two occasions, after many hours' fatigue, and exhausted by the fatigue of conversation, he had said, 'Go on.' He now produced two papers, which he represented as copies of what he had written to them, in which he assents to their proceeding and going on with the bill, adding certainly in each, as he read them, very strong expres-

The passing of the Catholic Relief Bill was immediately followed by another which was understood by all parties to form ^{151.} part of the measure, and this was a Bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, and raising the county suffrage to ten pounds. As it was mainly by their exertions that the Relief Bill had been carried, a more flagrant instance of ingratitude never was exhibited, even in that wide field of selfishness and thanklessness which political affairs exhibit. It passed, however, with scarcely any opposition, through both Houses, and with *none* on the part of the Catholic Association or the leaders of the agitation in Ireland. The Tories, in consistency with their principles, supported it as tending to lessen the strength of the priesthood, which had shown itself so formidable on the late crisis; the Whigs supported it, albeit an infringement on popular rights, as an essential part of a whole, the better part of which they were unwilling to lose. Mr. Brougham said, "he consented to it as the price, the almost extravagant price, of the inestimable good which would result from the other measure." Sir James Mackintosh described it "as one of those tough morsels which he had scarcely been able to swallow." The bill passed both Houses almost unanimously—in the Commons only seventeen voted against it; in the Lords, after some divisions on matters of detail in the committee, it passed without a division. Scarcely a voice was raised in Ireland against the disfranchising of the very men by whose energy and perseverance the victory had been gained. As is too often the case with wounded veterans, they were allowed

"To beg their bread through realms their valor won."

Mr. O'Connell even, who had declared himself ready to perish on the field or the scaffold in defense of the freeholders, whom he denominated his "faithful Forties," raised not a voice in their defense, and they were quietly consigned to the vault of all the Capulets.¹

The passing of the Catholic Relief Bill was soon followed by a dramatic scene in ^{152.} the House of Commons, which savored rather of the impetuosity of French feeling than the sober character of the British Legislature. Mr. O'Connell, who had pledged his reputation, which was very considerable, as a lawyer, that he could take his seat in the House of Commons without taking the oaths, proceeded now to redeem his pledge. Without, therefore, waiting for the period when he could be returned under the new act, he presented himself, on the 15th of May, at the bar of the House of Commons, and offered to take, not the oaths required when he was elected, but the *new oaths* prescribed for Roman Catholics by the Relief Act recently passed. That act, however, con-

sions of the pain and misery the proceeding cost him. It struck me at the time that, if I had been in office, I should have felt considerable difficulty about going on after reading these expressions; but whatever might be fair observation, as to giving or not effect to these expressions, I told his Majesty it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed, or to cure the evils which were consequential."—Twiss's *Life of Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 85.

¹ An. Reg. 1829, 98, 104; Parl. Deb. xxi. 590, 595.

^{152.} Mr. O'Connell's claim for a seat before the bill is rejected. May 15.

tained a clause expressly declaring that it should apply only to members returned subsequently to the date of its being passed. This clause, evidently leveled at Mr. O'Connell himself, and an unworthy blot on so liberal and indulgent a statute, was obviously a bar to his taking his seat under the new act; and on the construction of the old act, it was justly held by the House, by a majority of seventy-four, that he could not take his seat without taking the oaths required by the statutes in force when he was elected. This incident was chiefly remarkable for the temperance and moderation of the able

¹ Parl. Deb. xxi. 1378, 1389, 1402, 1458; Ann. Reg. 1829, 105, 115. occasion, which presented the strongest possible contrast to the vehement harangues he had been in the habit of delivering to his impassioned auditories in Ireland.¹

This incident, in itself trivial, became of importance from what followed, and the light which its consequences threw on the character of the great agitator, who for the next fifteen years occupied so prominent a place in the internal history of Ireland. Mr. O'Connell's claim to a seat having been set aside, a new writ was issued for a fresh election for the county of Clare. He was chosen without opposition, for the strength of the agitators in the last election left no chance of success in any subsequent contest. But in his address to the freeholders, and his various speeches to the electors, he poured forth a flood of ribaldry and abuse, especially upon the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, by whom the Relief Bill had been passed, which demonstrated that he was as capable of appealing to the worst passions of the people as to the reason and justice of the British Legislature. "The last election for Clare," he said, "is admitted to have been the immediate and irresistible cause of producing the Catholic Relief Bill. You have achieved the religious liberty of Ireland. Another such victory in Clare, and we shall attain the political freedom of our beloved country. That victory is still necessary to prevent Catholic rights and liberties from being sapped and undermined by the insidious policy of those men who, *false to their own party, can never be true to us, and who have yielded, not to reason, but to necessity, in granting us freedom of conscience.* A sober, moral, and religious people can not continue slaves—they become too powerful for their oppressors—their moral strength exceeds their physical powers—and their progress toward prosperity is in vain *opposed by the Peels and Wellingtons of society.* These poor strugglers for ancient abuses yield to a necessity which violates no law and commits no crime; and having once already succeeded by these means, our next success is equally certain if we adopt the same virtuous and irresistible means."²

Unbounded were the promises which he made to the electors if they returned him again to Parliament. He was to obtain a repeal of the Union, of the act disfranchising the forty-shilling electors, of the Vestry Bill, the Grand Jury Assessment Act; procure for every Catholic rector a parochial house and glebe, strain every nerve for parliamentary reform, and procure a

poor-law for Ireland, which should embrace every thing that was good, and exclude every thing that was detrimental, in the English system. So violent was his language, so unmeasured his professions, that they lost him the support even of the Liberals in England, who heretofore had been most strenuous in his support. "The atrocity," says Miss Martineau, "of his language, in regard to all English statesmen, is scarcely credible now, even when the speeches themselves are before our eyes; and this incendiarism of course appears worse after his having shown how mild and temperate he could appear away from home, and among persons too enlightened to be animated by violent language. From this time the cry for the repeal of the Union was Mr. O'Connell's tool for cultivating the agitation, by which, in regard to mind, fame, and fortune, he lived. From this time he was dishonored in the eyes of all upright men. From this time his glory was extinguished. He made men fear him, court him, groan under him, admire him, and, as far as regards the lower orders of the Irish, adore him; but from this moment no man respected him."³

DANIEL O'CONNELL, who mainly achieved this signal triumph for his religion and his country, and for the first time shook the power of the Protestant aristocracy of Great Britain which had brought about the Revolution that precipitated James II. from the throne, was a very remarkable man, and his character is the more worthy of study because it belongs properly to an earlier period of European history; and yet the success which he achieved proves that the qualities he possessed are calculated in every age to influence a large portion of mankind. He belonged to the age of Ignatius Loyola or St. Francis rather than that of the French Revolution. Pope Hildebrand was not more devoted to the interests of the Holy See; Peter the Hermit did not possess in a higher degree the art of rousing and violently moving the great body of the people. His abilities were of a very high order—no man does such things without great powers—but they were not of a cast superior to his achievements. "*Par negotiis non supra*" was his true characteristic. He was born an agitator, and there he was su-

* Among other elegant effusions of the same description, Mr. O'Connell said, on his entry into Ennis: "I promised you religious freedom, and I kept my word. The Catholics are now free, and the Brunswickers are no longer their masters; and a paltry set they were to be our masters. They would turn up the white of their eyes to heaven, and at the same time slyly put their hands into your pockets. They would discount God Almighty for the ready money. The Brunswick clubs of Dublin have sent down one, a miniature in flesh, poor Bumbo and his land calf-brother, to disfranchise the brave freeholders, and crooked-eye Fitzgerald swore to it; but I call on the gentry of Clare to separate themselves from the blood-hounds, and join what is intended for the good of the people. The question is no longer between Catholic and Protestant—that is at an end; it is now who is a good or a bad man. If you thus decide, which will you choose, Bumbo or me? I hope you will rub off the foul stain of any connection with these blood-hounds, and ratify the former election. What good did any member ever before in Parliament do for the county of Clare, except to get places for their nephews, cousins, etc.? What did I do? I procured for you emancipation? Does the Sub-letting Act oppress? I shall not be six months in Parliament until all your oppression shall be done away." There are many more in the same style.—See *Ann. Reg.*, 1829, p. 126-129.

preme; but he was neither more nor less. He had remarkable talents, but no genius, and still less taste or refinement. To great powers of oratory he united a marvelous faculty for moving the multitude; but he was alike destitute of the chivalrous sentiments which win the hearts of the generous, or the ascendant of reason necessary to mould the opinions of the enlightened. He had none of the delicacy of feeling which renders it *impossible* for an elevated mind to say or do an unworthy thing. He was all things to all men. With equal facility he addressed the House of Commons in a powerful legal argument, and harangued the electors of Clare in strains of disgraceful ribaldry; with equal truth he, in the same breath, called the Irish the "finest peasantry upon earth," and heaped opprobrium upon the "stunted corporal" who had delivered Europe, and the "bigot Peel," who had endangered his own fame to strike off the fetters of religious intolerance in Ireland.

The secret of these strange contradictions is to be found in the ascendant of the faith to which he was through life sincerely and devotedly attached. His standard of rectitude was different from that to which men, apart from priestly influence, are accustomed. It was neither the honor which inspires the noble-hearted, nor the honesty which directs the simple and innocent. It was simply and exclusively the interests of the See of Rome. Every thing was right, every thing allowable, provided that was not forgotten. He transferred into the business of life and the contests of men the abominable maxim, which the selfishness of libertines has invented, that lovers' oaths are made only to be broken, and that to them every thing is permitted. To the value of truth, or the obligations to regard it, he was as insensible as Napoleon himself. He had all the duplicity and disregard of consistency which, with great vigor and frequent genius, distinguishes the Celtic character. Destitute of the self-respect which in general characterizes the Saxon, he had all the insensibility to personal abasement which is so common among the humbler classes of his countrymen: so as he gained his object of acquiring a princely income, he cared not that his wealth was wrung from the scanty earnings of a destitute population. He was indifferent though what he said one day was in direct opposition to what he had previously asserted; he had no compunction in letting loose the vials of his wrath and the volubility of his abuse on the very men who had conferred upon himself and his faith the most inestimable benefits. He carried to perfection the art, so well understood in after times, of invariably and on every occasion inflaming the present passions of his hearers. Every thing was done for present impression; and that impression was all directed to one end, the advancing the interests of the Church of Rome. To that he was at any time ready to sacrifice truth, consistency, and reputation; and in doing so, he not only was conscious of no wrong, but he was sustained by the belief of the highest merit, for he was giving to the Church not his body, but his soul. He was the most perfect embodiment that has appeared in recent

times of the maxim, that "the end will justify the means;" and in his ultimate fate, and that of his measures, is to be found the most striking exemplification of what, even in this world, that maxim leads to.

In justice to Mr. O'Connell, it must be added that these great talents and dangerous qualities were united with others of a very different character. He was neither cruel nor avaricious: his great influence was always exerted as much to restrain the violence of his followers as to intimidate the resolution of his opponents. He had an instinctive horror at the shedding of blood, and aimed at achieving all his objects by pacific agitation alone. The art of doing so, without incurring the penalties of high treason or occasioning open rebellion, he carried to perfection. If he descended to unworthy means to sustain his fortunes, and sent the begging-box round to every beggar in Ireland to swell the "rent," he spent it as liberally in supporting the cause in which he was embarked, and maintaining his many needy or destitute followers: if he was "*alieni appetens*," he was "*sui profusus*." Immense sums passed through his hands, but he died poor. His ambition, and it was great, was not for himself: it was for the Roman Catholic Church and his distressed countrymen that he exerted his talents, and with their prosperity that he felt himself identified; noble objects, if pursued by worthy means, but only the delusive light which leads to perdition if pursued by unworthy, and involving in a tortuous and dishonest policy. His faults were rather those of his faith and his position than himself. In appearance he was striking; he would have been remarked among a thousand. His countenance was neither handsome nor commanding, but it had something in it which irresistibly attracted the attention. Strong and square built, his figure conveyed the idea of great personal strength; quick, but evasive, his eye gave the impression of Jesuitical cunning. He scarce ever looked you in the face; a rare peculiarity, but which, when it exists, is eminently descriptive of character. In manners he was, when he chose, extremely pleasing; none could exhibit, when he desired it, more courtesy, or was a more agreeable companion; and none, when otherwise inclined, could let fly a more fearful volley of vulgar abuse.*

Catholic emancipation, the first change on the Protestant constitution of the empire, and the first great triumph of the democratic over the aristocratic powers in the empire, was brought about, so far as Great Britain is concerned, in a very peculiar way. It was a victory gained by a large portion of the aristocratic, and the greater part of the highly educated classes, over the sincere conviction and honest resistance of the vast majority of the people. No one doubts that, if the Reform Bill had been the first measure carried, the Catholic Relief

* The Author was once examined for eight hours before a Committee of the House of Commons (that on combinations, April, 1838) by Mr. O'Connell, who conducted the examination with equal acuteness and courtesy. Many of the features in the foregoing portrait were then drawn from nature.

Bill would never have been the second. The present House of Commons (1854), even with the addition of the fifty Catholic members for Ireland, is greatly more hostile to the Catholics than that of 1829 was. The opposition to them is to be found now rather in the Lower than the Upper House. This is a very remarkable circumstance in a country so much influenced by public opinion as England, especially during the last half century, has been. It was carried by the liberal opinions of the holders of a majority of the close boroughs, which brought the Government into such straits as compelled it to force through the measure. Catholic emancipation was the greatest, as it was THE LAST, triumph of the nomination system.

159. It could not have been carried, however, if the divisions in the English aristocracy at that period had not been powerfully aided by two circumstances, which told with decisive effect at the same time on the social and political condition of Ireland. The first of these was the contraction of the currency, commenced in 1819, and rendered so fearfully stringent by the suppression of small notes by the bill of 1826. As these decisive measures lowered the price of agricultural produce nearly a half, and nearly the whole population of Ireland was either engaged in agriculture or directly dependent on it, the whole laboring classes of that country had been for the last ten years involved in difficulties and suffering. The only breathing-time they had known was during the extension of the currency in 1823, and the two next years, when, with the rise of prices, distress and disaffection had in a great measure disappeared, to be followed only by redoubled suffering after the bill of 1826 had again contracted it. These measures, by producing universal discontent, prepared the soil for the reception of the seed which the Catholic agitators were ready so plentifully to cast upon it. The second was, that the Romish clergy possessed such unbounded influence over their flocks that they were able to organize the whole Catholic population into a vast and disciplined array, alike docile to the voice of their chiefs, and inspired with the most violent hatred toward those whom they had been taught, and not without reason, to regard as their oppressors. It was owing to this combination of circumstances that England was so divided, and Ireland, so far as the Catholics went, so united, that emancipation had become, in a manner, a matter of state necessity before it was actually conceded by the Government.

160. Never, perhaps, was there a great public measure which was attended with results so entirely opposite to what was both prophesied and expected in both islands, as Catholic emancipation. The Liberals predicted an entire cessation of agitation and violence, the extinction of all causes of discord between the two islands, and the knitting together of the Saxon and Celtic population in the bonds of peace, tranquillity, and loyalty. The opponents of emancipation predicted from it a vast impulse to the Romish

persuasion in Great Britain, the destruction of all the safeguards of Protestantism, and possibly the eventual restoration of the Catholic as the ruling faith of the whole empire. It is hard to say which set of predictions has been most completely falsified by the event. Ireland, so far from having been pacified, has been more agitated than ever since the great healing measure; the cry for the repeal of the Union has succeeded that for the removal of the disabilities; monster meetings succeeded, and shook the island to its centre; the Whigs themselves were constrained, within five years of the passing of the Relief Bill, to pass a Coercion Act of surpassing severity; and at length matters came to such a pass that a famine of the thirteenth fell on the population of the nineteenth century, and the annual emigration of 250,000 persons at once thinned the redundant numbers, and removed the political dangers of the Emerald Isle. Catholicism, so far from receiving an impulse, has, from the same cause, met with the greatest check it has received in Great Britain since the Reformation: it has become rampant, and revealed its inherent ambition; and the consequence has been a vast revulsion of opinion in the middle and ruling classes of the empire against the tenets of the Vatican, and a determination to resist its encroachments unexampled since the Revolution. The Catholic faith has been embraced by several ladies of rank who sighed for an ecclesiastical opera, and many of fashion who desired the sway of confession, and by some inexperienced men of genius, who dreamt of the amiable illusion of unity of belief; but it has been sturdily resisted by the great body of the people. The grant to Maynooth, small as it is, with difficulty passes the House of Commons; and no one doubts that a reformed House of Commons would never have passed the Relief Bill.

Yet, though the results have thus falsified the predictions, and been at variance with the expectations of all parties, 161. Emancipation an impartial consideration of the circumstances of the case leads to the wise and great measure. conviction that emancipation was a wise and just measure, and such as, under the administration of a beneficent Providence, might be expected to be attended, even in this world, with its deserved reward. It was not for the reasons of policy and state necessity, which were so powerfully put forward by Mr. Peel, strong and unanswerable as they undoubtedly were; it was advisable for a greater and more lasting reason—that it was in itself just and equitable. Opinion is not the fit ground either of exclusion, penalty, or punishment; it is acts only which are so. Differences of religious belief are imprinted on the mind so generally by the influence of parentage, habit, country, and circumstances, that they are for the most part as unavoidable as the color of the hair or the stature of the body. The legislator is entitled to take cognizance of them only when they lead to external acts; and when they do so, let those acts be coerced or punished with vigor and justice. So great have been the evils which have arisen from persecution for differences of religious opinion, that they have gone far to neutralize the whole blessings

of Christianity, and led some skeptical observers to hesitate whether it has brought most happiness or misery to mankind. It is the disgrace of Catholicism that it first began this atrocious system, and forced retaliation upon its opponents as a matter, at the time, of necessity. It is the glory of Protestantism that it first inscribed toleration on its banners, and practiced it, like the Duke of York in answer to the decree of the Convention forbidding quarter, upon the most inveterate and unrelenting of its opponents.

Unity of belief is the dream of the inexperienced, the goal of the ambitious; dissent is the history of man. If, as is the case in many countries, one creed is embraced by a whole nation, it is a proof, not that all think alike on these subjects, but that none think at all. So naturally and universally does difference of opinion arise on every subject, and especially the most interesting which can occupy the human mind, that a more correct measure of the intellectual activity and general intelligence which pervades a people can not be found than in the amount of religious division which prevails among them. The great object of a wise legislator should be to prevent the difference of thought from leading to conflicting actions; and the only way to do this is to abolish all political differences founded on varieties of religious persuasion. No prophecy of our Saviour was ever more completely accomplished than the memorable one, that he came to bring, not peace on earth, but a sword. The reason is to be found in the varieties of the human mind; the different lights in which the same truths present themselves to different intellects; the difference in the moving powers by which different nations or individuals are influenced. Could one creed ever be embraced by the impassioned Italian, who seeks in religion a gratification of his passion for art, and his susceptibility of emotion; the obsequious Russian, who accepts as the commands of Heaven the words of the Czar; and the sturdy Scot, to whom polemical disputes are the very salt and zest of life? Therefore it is that the Gospel is so silent on the matters of church government and form, and directs the whole weight of its authority to combat the selfish principles, the root of all evil in the whole of mankind. The difference lies, not in the truths delivered, but the people taught. Truth, indeed, is ever the same, but so also is the light of the sun; yet in what different aspects do his rays present themselves to the various situations of man—on the sunny hill and in the level plain, on the watery waste and in the burning desert, when piercing the murky clouds of the city and when illuminating the mountain turf, when striking on the summits of the Alps and feebly struggling through the mists of the valley!

But although emancipation was thus decisively recommended by the highest considerations of justice and expedience, yet there can be no doubt that the granting of it was a very great effort of political virtue on the part of England, and that the concession was against the wishes and adverse to the sincere and disinterested, and

therefore respectable, opinions of the great majority of the inhabitants of the empire. As such, it should have been received in a grateful and worthy spirit by the Catholics of Ireland, who beheld a great act of justice done against the inclinations of a majority of their fellow-subjects, and at a time when no corresponding steps toward liberality had been taken by the governments still adhering to the See of Rome. It was just the reverse: the act of justice was received in the most ungrateful, and even revengeful spirit. So far from being pacified, Ireland was only the more distracted by the great healing measure. The admission of the Catholics to Parliament became the platform on which additional attacks were directed against Protestantism, and even the political institutions of the empire. "The Orangemen," says Miss Martineau, "became more furious and bigoted through fear and jealousy of their triumphant neighbors, and those triumphant neighbors were urged on by their leaders to insufferable insolence toward the Government and sister nations which had granted them relief no longer possible to be withheld. The list of Irish outrages, the pictures of Irish crime which follow in the registers of the time, the record of Catholic emancipation, are very painful; but they show, not that there was any thing wrong in the procedure of relief, but that it had been too long delayed."¹

But although nothing can excuse or even palliate the ingratitude and oblivion of promises which, from the moment when Catholic emancipation was passed, characterized the conduct of the Irish agitators; yet it was neither wholly nor chiefly owing to that cause, and still less to its being so long delayed, that the measure so totally failed in producing the expected results. It failed because it did not alleviate in the slightest degree, but, on the contrary, fearfully aggravated, the real causes of evil in the country. These were the indolent, improvident, and yet reckless character of the peasantry, the extravagance and embarrassment of the land-holders, the division of the land among a million of starving cultivators, the habit of incessant and overwhelming increase encouraged by the priests, the absence of manufactories to absorb the redundant numbers, and the total unfitness of the people for self-government or direction. These evils could not in any degree be alleviated by the admission of forty or fifty zealous Catholics into Parliament, some of them gifted with considerable natural talents, but for the most part destitute of property, without a cultivated education or business habits, and entirely devoted, one and all, to the interests of the See of Rome. On the contrary, they were most seriously aggravated by the introduction of a body of men of this description into the Legislature; because agitation, the bane of the country, was increased by the knowledge that so powerful a phalanx was always ready to support it in Parliament; and the phalanx itself, being entirely directed by foreign ecclesiastical influence, pursued on every occasion measures calculated to embarrass the English government and weaken the English aristocracy, without

162. Religious differences unavoidable, when religion is thought of at all.

163. Unworthy spirit in which emancipation was received by the Roman Catholics.

164. How it was that Catholic emancipation failed.

¹ Martineau, i. 504.

any regard to their effect in augmenting the difficulties and increasing the sufferings of their own constituents.

If, however, Catholic emancipation has failed in realizing any of the benefits predicted from it in the sister isle, it has removed one great stumbling-block in the way of good government in Great Britain. The difficulty which Mr. Peel so strongly felt and so feelingly deplored, arising from the divided state of the Cabinet on this vital question, has disappeared. Subsequent times have seen weak governments and embarrassed cabinets in abundance, but never to such an extent on Irish affairs. On them unanimity has almost constantly pervaded both the Government and the Legislature. The ingratitude with which the gift was received, the increased agitation which followed it, the turmoil in which the country was constantly kept by the efforts of the agitators, and the ready acquiescence of the people in their measures, have united all classes in Great Britain against them. The cry for the repeal of the Union was met in a very different spirit from that for Catholic emancipation. Such is the effect and the reward of just measures; they detach the generous and noble-hearted from the side by whom they have been abused, and unite them in support of that by which the injustice has been removed.

It is commonly said by the Liberals in England, that emancipation has failed because it was conceded too late; by the Catholics in Ireland, because it was incomplete, and did not give that entire ascendancy to their Church to which, in Ireland at least, it was entitled. Both opinions appear to be erroneous. Keeping in view what were the real causes of Irish suffering, and which had prepared the soil every where so plentifully for the seed of the agitators, it is impossible to maintain that they would have been removed, or in the slightest degree mitigated, by either or both of those much-vaunted measures. Suppose emancipation had been conceded in 1801, when Mr. Pitt left office on the subject, and fifty Irish Catholics had ever since sat in Parliament; suppose that the Church property had been wholly transferred to the Romish Church, and high mass celebrated in every cathedral of Ireland ever since that time, would these changes have either alleviated the suffering or eradicated the seeds of evil in that unhappy country? Unquestionably they would not. Still would a million of squalid cultivators have vegetated in listless indolence on the soil, and overspread the land with their descendants; still would self-government have proved the bane of a people incapable of self-direction; still would the concession of English privileges to a nation unfitted for their reception have left the door perpetually open to withering and ruinous agitation. The vantage-ground gained in Ireland would have proved the greatest of all incitements to the See of Rome to press upon its adversaries, until they had regained the inestimable jewel of Great Britain for the tiara of the Roman Pontiff; and what could have been expected from that but increased exasperation, and, still more, ulcerated feelings, be-

tween the two countries? Emancipation has not failed because it came either too late or was incomplete, but because the real evils of Ireland arose from an entirely different set of causes, which that measure had no tendency to diminish, but rather to increase.

But still emancipation was a wise measure, because it was a just one. "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum,*" was the noblest maxim of antiquity: "*Fais ce que tu dois, avienne ce que pourra,*" the expression of the chivalrous feelings of modern Europe. England at the eleventh hour did the just act, but she did it, not from the influence of equitable or tolerant feelings, but in obedience to the fierce demands of the agitators, and to avert the dreaded evils of civil war. She has been punished, and justly punished, for doing a right thing from wrong motives, and the consequences of the fault have already been amply experienced. The great precedent of yielding, not to justice, but to coercion, has not been lost upon the agitators within her own bosom. The Reform movement was the child of the Catholic agitation; the Anti-Corn-Law League of the triumph of Reform. The helm has passed out of the hands that used to hold it; the vessel, when a storm arises, has ceased to obey the helm, and drifts before the wind. It has been discovered, that if a question can be brought forward, touching the interests and inflaming the passions of a numerical majority of the people, the Government can be constrained, and measures forced upon it at variance with its best interests, most settled convictions, and fixed determination. This penalty has England incurred for yielding, not to justice, but intimidation. But this punishment is as nothing to what Ireland has experienced, or the Romish agitators have incurred; nor is there to be found in the whole history of human affairs a more memorable instance of righteous retribution than has overtaken them, in the unforeseen but now apparent and natural consequence of their transgressions.

That Catholic emancipation was the parent of the Reform Bill is now universally acknowledged, and will be abundantly proved in the very next chapter. It added fifty votes to the movement party in Ireland, and took as many, by the heart-burning which it excited in this island, from the Conservative majority in Great Britain. This change, one hundred in all, and two hundred on a division, entirely altered the balance of parties in the Imperial Parliament. For the first time since Mr. Pitt's defeat of the Coalition in 1784, it gave a majority in the House of Commons to the Liberal and movement party, and, with the impulse given to their opinions by the French Revolution, first overturned the Duke of Wellington's administration, and then carried through the Reform Bill. Immense was the triumph of the united Catholics and Liberals at this great victory, which in its first results gave them a majority of five to one in the House of Commons, and seemed to have prostrated the House of Lords beneath their feet. Yet in the consequences of this very triumph, and the measures pursued amidst shouts of victory by the conquerors, were

165.
Its beneficial effects on the English government.

166.
Emancipation would have equally failed if granted earlier, or if it had been more complete.

167.
Emancipation has brought a righteous retribution to both parties.

168.
First effect of emancipation in inducing reform.

preparing the greatest of all rewards to the vanquished, and a natural but deserved retribution for their ingratitude to the victors. The Catholic religion has not, since the Reformation, experienced such a blow as it has done in both hemispheres from the consequences of Catholic emancipation and the measures of its supporters. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider what is the social situation of Ireland, what measures its material interests require, and which the majority of its representatives have concurred in introducing.

As Ireland is almost entirely an agricultural country, and nineteen-twentieths of its inhabitants are maintained by, and its wealth derived from, the cultivation of the soil, it is evident that what its interests required was

such a protective policy as might secure for its cultivators the monopoly in some degree of the English market. There was much to be said in favor of free trade in grain so far as the manufacturers of Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham were concerned, whose interest was to buy grain cheap; but nothing at all in so far as the agriculturists of Ireland were concerned, whose interest was to sell it dear. If, therefore, the members, whether for counties or boroughs of Ireland, had been directed by the interests of their constituents, they would have done every thing in their power to secure the English market for them, by supporting the protective system of Great Britain. But being under a foreign influence, and directed by the Court of Rome, whose policy was to embarrass and weaken the English aristocracy, which it regarded as its most formidable enemy, they did just the reverse. They coalesced with the Liberal and movement party in England, and supported all the measures tending to lessen the cost of agricultural produce in the United Kingdom. At the same time, they put themselves at the head of the repeal agitation in Ireland, and shook the country to its centre by the monster meetings, which occupied every thought and engaged every arm in the Catholic population of Ireland. The result is well known. Agriculture, neglected for political agitation, fell into decay; a famine of the thirteenth fell upon the population of the nineteenth century; free trade in grain was introduced as a remedy for insupportable evils; and Ireland, which hitherto had enjoyed the monopoly, was exposed to the competition of the world in the supply of the English market.

Immense beyond all precedent have been the consequences of these changes, but upon none have they fallen with such force and severity as upon the agitators and Catholics of Ireland. From a statistical paper recently published by the Census Commissioners of Dublin, it appears that the population of the island, which in 1846—the year of the famine, and when Free Trade was introduced—had been 8,386,940, had sunk in 1851 to 6,551,970; and as the emigration from the island has been about 250,000 a year, it can not now (1854) exceed 6,000,000. At least two millions and a half of persons have disappeared from Ireland during ten years, and of these above two millions are Roman Catholics.

The consequence is, that the disproportion between the Protestants and Catholics has disappeared; already it is doubtful whether they are not equal in number; at the next census they certainly will be so.* The priests in the country have already sunk to one half their former number—they have declined from nearly 5000 to 2600. At the same time, the embarrassments of the landed proprietors, arising from the depression of agriculture, consequent upon Free Trade and the fall in the value of rural produce, have come to such a climax that a rigorous measure became indispensable. The land was in great part wrested from the old insolvent proprietors, and the sales of the Encumbered Estates Commission have transferred it to Saxon wealth nearly as generally as the Celtic exodus has consigned its cultivation to the direction of Saxon hands.

These changes, which have come on so suddenly that we are scarcely able even now to appreciate their full effects, have already produced a visible and most salutary change on the condition of the whole empire. Ireland has ceased to be, what for about a century past it had been, a thorn in the side of England, a source of weakness instead of strength to the United Kingdom. It is no longer necessary to retain thirty thousand soldiers in the country to keep down its inhabitants. The barracks are empty, or tenanted only by the police—monster meetings are unknown—the undiminished strength of the empire can be sent to the Baltic or the Euxine. Agitation has disappeared—the repeal of the Union is no longer heard of—all thoughts and desires are turned to the promised land on the other side of the Atlantic. England was punished, and justly punished, for her religious intolerance and political selfishness by a century of vexation and weakness, consequent on the connection with Ireland—she is now reaping the reward of a more generous policy, and a great act of justice, in the comparative comfort of that connection, and the dawn of prosperity visible in the sister isle. But it is not to the

* A return has been issued from the Census Office in Dublin, showing the population of Ireland from the year 1805 to 1851, both inclusive, as far as the same could be ascertained from various sources. The result is thus set forth:

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1805.....	5,395,456	1829.....	7,563,898
1806.....	5,460,447	1830.....	7,664,974
1807.....	5,526,224	1831.....	7,767,401
1808.....	5,592,792	1832.....	7,807,241
1809.....	5,660,162	1833.....	7,847,285
1810.....	5,728,343	1834.....	7,887,531
1811.....	5,797,347	1835.....	7,927,989
1812.....	5,867,181	1836.....	7,968,655
1813.....	5,937,856	1837.....	8,009,527
1814.....	6,039,544	1838.....	8,050,609
1815.....	6,142,972	1839.....	8,091,902
1816.....	6,248,174	1840.....	8,133,408
1817.....	6,355,177	1841.....	8,175,121
1818.....	6,464,013	1842.....	8,217,055
1819.....	6,574,712	1843.....	8,259,200
1820.....	6,687,306	1844.....	8,301,563
1821.....	6,801,827	1845.....	8,344,142
1822.....	6,892,719	1846.....	8,386,940
1823.....	6,984,826	1847.....	—
1824.....	7,078,164	1848.....	—
1825.....	7,172,748	1849.....	—
1826.....	7,268,598	1850.....	—
1827.....	7,365,729	1851.....	6,551,970
1828.....	7,464,156		

—Census Rep., Aug. 6, 1854—Dublin.

gratitude or loyalty of those to whom this act of justice was done that she is indebted for this blessed consummation; she owes it to their ingratitude and blind submission to a foreign potentate, which, by depriving the Catholics of the remuneration for their industry, has driven them headlong across the Atlantic. That which all the wisdom of man had failed to effect has resulted from the unforeseen and not intended consequences of his passions. Thus does the wisdom of the Almighty cause even the wrath of man to praise Him.

Nor have the consequences of emancipation been less decisive against the spread of the Catholic faith in Great Britain. It was natural that the Romish hierarchy, seeing this great victory gained by the effects of agitation in Ireland, and many persons of distinction of both sexes in England embracing their faith, should have thought that the time had come when the work of the Reformation was to be undone, and the British Isles were to be wholly regained by the Holy See. They openly announced the project accordingly. Great Britain was divided into ecclesiastical districts; bishops were appointed, and the cardinal-legate assumed the long-forgotten title of Catholic times. The effect was decisive. A burst of Protestant enthusiasm ensued unparalleled since the Reformation, and the prime-minister of the Crown, a leading supporter of emancipation, took the initiative in calling it forth. The aggressive and ambitious spirit of the Church of Rome—which is recorded in every page of modern history, but had come to be forgotten during the tolerant slumber of the close of the nineteenth century—was again brought to light, and the contest of the Protestants with the Catholics was renewed, but without the withering alliance with political distinction which had so long detached the generous from the side of the former. Men saw that the Church of Rome was unchanged and unchangeable, and must be combated with vigor as in the first fervor of the Reformation; but the contest came to be carried on, not by pains, penalties, and disabilities, but by reason, argument, and intelligence, and above all, by raising the intellectual character of women, among

whom its principal votaries are always to be found. The whole vantage-ground gained by the Catholics during the struggle for emancipation was lost by its acquisition.

Nor have the consequences of that concession been less injurious to the cause of Catholicism on the other side of the Atlantic. The pastors in vain followed their flocks to the New World; their ascendant was at an end when they left the shores of the Emerald Isle. Vast was the difference between the dark night of Celtic ignorance, lighted only by the feeble rays of superstition, and the bright aurora of Transatlantic energy, illuminated by the effulgence of knowledge, intelligence, and intellect. The priest was swallowed up in the gulf of democracy. The ascendant which the Romish clergy had acquired amidst the ignorance and solitude of the Irish wilds, was speedily lost when surrounded by the turmoil of American interests, the conflict of American sects. So signally has the influence of the Church of Rome declined in the United States, that, notwithstanding the immense influx of Irish Catholics in the last ten years, there are only now 1,200,000 members of Romish churches in the Union, out of 13,000,000 embraced in the whole divisions of the Christian communion. It is a common complaint, accordingly, of the Catholic clergy in America, that they have lost all influence over their flocks; that their followers live altogether without God in the world; and that, without embracing any new faith, they have simply renounced the old. This, it is to be feared, is too often the case. From superstition to infidelity is but a step. It is by the torch of knowledge, and it alone, that the flame of a pure and lasting piety is, in an enlightened age, to be kindled. But that torch is not wanting in America; and, without anticipating the march of events that yet lie buried in the womb of time, it may with confidence be predicted that, however strongly the Catholic tenets may be rooted amidst the traditions and corruptions of the Old World, it will never make head against the energy and intelligence of the New; and that still less will infidelity permanently retain any hold of a people open to the influences and blessed by the choicest gifts of Nature.

172.
Reaction
against Ca-
tholicism in
Great Brit-
ain.

173.

And in
America.

CHAPTER XXII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE PASSING OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL IN 1829 TO THE FALL OF THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION IN 1830.

THE English nation can never have more than one object of interest or ambition at one time; and thence it is that internal discord has so often been appeased by the advent of foreign war. Accordingly, the three years which elapsed between the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, and the Reform Bill in 1832, presented but one feature—the preparation for or approach of reform. As the Hundred Days were nothing but the eve before the battle of Waterloo, so these three years were nothing but the eve before the Reform Revolution. All interests were wound up in it, all desires centred in it, all heads occupied with it. The indifference which had so long prevailed on this subject had passed away, and been succeeded by an intense passion, which gradually went on accumulating in violence, until at length it became altogether irresistible. Various causes conspired at that time to feed and strengthen this passion, which had never before come into operation, and by their combined action brought about the great and all-important, though happily bloodless, revolution of 1832.

1. The first of these was the immense increase of manufacturing and commercial wealth and industry which had taken place during and since the war, and the great number of considerable places, abounding in riches and teeming with energy, which were wholly unrepresented in Parliament. If it is true that knowledge is power, still more is it true that wealth is power; and in the great commercial cities of Britain both these were combined, without the constitution giving their inhabitants any channel by which they might make their influence felt by the Government. This was a serious defect, and was felt as a very great grievance. In early times it had been obviated by the practice which prevailed of sending writs to each borough or village which had become considerable, commanding them to send burgesses to Parliament. But this practice, which was entirely in harmony with the spirit of the constitution, had long fallen into desuetude, since it had been discovered that a majority in the House of Commons gave the party possessing it the command of the State; and now the great towns, many of which had quadrupled in population and wealth during the preceding quarter of a century, remained without representation; while vast numbers of little boroughs, which had declined with the changes of time to a mere fraction of their former inhabitants, still sent members to Parliament, many of them at the dictation, or in pursuance of the sale, of a neighboring magnate. So far had this gone, that it was the

constant asseveration of the movement party that a majority of the House of Commons was returned by two hundred and fifty individuals, most of them members of the Upper House, who had thus come to engross in their own persons the whole power of the State, by having got the command of both Houses of Parliament.

2. This system, which had come to be styled the *indirect representation*, had worked well, and given rise to no serious complaints, as long as the interests of those who got into the boroughs, either by purchase or the favor of the proprietors, were identical with those in the unrepresented great towns. As long as men see their interests attended to, and their wishes consulted by those intrusted with the administration of affairs, they are contented, even though they have had no hand in their selection. It is when a divergence between the two begins that discontent commences, and the cry for a change of institutions is heard. This divergence was first felt after the termination of the war. During its continuance, as prices of the produce of all kinds of industry were continually rising, the interests of the landlords, the capitalists, and the commercial men were the same—all were *making money*; and therefore all alike were interested in the support of the protective system, by which the prices of all the productions of industry were kept up, and the process of accumulation favored. But when the war ceased, and prices rapidly fell, the interests of the different classes of society, so far from being identical, came into collision. To sell dear was the interest of the producers and those who rested on their industry; to buy cheap was the interest of those holding realized wealth, and the whole class of urban consumers. Thence a clear and decided breach between them, and the commencement of discontent and complaint against the proprietors of the close boroughs, and the members whom they sent to Parliament; for the measures which they pursued, suggested by their opulent constituents, were often not only noways conducive to those of the unrepresented towns, but directly at variance with them.

3. This divergence appeared in the most striking manner, and became irreparable, upon the passing of the monetary bill of 1819, and the commencement of the system of free trade and a restricted currency. As this great change rendered the fall of prices permanent, and ere long caused it to amount to 50 per cent. on every species of produce, it placed the interests of the consumers and of the holders of realized wealth irrevocably at variance. The former were interested in

1. The interval between emancipation and the passing of the Reform Bill was entirely occupied by the question of reform.

2. Great want of representation for the commercial towns.

3. The interests of the boroughs now at variance with those of the country.

4. Effects of the contraction of the currency on the desire for reform.

measures tending to lower prices, because it augmented the value, and in effect increased the amount of their fixed incomes; the latter were dependent on the rise of prices, because it diminished the weight of their debts and obligations, and increased the remuneration for their industry. It was impossible to reconcile these opposite interests: the amiable dream of the interests of all classes being the same, vanished before this stern reality of their being at variance. The inhabitants of the great unrepresented boroughs were not aware to what their distresses were owing: they ascribed it, at the dictation of their political leaders, to the weight of taxation, the extravagance of Government, or the like; but they all felt the pressure, and discontent was general, because suffering among the industrial classes was universal. The demand for reform, which was regularly hushed over the whole empire when suffering, from an extension of the currency, had disappeared, was revived with increased intensity when, by any of the measures which have been mentioned, the currency was rendered scanty. So invariable is this sequence, that it obviously stands in the relation of cause and effect.* "In times of distress or disaster," says Mr. Roebuck, "reform excited much attention; but when prosperity and success returned, it seemed to have passed almost out of remembrance. The matter, however, was never entirely forgotten; for although pressing public exigencies might induce the people occasionally to postpone their desires, although great prosperity led to a temporary forgetfulness, the cry for reform always returned with the

reappearance of distress; and to the faulty constitution of the House of Commons liberal politicians were ever prone to ascribe nearly all the national misfortunes."¹

4. In this state of affairs the Catholic agitation began, and the great and dangerous example was presented to the world of a vast political change being forced on the Government against its will, by the efforts of a well-drilled and numerous party in the State. Ministers had, with more sincerity than wisdom, admitted that they had yielded to external pressure; the Duke of Wellington had declared, amidst the cheers of the House of Peers, in words more graceful in a veteran conqueror than judicious in a young statesman, that the point was yielded to avoid the terrible alternative of civil war. This important acknowledgment was not lost upon the friends of parliamentary reform. If agitation, kept within legal bounds, and steering clear of the

penalties of high treason, had succeeded so well in Ireland, why might it not be attended with similar results in Great Britain, the more especially as the voice of the great numerical majority, particularly in the large towns, which was sure to be loudest and most attended to in the matter, was sure to be raised in its support? It was resolved accordingly by the Liberal leaders to make this the next *cheval de bataille* with the Government; and although it was well known that most of the Whig aristocracy, who influenced so many of the close boroughs, would be reluctant to part with what they regarded as their birth-right, yet it was anticipated, not without reason, that they would be overpowered by the loud voice of the people, and be constrained, in the last resort, to listen to their demands rather than lose their support.

5. In this expectation they were not disappointed, and very much owing to a defection in the ranks of their adversaries, which had never before been experienced, but was the natural result of the measures which had recently been adopted. Not only was the Tory party divided in consequence of the forcing of the Relief Bill on the nation, but a considerable part among them, estimable alike by their courage, their sincerity, and their character, had been driven for the time into the ranks of their opponents. Their incomes had been halved by the contraction of the currency and the adoption of free trade, while their debts and obligations remained the same: their petitions for inquiry and relief, again and again presented, and supported by a fearful array of facts, had been disregarded or derided; and almost every successive session had been marked by legislative measures which went to diminish their own fortunes and augment those of the urban capitalists, who had become their opponents. Capital, intrenched in the close boroughs which it had acquired by purchase or influence, disregarded the complaints of rural industry, as an enemy in possession of an array of strong fortresses despises the partial insurrection or general suffering of the inhabitants of the fields. Accordingly, discontent at existing institutions and the desire for change had become of late years more general among the farmers and land-holders than even the inhabitants of towns; and the question was often put in the form of the algebraic problem: "Given the Toryism of a landed proprietor; required to find the period of want of rents which will reduce him to a Radical reformer."

6. When the minds of the industrious classes, especially in the country, were in this state of discontent, owing to the constant difficulties in which they were kept by the fall in the price of every species of produce, and the vexatious contrast which their situation presented to that of the moneyed classes, who were every day growing richer from the same cause, Catholic emancipation blew it into a perfect flame, and created that schism among the upholders of the constitution which gave it every prospect of success. Injured in their fortunes and circumstances by

6.
Division among the Tories from the effect of the contraction of the currency.

Effect of Catholic agitation and its success in stimulating reform.

* PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT IN FAVOR OF REFORM.

		Currency.
1820.....	0	£34,145,385
1821.....	19	30,727,630
1822.....	12	25,658,600
1823.....	29	27,396,544
1824.....	0	32,761,152
1825.....	0	41,049,298
1826.....	0	33,611,141
1827.....	0	31,493,250
1828.....	0	28,394,497
1829.....	0	28,501,456
1830.....	14	26,965,090

—*Quarterly Review*, No. xc., July, 1831; and *Tooke On Prices*, ii. 381, 383.

7.
Catholic emancipation powerfully aided the desire for reform.

the measures which had been pursued, they now found themselves wounded in their affections. The strongest convictions of their understandings, the deepest feelings of their hearts, had been set at naught or lacerated by a great measure forced upon the nation, in opposition alike to the wishes of the Sovereign and the loudly expressed sentiments of a decided majority of the people, by ministerial influence and the votes of the representatives of the close boroughs. Immense was the impression which the perception of this occasioned. It was admitted by the advocates of emancipation that, if the popular voice had determined the question, it would never have been carried; and yet it had become the law of the land. Before this stern reality the illusion of the people's voice being all-powerful in England had melted away. The wrath of the leaders of the old Tories and the High Church party exhaled in Parliament on many different occasions. So vehement did the excitement become that the Duke of Wellington challenged Lord Winchelsea for words spoken in the House of Peers, and a duel ensued, happily without any serious results on either side.* A motion was made June 2.

for parliamentary reform soon after the Relief Bill passed, which was negatived by a majority of 74 in a House of 184; but the names in the minority revealed the great transposition of parties which had taken place. In the course of it, Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, said, "One effect, he was happy to find, had been produced by the Catholic Relief Bill,

which its best friends had not anticipated: it had transformed a number of the highest Tories in the land into something very nearly resembling Radical reformers."¹

A circumstance occurred at this time which most materially tended to swell the cry for reform in Parliament, by increasing the difficul-

ties under which, from the effect of legislative measures, the industrious classes labored. By the act passed in February, 1826, regarding small notes, it had been provided that, though no new stamps were to be issued for small notes after its date, the notes already in circulation were to continue to circulate, and be received as a legal tender for three years longer. These three years expired in March, 1829; and all notes in England below £5 immediately disappeared from the circulation. Great was the effect of this decisive change upon the fortunes and well-being of the industrious classes, both in town and country, over the whole nation. Coinciding, by a singular chance in point of time, with the sudden conversion of so many statesmen and legislators, in both Houses, on the subject of the Catholic claims, and the passing of the Relief Bill in consequence, it powerfully tended to inflame the desire for radical change, by superadding personal and private distress generally in the industrious classes to indignation at public measures, distrust in public men. The diminution in the circulation in consequence was immediate and decisive; but this effect, great as it was, was the least part of the evil.* It was the contraction of credit consequent on the diminution which was the real evil, and that in a commercial country soon induced universal distress. It is one thing for bankers to issue small notes to customers of their own, striking off which from being the general medium of circulation, they are sure will not come back upon them for a very long period, if at all: it is another and a very different thing to issue sovereigns or large notes, whether of their own or the Bank of England, which can only be purchased for full value.

The silk-weavers were the first who brought their sufferings before the Legislature, under the new state of monetary matters. It appeared from the statements made by the petitioners, that, since the change in the law regarding the importation of foreign silks, there had been a progressive and most alarming diminution in the importation of the raw material, and increase in the importation of the foreign manufactured, insomuch that "there had already been lost to the industry of this country no less than £1,000,000 yearly. Hence our silk-mills and looms were standing still, the weavers were starving, and it was quite certain that many even of the masters were giving up the trade, and becoming mere importers."[†] The al-

* Years.	Currency.	Years.	Currency.
1827	£31,493,250	1829	£28,501,450
1828	28,394,487	1830	26,965,690

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 381, 383.

† IMPORTS OF WROUGHT SILK.		IMPORTS OF RAW SILK.	
Years.	Value.	Years.	Average—lb.
1826	£445,000	1821-2-3	2,691,000
1827	555,087	1826-7-8	1,642,600
1828	676,973		

In 1824-5 there were 17,000 looms employed in Spitalfields; in 1829 there were 9000. The rate of wages in the former period was 17s. a week, in the latter 9s. Weavers in the former period got 8s., in the latter 5s.—*Parl. Deb.* vol. xxi. p. 751, 754. *Ann. Reg.* 1829, 116, 117.

* This duel deserves to be noticed as the last between any men of mark in Great Britain before this barbarous practice went into desuetude. The cause of offense was, that, in a letter published in the newspapers to the secretary of the Association for establishing King's College, London, Lord Winchelsea said: "Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction (regarding the College) was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party, that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that determined upon breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State." The Duke,

upon seeing this, wrote to Lord Winchelsea: "No man has a right, whether in public or private, by speech, or in writing, or in print, to insult another, by attributing to him motives for his conduct, public or private, which disgrace or criminate him. If a gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly, in the heat of debate, or in a moment of party violence, he is always ready to make reparation to the party whom he may have thus injured. I am convinced that your Lordship will, upon reflection, be anxious to reclaim yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you." Lord Winchelsea refused to make what was deemed by the Duke a satisfactory explanation: the parties met, and Lord Winchelsea fired in the air, after receiving the Duke's fire, which carried off a curl of his hair. The Earl, having done so, made a very handsome apology for words which were certainly unwarrantable in the circumstances, because they imputed motives not apparent on the face of the transaction. The Duke rode to the place of meeting at Chalk Farm, attended only by Sir Henry Hardinge as his second, and a single servant.—See *Ann. Reg.*, 1829, p. 58, 62.

8.
Great effect of the entire suppression of small notes in March, 1829.

legations of the petitioners were so notoriously well founded, and so entirely supported by the parliamentary returns on the subject, that Ministers did not attempt to deny the facts asserted, but only alleged that the distress was owing, not to Free Trade, but to over-production; that it was as great in France as in England; and that matters would be still worse if the system of protection were restored. They took, however, the only proper course which could be adopted under the circumstances, and in conformity with the principles of Free Trade; and that was, to make a considerable reduction in the duties on the importation of the raw material. The duties, accordingly, were lowered, on fine silk from 5s. to 3s. 6d., and on inferior from 5s. to 1s. 6d. This change only augmented the

1 Parl. Deb. xxi. 779, of persons engaged in working up
782; Ann. raw silk out of employment, and serious
Reg. 1829, riots took place in Bethnal Green
118; Martineau, i. and Spitalfields, during which property
508. to a large amount was destroyed.¹

The gradual recovery of the country from the monetary crisis of 1825, and the
10. Budget non-arrival as yet of the lowering ef-
fects of the suppression of small notes in March, 1829, enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to exhibit a more cheering picture of the state of the finances than had been exhibited in the preceding year. The revenue of 1828 had been £55,187,000, and the expenditure £49,336,000, leaving a surplus applicable to the reduction of debt of £5,850,000. These figures deserve to be particularly noted, as affording a proof of the elasticity of the British finances, and the large sums which, notwithstanding the copious bleedings to which the Sinking Fund had been subjected, were still applicable to the reduction of the national debt, before the extinction of small notes, and consequent contraction of the currency, took full effect. It will appear in the sequel how woefully matters changed after this decisive contraction; and as Catholic emancipation was the last triumph of the nomination borough-holders, so this was the last year when any material reduction of the debt was effected. In three years after this, the surplus entirely disappear-

2 Parl. Deb. xxi. 1170, ed, and was succeeded by a course
1231; Ann. of years, during which, in a period
Reg. 1820, of profound peace, considerable ad-
119, 124. ditions were annually made to the
public debt.²

The debate on this budget, however, elicited some facts regarding the state of the country, which threw an important light on the causes which had brought about the recent great change in Ireland, and were preparing a still greater in Great Britain. The former were thus stated by Mr. Attwood: "In 1814, the last year of the war, the exportations from Ireland to Great Britain amounted to £5,100,000, official value—official value is the measure of quantity; this account exhibits the gross amount of corn, cattle, linen, salted provisions, and other commodities sent from Ireland to Great Britain in that year. But the prices of these articles were set down according to the old valuations in 1697; the real money value, which is the declared value, was

£10,500,000. In 1816, the official value—that is, the quantity—was the same, but the money or declared value had sunk to £7,100,000; in other words, £3,400,000 was lost to Ireland on the exports alone, being 34 per cent., although the rents, taxes, and engagements of every kind remained the same. In 1817, the distress became such that Government was compelled to postpone for two years longer the Bank Restriction Act; and the consequence was, that in 1818 the exports of Ireland to Great Britain rose to £10,300,000—within a trifle of what they had been in the last year of the war. But in 1819 the Bank Restriction Act passed; and the consequence was, that though the productions exported rose in 1822, as measured by official value, to £6,100,000, the money value sunk to £7,000,000! For more work they got less than two-thirds of the return in money! Whoever considers these figures will have no difficulty in perceiving to what cause the whole subsequent difficulties and distur-

1 Parl. Deb. xxi. 1231, land have been owing."¹
1232.
How this state of things affected the general interests of industry throughout the country was demonstrated in a very clear way from the parliamentary returns by Mr. Alderman Waithman. He pointed out the effect of the monetary system, introduced in 1819, on the manufacturing industry of Great Britain, in diminishing the money price of commodities, inasmuch that while in seven years, from 1814 to 1820, though years of much distress, the excess of real or money value in exports was £41,000,000; in eight years, from 1821 to 1828, the excess of the official value over the real was £80,000,000! Including colonial produce, which had suffered extremely by the fall, the annual depreciation on goods exported between 1814 and 1828, a period of fourteen years, was £28,000,000 on £48,000,000, or 60 per cent.* Whoever considers this immense depreciation, and the effect it must have had on industry of every descrip-

* EXPORT OF MANUFACTURES AND PRODUCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1814 TO 1828, BOTH INCLUSIVE, WITH OFFICIAL AND REAL VALUE.

Year.	Official Value.	Real Value.	Difference.
1814	£36,092,167	£47,851,153	£11,759,286
1815	44,053,455	53,217,445	9,163,960
1816	36,697,610	42,942,951	6,228,398
1817	41,558,585	42,955,256	6,257,646
1818	44,564,044	43,696,253	2,097,668
1819	35,634,415	48,903,760	4,139,716
1820	40,240,277	37,339,506	1,705,091
Excess of real over official value in seven years			£41,521,795
1821	£40,240,277	£38,619,897	£1,620,380
1822	40,831,744	36,659,631	4,172,113
1823	44,236,533	36,698,954	7,269,569
1824	43,804,372	35,458,048	8,346,324
1825	48,735,551	38,396,300	10,339,251
1826	40,965,735	31,536,723	9,429,012
1827	52,219,280	37,152,857	15,036,423
1828	52,797,455	36,814,176	15,983,279
Excess of official over real value in eight years			£80,532,795
Exports of Colonial produce, real value—average, 1814 to 1820			£14,517,378
Exports from 1821 to 1828 inclusive			9,992,088
Difference			£4,524,690

—Parl. Deb., xxi. 1202.

tion, while taxes, bonds, bills, and money debts of every description remained the same, will have no difficulty in discerning what it was that uprooted the attachment to old institutions which is so remarkable a feature in the English character, and induced the agricultural distress in Ireland which paved the way for Catholic emancipation, and the general distress in Great Britain which brought on the Reform Bill.

The only topic, during the remainder of the session of 1829, deserving of attention, was the state of our relations with Portugal, which are chiefly remarkable from the clear line which was drawn by the Duke of Wellington in regard to the duty of Great Britain as a neutral power, when that country was distracted by opposite factions contending for the crown. To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise, what will be more fully detailed in the account of the transactions of Portugal, that a counter-revolution had taken place in Lisbon, in conformity with that which had resulted in Spain from the French invasion, and that Don MIGUEL, the uncle of the little queen, and the heir-male of the family, had been placed on the throne by the absolute party. The infant sovereign, Donna Maria, had been supported by the English interest, and she herself received with royal honors at Windsor. In consequence, an application was made to the British government to re-establish the constitutional throne in Portugal by force of arms; but to this application a negative was returned by the British government. "It is assumed," said Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, "that the usurpation of the throne of Portugal by the Infant Don Miguel has given to her most Faithful Majesty the right of demanding from this country effectual succors to recover her throne and kingdom. But in the whole series of the treaties there is no express stipulation which can warrant this pretension; neither is it warranted by their general tenor or spirit. It is either for the purpose of exciting successful rebellion, or of deciding by force a doubtful question of succession, that Great Britain is now called upon to act. But it is impossible to suppose that any independent state could ever intend thus to commit the control and direction of its internal affairs to the hands of another power. The whole spirit of the treaties, as well as their

¹ Parl. Deb. history, shows that the principle of
xxi. 1633; the guarantee given by England is
Ann. Reg. the protection of Portugal from for-
1829, 187. eign interference only."¹

An opportunity soon occurred of putting these principles in practice, and of proving to the world that, however determined to protect her allies from foreign aggression, Great Britain would not interfere with their internal dissensions; and that she would concede to other countries the same right of choosing their sovereign and form of government which she had assumed to herself. A number of Portuguese refugees, most of them military men, had arrived in Great Britain, upon the occurrence of the revolution in Portugal, and, following the example of those who had so efficiently aided the South American revolution, they immedi-

ately began organizing an expedition to restore the constitutional régime and the throne of Donna Maria. Upon receiving intelligence of these preparations, the British government informed the Brazilian minister that they could not permit such a breach of neutrality, and that the refugees, as a measure of precaution, would be directed to remove further from the coast. The envoy then stated that these troops were about to be conveyed to Brazil; and, accordingly, four vessels, having on board six hundred and fifty officers and men, sailed from ¹ Ann. Reg. Plymouth, with Count Saldanha, 1829, 188, 189; the minister-at-war under the Con- Martineau, i. 510, 511.stitutional Government.¹

They were informed, before they set out, that, if they attempted a descent on any part of the Portuguese territories, they would be resisted by the British cruisers. They made straight, however, for Terceira, the largest of the Azores, which had declared for Don Miguel, and were met by Captain Walpole in the Ranger, who, after firing two shots in the air to bring them to, which failed of effect, discharged one at Saldanha's vessel, which killed one man and wounded another. This had the desired effect, and the squadron, after a strenuous effort to effect its object, returned to Brest. This proceeding made a great noise at the time, and was every where represented by the Liberal party in Europe as an intervention of the British government in favor of Don Miguel. It is evident, however, that it was no such thing, but simply a *prevention of intervention by the Liberals*, which could not be permitted, according to the laws of neutrality, from the British shores. As such, it is important, as drawing the line between real neutrality and the covert intervention which often bears its name; and affords a striking contrast to the insidious conduct of preceding governments, which, while professing neutrality, allowed expeditions of ten and twelve thousand men to be fitted out in the Thames and at Portsmouth, which succeeded in revolutionizing ² Parl. Deb. South America, and thereby brought xxi. 1633; unnumbered calamities upon both Ann. Reg. hemispheres.² 1829, 189.

But it was easier to pursue an honest straightforward course in regard to foreign states, which had become the subject of internal contests, than to preserve that contentment and tranquillity at home which might avert them from the British Islands. The great contraction of the currency consequent on the entire suppression of small notes, which took effect in March of this year, came to tell with decisive and appalling effect upon all branches of industry. Interest of money was low, and wages still lower—a sure proof, when coexisting, of want of employment for capital, and of failure in the demand for labor. "The interest of money," says Miss Martineau, a decided advocate for the cheapening system, "was never known to be lower, and the manufacturers' stocks, with which their shelves were too well loaded, had suffered a depreciation of 40 per cent."³ This prodigious fall, which pervaded alike all branches of industry, both agricultural and

^{15.} And is beat off by the British squadron. Jan. 16, 1830.

^{16.} Great distress in Great Britain and Ireland during the whole of 1829.

³ Martineau, i. 539.

manufacturing,* occasioned of course a vast diminution of imported articles,† and a corresponding and most distressing fall in wages, and in many places entire cessation in the demand for labor. At Huddersfield it appeared, from a report drawn up by a committee of masters, “that in the several townships occupied in fancy business there are 13,000 individuals who have not more than 2½*d.* a day to live upon, and find wear and tear for looms.” The same deplorable prostration of industry and reduction of wages took place in every branch of manufacturing industry, and in none more than the silk trade; and in consequence the sums expended for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, which in 1824 and 1825 had been on an average £5,750,000, rose in 1828, 1829, and 1830, to nearly £7,000,000 sterling.‡

This lamentable fall in the wages of labor was soon attended by its usual consequence—a variety of outbreaks in many districts which were more immediately affected. Constrained by the general fall in the price of their produce to lessen the cost of production, the masters every where lowered the wages of their workmen, and this immediately gave rise to strikes and disturbances. A general strike took place at Macclesfield, and the delegates from Spitalfields openly recommended the destruction of looms by cutting out the silk. Ignorant of the real cause of their suffering, the whole vengeance of the workmen was directed against the engine-looms, the visible rival of their labor and the supposed source of their distress. The delegates assured them “the destroying angel was the best ally they had;” nor were they long of acting upon the advice. At Coventry, Nuneaton, and Bedworth, serious riots took place; and such was the terror produced by the violence of the workmen, that the masters generally gave in for a time to their demands. They soon found it impossible, however, at existing prices, to go on with such wages, and a reduction again took place. Upon this riots again ensued; and they were particularly violent at Barnsley, in Yorkshire, where the combined workmen attacked the dwelling-houses of the obnoxious manufacturers, and de-

liberately piled their furniture in great heaps, to which they set fire. The workmen who had taken in work at the reduced prices were next assailed; and such was the alarm produced by this “reign of terror,” as it was called, that they were compelled to return the materials they had received from their masters and join the strike. Nor were the disorders terminated but by the introduction of a large body of military.¹

Ireland, being a purely agricultural country, in which it was impossible by the

introduction of machinery to counterbalance the reduction in the price of produce—and the people being already at the starving point—shared to a still greater degree in these causes of suffering, and the agitators were not slow in turning it to the best account. It soon appeared that emancipation had done nothing to conciliate the Catholics or heal the divisions of the country; it had only given the leaders a vantage-ground from whence to make fresh attacks on the constitution, and the people an example of the success which might be attained by well-organized agitation. Mr. O’Connell had often declared, before the Relief Bill passed, that “Catholic emancipation would convert the great agitator into a mere *nisi prius* lawyer;” but when it was obtained, instead of keeping his word he immediately commenced a fresh agitation for the repeal of the Union. In this crusade he constantly referred to the carrying of the Relief Bill, not as a reason for pacification or a motive to gratitude, but as an incentive to renewed efforts and still more vital changes. “We have now,” said he, at Youghal, “a brighter era opened to us, and I trust that all classes of my countrymen will unite together, and, by forming one firm general phalanx, achieve what is still wanting to make Ireland what it ought to be. Ireland had her 1782—she shall have another 1782. Let no man tell me it is useless to look for a repeal of the odious Union, that blot upon our national character. It is for the repeal of that measure that we must now use all the constitutional means in our power. That Union engenders absenteeism and all the thousand evils which naturally flow in its train. I want no disavowal; but I want, and must have, a repeal of that cursed measure which deprived Ireland of her Senate, and thereby rendered her a dependent upon British aristocracy, British intrigue, and British interests. I pity the man who pronounces the attainment of such a consummation to be Utopian. Look at the Catholic question: do I not remember when it was difficult to obtain a meeting of five Catholics to look for a restoration of our then withheld rights? I recollect when we agitators were almost as much execrated by our fellow-slaves as we were by our oppressors. The contentions of religion are over, freedom has been obtained, but the people shall no longer be misrepresented; what has been done in one country shall be done in another; and all the Orangemen of the north, the Methodists of the south, shall join in one common cause, the restoration of Ireland’s Parliament. The new ‘Society 1782’ shall be formed, nor cease to spread its influence over Ireland till her Parliament be

* PRICE OF WHEAT, COTTON, IRON, ETC., FROM 1827 TO 1829.

Years.	Wheat per Quarter.	Cotton per lb.	Iron per Ton.	Silk per lb.	Sugar per cwt.	Wool per lb.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>£</i> <i>s.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>£</i> <i>s.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
1827	50 2	0 10½	8 10	23 8	35 0	2 6
1828	71 8	0 8½	7 10	23 6	32 0	2 6
1829	55 4	0 8	6 10	21 8	32 0	2 0

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 390, 420.

† ARTICLES IMPORTED FROM 1827 TO 1829.

Year.	Cotton.	Coffee.	Wool.	Raw Silk.	Silk Thread.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
1827	272,448,909	47,938,947	29,115,341	3,146,926	463,801
1828	227,760,642	41,069,731	30,236,059	4,256,423	508,818
1829	222,767,411	39,071,215	21,516,649	3,594,754	211,179

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 391.

‡ POOR-RATE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	£	Years.	£
1823	5,772,958	1827	6,441,088
1824	5,736,898	1828	6,298,000
1825	5,786,989	1829	6,332,410
1826	5,928,501	1830	6,829,642

—PORTER, 3d edition, 90.

restored, her sons be of one creed, all joined in the common cause of seeing old Ireland great and glorious among the nations of Europe."¹

The Catholics were not slow in acting upon these recommendations, nor were the Protestants less eager in meeting the shouts of triumph by the notes of defiance. Then was seen how deadly was the animosity of the two creeds, and how vain the

hope that a measure of equal justice could reconcile two great parties, each of which was vehemently contending for the mastery. Conflicts more serious, exasperation more violent, bloodshed more deplorable ensued than had been known, save in the rebellion of 1798, in the whole recent annals of Ireland. The 12th July, the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, and well-known season of Orange glorification in Ireland, was the signal for general disturbance. "The country," says the annalist, "was armed for civil war; its condition was much more alarming than it had been when it was to be cured by the Relief Bill. Emancipation might be Ireland's ark, but it was sent abroad to float over noisy and troubled waters." In the county of Clare the two parties met, one side armed with muskets and bayonets, the other with scythes and pitchforks; one man was killed, and seven or eight wounded on each side. In Armagh a contest ensued in which ten men were slain; the county of Fermanagh assumed the aspect of open war. Eight hundred Catholics, armed with the usual rustic weapons, attacked the Protestants, four of whom were killed, and seven wounded. Catholics to the number of some thousands formed an encampment on Benauglen mountain, to which reinforcements speedily poured in from the adjoining counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Monaghan, in which the presence of a large body of military alone prevented civil war from openly breaking out; while in Tipperary the disturbances came to such a pass, that at a numerous meeting of the magistracy, held in the middle of September, it was unanimously resolved to memorialize the Government to renew the Insurrection Act, to pass an Arms Act, rendering the possession of them a transportable offense, and

to multiply the number of military posts through the country, as the only means of averting open rebellion.²

It was amidst these scenes of distress and disorder that Parliament met in the beginning of February, and the speech from the throne bore testimony to the general suffering which prevailed. His Majesty stated "that the exports in the last year of British produce and manufactures had exceeded that of any former year. He laments that, notwithstanding this indication of an active commerce, distress should prevail among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom. It would be most gratifying to the paternal feelings of his Majesty to be enabled to propose for your consideration measures calculated to remove the difficulties of any portion of his subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general interests of his people. Though the na-

tional income in the last year has not attained the full amount at which it had been estimated, the diminution is not such as to cause any doubt as to the future prosperity of the revenue. The estimates have been framed with the utmost regard to economy, and his Majesty hopes to be able to make a considerable reduction in the amount of the public expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of our naval and military establishments." These words are very remarkable, for they at once indicate the cause of past suffering, and the necessities which were to prescribe future policy. An augmentation beyond all former precedent of exports was attended with financial embarrassment and general distress, which compelled the most rigid economy! Inconsistent as these things may appear, they are not so in reality, and subsequent experience has proved that they are often cause and effect. Pecuniary embarrassment, arising from a general fall of prices, often leads for a time to an increase of production in the hope of compensating by quantity what has become wanting in price; and a great increase in the amount of produce arises from the very difficulties of ¹ *Parl. Deb.* those engaged in the work of pro- ^{xxii. 2, 3;} *Ann. Reg.* duction.¹ 1830, 5, 6.

The debate which ensued on the Address was still more characteristic of the state of the country, and the lamentable consequences of the contraction of the currency, and consequent prostration of industry, which was destined, ere long, to produce such great and lasting effects on its future destinies. No one attempted to deny the existence of great and severe distress; the only question was, whether it was partial or universal. Earl Stanhope, who moved the amendment in the House of Lords, maintained the latter. "The speech from the throne," said he, "spoke of distress in some parts of the country; but what part of the country was it in which Ministers had not found distress prevailing, and that, too, general, not partial? The kingdom is in a state of universal distress—one likely to be unequalled in its duration, as it is intolerable in its pressure, unless Parliament thinks fit to inquire for a remedy. It is not confined to agriculture, it has extended to manufactures, to trade, and to commerce. All these great interests had never before, at one time, been at so low an ebb, nor in a condition which demanded more loudly the prompt and energetic interference of Parliament. The speech ascribed the distress which was so universal to a bad harvest; but did a bad harvest make corn cheap? and yet it is the excessive reduction of prices which is now felt as so great an evil, especially by the agricultural classes. The evil is so notorious that nobody but the King's ministers doubts its existence; and how can even they feebly pretend to deny its existence? And how could even they pretend to deny it, if they cast their eyes around, and saw the counties spontaneously pouring on them every kind of solicitation for relief, while in towns Mr. Alderman Waithman has attested that stocks of every kind have sunk in value 40 per cent.?"

"There can be no doubt to what this uni-

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1829, 127.

19. Serious riots between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland.

² *Ann. Reg.* 1829, 129, 131; *Martineau*, i. 540.

20. Meeting of Parliament. Feb. 4, 1830.

21. Interesting debate on the public distress in the House of Lords.

versal distress is owing; it is to be ascribed to the erroneous basis on which our currency has been placed since 1819.

Prices have not fallen in agricultural produce only; the depression has been *continuous and universal ever since the Bank Restriction Act passed, and especially since the suppression of small notes took effect in the beginning of last year.* We are gravely told that the depression of butter and cheese is owing to the wetness of the last season and the superabundance of grass. Did any body ever hear of an unfavorable season lowering the price at once of wheat and cattle, of oats and wool? Yet all these things have sunk in value together; and in manufactures and traders' stocks the fall has been so great, that in the last ten years it has amounted to 68 per cent. Such a universal and continued depression can be ascribed only to some cause pressing alike upon *all* branches of industry, and that cause is to be found in the enormous contraction of the currency which has taken place. When we recollect that the Bank of England notes in circulation have been reduced from £30,000,000 to £20,000,000, and the country bankers' in a still greater proportion, it is easy to see whence the evil has arisen, and where a remedy is to be found.¹

"Bad seasons," said the Duke of Wellington in reply, "are not set down as the only cause of distress; but as there has been undoubtedly one bad harvest, and another got in at an unusual expense, they are circumstances to be taken into consideration. Competition at home and abroad is the cause of distress among the manufacturers, and can Parliament prevent that? Can it prohibit the use of machinery and the use of steam, which, by throwing laborers out of employment, produce distress? The suffering is not universal; there are parts of the country which are entirely free from it. The exports of last year were greater than any former one, and there is not a canal or railway in the country which does not present an increase of traffic. Profits are small; but they must exist, otherwise business would not be carried on. Is there any distress among the retail dealers in towns, who form a large class? Were those distressed persons who could pay the rents of the shops, which were every where enlarged or improved, or of the elegant streets and villas which were springing up around the metropolis and all our great towns? Pressure upon the country there undoubtedly is, but not so great as to prevent it from rising, though slowly. It is not falling, it is improving.

"There is no foundation for the assertion so confidently made, that the currency has been contracted, and that that is the cause of the suffering which exists. So far from it, the circulation now is larger than it was when the bank restriction existed. The truth is, it is not extended circulation, but unlimited circulation, which is desired; in other words, it is wished to give certain individuals, not the Crown, the power of coining in the shape of paper, and of producing a fictitious capital. Recollect how narrowly the country escaped the effects of this ruinous system in 1825 and 1826. Capital is

always forthcoming when it is wanted. Any scheme, if only a little plausible, is sure to find capital for the purpose of carrying it on. There was no government, however bankrupt, that could not borrow money here; and there was no man in the country, who had any thing like security to offer, but could get money whenever he wanted it."²

The division which took place on this debate in the Commons was very significant, and ominous of future and impending change both in the Government and the constitution. The majority for Ministers was only 53; the numbers being 158 to 105. But close as this division was, it became doubly ominous from the manner in which the leading members of the House now arranged themselves. The ultra-Tories—Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr. Banks, General Gascoigne, Mr. Sadler—were to be found in the minority, alongside of Sir Francis Burdett, Lord John Russell, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Hume, and Lord Althorpe, the chiefs of the Whigs and Radicals; and Lord Palmerston, Mr. Charles Grant, Sir Stratford Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and Sir George Warrender, the remnants of the Canning party. No such strange and disjointed amalgamation of parties had been witnessed since the famous coalition in 1784, which preceded the fall of the Whigs and long ascendancy of the Tories. It was evident that the old Tory party, so long firm and united, had been completely broken up by the heart-burnings and irritation consequent on Catholic emancipation, and that the general distress had given the various classes of malcontents a common ground on which they could unite, without abandoning or compromising any of their peculiar and declared principles. The habit of supporting Government and ministerial influence might give the Cabinet a majority over such a coalition for a time, but it could be for a time only; and on the first serious reverse or occurrence of any external cause of excitement, it would infallibly be shipwrecked.³

In truth, the Duke of Wellington's position as prime-minister, so far from being an enviable one, was among the most critical and painful that could be imagined. He had climbed to the pinnacle of power, but he had there found its loneliness, and experienced its ingratitude. Like Mr. Burke, after his secession from the Whigs in 1793, he might have said, "There is a severance which can not be healed; I have lost my old friends, and am too old to make new ones." He had no party in

* The Duke's statement on this point was as follows:
Highest during the War.—England.

Bank of England Notes	£30,000,000
Country Banks	23,000,000
Gold	4,000,000
Silver	7,000,000
Total	£64,000,000

Circulation in 1830.

Bank of England Notes	£19,900,000
Country Bank-notes	9,200,000
Gold	28,000,000
Silver	8,000,000
Total	£65,100,000

—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. xxii. p. 39.

the House of Commons, no real colleagues in the Cabinet. He was a commander-in-chief there, surrounded by his generals of division, but not a premier aided by the counsels of his followers. He felt the solitude of his situation, and was aware of the necessity of conciliating some of the Whig magnates. Accordingly, on the death of the Chief Baron of Scotland, he appointed Mr. Abercromby, an English lawyer and commissioner for the Duke of Devonshire, to that office, instead of the Lord-Advocate of Scotland, Sir W. Rae, whose position entitled him to expect, and whose long and able services in that situation gave him a right to claim it. Encouraged by this step, which seemed to indicate an intention on the part of the premier to follow the example of Mr. Canning, and form a coalition cabinet, the Whigs in the early part of the session abstained from any direct attacks upon Ministers, and even on some occasions gave them their support. They were loud in praise of both the Duke and Mr. Peel for their conduct on the Catholic question, describing it as "a more glorious triumph than any which had been won on the fields of Spain." But their expectations were not realized; the Cabinet doors were not opened; and their leaders, smarting under the bitterness of disappointed hopes, gave vent to their feelings in the most acrimonious expressions, and prepared for a course of the most uncompromising hostility.¹*

The Duke of Wellington's speech on the distresses of the country met the question boldly and openly, in his usual straightforward way; but nothing can be more evident than that it involved the most obvious fallacies. He said that the currency, including gold and silver, was as large as it had been at the highest period during the war—forgetting that, since its termination, the nation had advanced a fourth in numbers, and a half in industry and commerce, and that, to render the currency commensurate to its necessities, it should not have

* "When I find," said Sir F. Burdett, "the prime-minister of England so shamefully insensible to suffering and distress, which are painfully apparent throughout the land; when, instead of meeting such an overwhelming pressure of necessity with some measure of relief, or some attempt at relief, he seeks to stifle every important inquiry; when he calls that a partial and temporary evil, which is both long-lived and universal, I can not look on such a mournful crisis, in which public misfortune is insulted by ministerial apathy, without hailing any prospect of change in the system which has produced it. What shall we say to the ignorance which can attribute our distresses to the introduction of machinery and the application of steam, that noble improvement in the inventions of man, to which men of science and intelligence mainly ascribe our prosperity? I feel a high and unfeigned respect for that illustrious person's abilities in the field; but I can not help thinking that he did himself no less than justice when he said, a few months before he accepted office, that he should be a fit inmate for an asylum of a peculiar nature, if he ever were induced to take such a burden on his shoulders. In fact, both myself and very many honorable members about me, have long treated this illustrious individual with much tenderness, because we felt he has conferred the greatest benefits upon his country. He is the only man who could have accomplished what he has done, and be his praise in proportion. But let it at the same time be remembered that, if his service was great, his recompense has been commensurate. We have repaid him abundantly in returns of confidence and approbation. The time, however, is come when it will be necessary to do much more."—*Mirror of Parliament*, vol. 1, p. 67.

remained the same, but advanced in a similar proportion.* Probably the Duke would have given a sharp answer to his Commissary-General, in 1813, if he had proposed the same amount of rations for his army, then 75,000 strong, which had sufficed for it in the preceding year, when it was 45,000 only. He forgot that, though the currency, upon the whole, might be the same as during the war, yet the proportion of it which consisted in paper had sunk from £53,000,000 to £28,000,000; and that it is a very different thing, as every person engaged in industry knows, to obtain advances from bankers when made in their own notes, which may be with safety four times their solid capital, and when made in sovereigns or Bank of England notes, when they can only be measured by that solid capital itself. He referred to the striking increase of houses and evident marks of riches in great cities, which was undoubtedly true, seemingly not aware that that was a proof of the existence and universality of the very evil complained of, which was that, from the change in the value of money, the realized wealth in the towns had increased 50 per cent., and the remuneration of industry in the country decreased in a similar proportion; and that it only confirmed the common adage, that the rich were every day becoming richer, and the poor poorer. Above all, he took it for granted, in the statement which he made as to the amount of gold currency in circulation (£28,000,000), that the whole gold which had been coined since 1819 was *still at home*, forgetting how large a proportion of it had been withdrawn in the immense loans to foreign countries contracted since that period, and remitted to South America for mining speculations undertaken by English capitalists in that quarter, and overlooking the certainty of the continuance and increase of the drain upon the metallic resources of this country, owing to the supply of the precious metals for the general use of the globe having, from the effects of the revolution in South America, sunk to a fourth of its former amount.

Aware of the universal cry for relief from distress which pervaded the country, the Opposition, when they felt themselves at liberty to resume active operations upon the disappointment of their hopes of being admitted into the Cabinet, bent all their energies to force the most extensive reductions of expenditure upon the Government. They did not venture in a body openly to face the question of the contraction of the currency, fearful of exciting the jealousy of the capitalists by whom that great change had been introduced, and whose fortunes had been so largely augmented by it, or perhaps ignorant of its vital importance on the matter of general distress which occupied universal attention; but all sections of the Opposition united on the common ground of demanding a reduction of the national expenditure, which was, in truth, a necessary consequence of the great reduction

* Years.	Exports—Official Value.	Population—United Kingdom.
1814	£36,092,167	18,564,000
1825	52,797,455	23,784,421

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 8, 11, 3d edition.

made in the nation's resources. Sir James Graham, on the 12th February, moved for a reduction of the salaries of all persons holding offices under Government, in proportion to the enhanced value of money produced by the Bank Restriction Act. "The operation of that act," he said, "had been two-fold: it added to the weight of all fixed payments, while it lowered wages and the price of provisions. Hence the miserable state to which the people of this country were now reduced, and the necessity of rigid, unsparing economy—inviolable, inflexible justice; and in that system of economy, one great source of retrenchment must be the reduction of the salaries of those who had their hands in the public purse. Justice requires, necessity demands it. High prices, and nothing else, produced by a depreciated currency, had brought them high salaries; low prices, by curing that depreciation, must bring them low salaries." So strong was the feeling of the House on this question that the Ministers did not venture to oppose it openly, but evaded it by an amendment, which was unanimously agreed to, for a petition to his Majesty to cause "an in-

1 Parl. Deb. xxii. 442, 446; *Mirror of Parliament*, v. 171. inquiry to be made into all the departments of the civil government, with a view of reducing the number of persons employed in the various services, and the amount of the salaries paid."¹*

Following in the same path thus successfully entered upon, Mr. Hume, a few days after, proposed a great and sweeping reduction of the army and navy, the former of which he proposed to be reduced by 20,000 men, and the latter by a sum of £1,500,000, and other savings, by which he estimated that a diminution in expenditure to the extent of no less than £8,000,000 might be effected. This great reduction was based upon the estimates of 1792, and on the alleged pacification of Ireland, now that the Catholics had obtained emancipation, forgetting that the empire had

* On this occasion Sir James Graham made the following remarks, which, however true at the time, were perhaps more to be admired for their oratorical power than their statesmanlike wisdom: "Sir, I have heard something of the luxury of the present times. I do not know whether the example was drawn from the gorgeous palaces of kings, or the rival palaces of ministers, splendidly provided for them by the public, or from the banquets of some East India Director, gorged with the monopoly of the China trade, or from some Jew contractor, who supplies hostile armies with gold drawn from the coffers of the Bank of England, and lends money to France arising out of profits or loans contracted here in depreciated paper, but which must be paid in gold; but I must take leave to remark that we ought not to draw our notions of the state of the country from scenes such as these.

"Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor decay,
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land."

"Where, I ask, are all the boasted advantages of this once happy country! where are all the blessings which once distinguished her? where are all the comforts which her children enjoyed for ages? Alas! with deep regret I witness that all, all are gone. Pinching hunger and gloomy despair now usurp their station. The weavers throughout the country are only earning 4s. 2d. a week, and their food is oat-meal, water, and potatoes. They work fourteen or sixteen hours a day, and yet they can only earn this scanty pittance to support their wives and families. It is an extraordinary fact, that by dint of labor the power-looms (which were supposed to have caused their distress) are absolutely underwrought by these almost starving people."—*Mirror of Parliament*, vol. i., p. 171.

nearly doubled in numbers, and more than doubled in colonial dependencies and necessity for defense since that period, and that so far from Ireland having been pacified by the Relief Bill, it was now in a more disturbed state, and more required the presence of a large military force, than ever. In this instance, accordingly, the Opposition were unsuccessful. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the forthcoming estimates had been prepared with the greatest attention to economy, and would be found to make as great reductions as were consistent with the public safety. The Whig leaders stood aloof, fearful of tying up their own hands when they succeeded to office, as there was every prospect of their soon doing; and Lord Palmerston and the Canning party objected to any considerable reduction in the forces in the colonies, with the necessities of which they were well acquainted. The Radical party, therefore, were on this occasion reduced to their real strength,¹ and the motion was lost by a majority of 110; the numbers being 167 to 57.¹

Still the Opposition were not discouraged; the clamor for a reduction of expenditure in proportion to the diminution in the income of all the working classes in the nation was so violent, that, prudent or imprudent, willing or unwilling, they were obliged to yield obedience to it. On 25th March, Mr. Poulett Thomson brought forward a motion for the appointment of a committee for a general revision of the system of taxation, resting the demand on the great reduction which might be effected in the cost of collecting the revenue by a change of system, and the absolute necessity of having recourse to it immediately, from the general distress which prevailed, and the consequent reduction in the national income which was going forward. Mr. Peel resisted the motion, not on general grounds, as to which he was quite in accordance with the mover, but on the special plea that the appointment of a committee charged with so momentous a duty as that of reporting on the whole system of taxation, was a virtual delegation of the most important duties of Government and the House to a fraction of its members. These views prevailed, and the motion was lost by a majority of 167 to 78.²

It soon appeared, however, that the coalition against Ministers had lost nothing of its power, and that nothing was awaiting to render it victorious but an opportunity on which the various parties which composed it might unite without compromising their prospects when they succeeded to power. Such an opportunity soon occurred. On the very next day, in a committee of supply on the navy estimates, Ministers were thrown into a minority on a purely party question, regarding Mr. R. Dundas and Mr. W. L. Bathurst, two junior commissioners of the navy, whose united salary was only £900 a year, who were struck off by a majority of 139 to 121. Encouraged by this success, Sir James Graham moved a few days after that the salary of the Treasurer of the

¹ An. Reg. 1830, 40, and the motion was lost by a major-
ity of 110; the numbers being 167 to 57.¹
Deb. xxii. 482, 587.

² Mr. Thomson's motion for a revision of the system of taxation. March 25.

² Parl. Deb. xxiii. 127, 146; An. Reg. 1830, 46, 53.

³¹ Ministers beat on a minor question. March 26.

Navy should be abolished, and the duties of the office transferred to the President of the Board of Trade, with which it had at one time been united. This motion, however, was rejected by 188 to 90, and the same fate attended several other motions for the reduction of particular offices made by the same indefatigable member. These repeated divisions on particular offices were indicative of the state of feeling of the leaders of the Whig party, who, chagrined at not being admitted to a participation of office by the Duke of Wellington, took this mode of at once showing their displeasure and "swelling the cry for economical re-
1 Ann. Reg. 1830, 49, 63; reduction, by evincing the reluctance
Rozbuck, i. of Ministers to yield obedience to
152, 162. it."

These were mere party moves, intended to displace a ministry without embar-
32. rassing their successors, and con-
Motion of Mr. Attwood on vert the suffering of the moment
the currency. into the means of political advancement. But there were not wanting those who took a nobler as well as a juster view of the general distress, and boldly pointed out its cause in the policy regarding monetary matters—so profitable to realized capital, so ruinous to laborious industry—which had for ten years been pursued by the Government. The subject was brought before the House of Commons by the two men in the kingdom most competent to master it, Mr. Attwood and Mr. Baring, who moved that a gold and silver standard should be substituted for the gold one, and that the act for prohibiting the issue of bank-notes below £5 in England and Ireland should be repealed. Nothing could be more convincing than the arguments and facts by which these very eminent men supported the motion, or more sophistical than those by which it was resisted; but it was all in vain. The House was resolved not to be convinced: the interests of realized wealth had become so powerful in the Legislature that those of industry were overpowered; and the debate—the last which took place on the subject before the irrevocable change the existing system had brought about was introduced—remains a memorable and instructive monument for all future times of the manner in which the plainest truths can be disregarded when they run adverse to the interests of a powerful section of society, and a course of policy can be persisted in fraught with consequences which those who originated it are to be the first to regret.*

* Ann. Reg. 1830, 71, 72.

* On the one hand, it was maintained by Mr. Attwood and Mr. Baring: "It was in the power of the Legislature to inflict upon the country such a metallic currency, and in such circumstances as they chose, but it was not in their power to control the effects of such a change. Introduced in 1819, rendered more stringent in 1826 and 1829, it had altered the nature of all contracts, and, for the great profit of capitalists and fund-holders, spread ruin through the industrious classes in the country. During former periods there had been, it is true, many instances of some local or temporary distress, but they had been passing only, and the general career of national prosperity had been upon the whole uninterrupted. But when the act of the Legislature forced us back to a metallic currency, distress, universal in its extent, and deplorable in its effects, followed upon the change; and such distress had regularly occurred whenever we approached even the rumour of setting up an exclusive gold currency. In 1816 the first effort was made to return to the gold currency; but the difficulty was to find the gold, for it had

But although Ministers persisted in shutting their eyes to the real cause of the distress, which was producing such a ferment throughout the country, they were fully aware of its existence and vehemence, and were determined to meet it in the only way which was possible, while

been taken to the Continent during the war, where it had at one time been purchased for £5 12s. an ounce. In 1819 an act of Parliament was passed by which the Bank of England was obliged to retire its notes in gold, valued at £3 17s. 10½d. an ounce. We could not, however, get back the gold without altering and raising the value of the paper money which we gave in exchange for it, which was done by a great and rapid contraction of the currency. The consequence was, that general ruin and unheard-of suffering were experienced by the productive and manufacturing classes throughout the empire, while the capitalists were proportionally enriched.

"We then, in some degree, retraced our steps. We expanded the currency, and postponed the threatened resumption of cash payments, and the prosperity of 1818 was the consequence. It did not, however, long continue; for the measures adopted in 1819 for changing the standard again brought distress and ruin on the country. Why was the prosperity of 1818 less durable than that which preceded it? Simply because the act of 1819 fell upon it and dispersed it.

"The intense suffering of 1820, 1821, and 1822 at length forced a measure of relief upon the Government, which was effected by the prolongation, in the last of these years, for ten years longer, of the right to issue notes below £5, then on the point of expiring in terms of the act of 1819. What was the consequence? Prosperity again returned, like the sun emerging from behind the clouds, and shedding the light of his radiance and the warmth of his beams on a grateful earth. The prosperity of 1823, 1824, and 1825 was without precedent in this country; but it was as short-lived as it was brilliant. Why was this? Simply because the act of 1819 was long-lived, and curtailed its existence. That the act of 1819 had produced these effects, must become evident to any person who looks closely at the history of the country since its date. Four months before that act passed, the Prince-Regent, in a speech from the throne, declared the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country to be in a most flourishing condition; and in fact in the course of that year the revenue of the country increased £4,700,000. Within six months after the passing of the act of 1819 he was obliged to call Parliament unexpectedly together, in consequence of the disaffection generated by distress in the manufacturing districts. It was relieved, but how? Solely by departing from the principle of a metallic currency, and issuing £4,000,000 by the Bank in the shape of loans to the distressed manufacturers. When the banks, by the act of 1822, were allowed to continue small notes in their issues, prosperity returned, inasmuch that, on opening the session of 1825, the King told the Parliament the country had never been so prosperous. At the close of that year the country was in a woeful state of distress, occasioned by the contraction of the currency by £3,500,000 between March and December, in consequence of the drain of gold which had set in from South America, and the crisis was only surmounted by the sudden issue of £6,000,000 additional notes in the last of these months. In 1 Parl. Deb. a word, whenever the currency is plentiful, we xxviii. 487, are in a state of prosperity and contentment; 524; Ann. the moment it is restricted, we fall into a state Reg. 1830, of misery, and are on the verge of revolution." 11, 12.

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr. Harris and Mr. Huskisson: "That the project of having Answer of a double standard would land the country in the Govern- utter confusion. The plan proposed was to ment. have the relative value of gold and silver fixed as it was in 1798, whereas it was well known that the relative value was different from what it had been at that period. That difference was now 5 per cent. Every debtor, therefore, if the double standard were adopted, would hasten to pay it in the silver standard, and so the creditor would lose 5 per cent. on his debt. Would not the whole country present a scene of confusion and ruin if the House of Commons were to enact that every man who did not instantly recover payment of his debt would lose 5 per cent. upon it? Silver never was, in practice, the standard of the country. In practice, independent of the law, silver had never been in a state to be used as a legal tender. Latterly the law had enacted that it should not be a legal standard beyond £25. By weight, indeed, it was a legal tender to any amount, but practically it had become so depreciated that there was no such thing as a standard by weight." Mr. Attwood's resolu- 2 Ann. Reg. 1830, 73, 74. tions were negatived without a division.

upholding the monetary system, which was by the most rigid and unsparing economy. Never before had the pruning-hook been applied with so fearless and unsparing a hand to every branch of the public expenditure; and, in truth, so many and powerful were the interests bent upon upholding it, that nothing but the personal weight and determination of the Duke of Wellington could have carried through the reductions. The income realized in the preceding year had fallen £560,000 short of what had been anticipated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing forward the budget of the year before; but, nothing deterred by that circumstance, the Duke set about a series of reductions in every department of the public service, which enabled him not only to face it, but to present to the House a surplus of no less than £3,400,000 available to the reduction of taxation, still leaving an excess of income over expenditure of £2,667,000 applicable to the reduction of the debt.¹

The taxes remitted in consequence of these great reductions were very considerable, inasmuch that even the Whig opposition admitted that this year of general distress and diminished national income was distinguished by a greater reduction of taxation than had taken place in any year since the peace. The taxes selected for remission were the beer-duty, estimated at £3,000,000; that on leather, £350,000; and that on cider, £25,000: in all, £3,400,000—to commence on the 10th of next October. To meet these great reductions, the duty on English spirits was raised from 7s. to 8s. a gallon, and on Scotch and Irish from 2s. 10d. to 3s., which would yield an increase of £330,000 a year; and a more efficient resource was provided in the reduction of the interest of the 4 per cents. to 3½, which it was calculated would afford a relief to the extent of £750,000. Looking to the probable increase of the revenue in other departments, by the effect of the reductions proposed in this year, it was calculated that the probable amount of the real surplus Reg. 1830, applicable to the reduction of debt would be £2,400,000 a year.²

This budget, as is always the case in the outset with one which proposes a great reduction of taxation, was extremely popular, and won for Ministers, for a brief season, golden opinions from all classes of men. Even the most decided of the Liberals gave the Duke credit for unsparing economy, and confessed "that this session had given the most important financial relief to the nation of any since the peace; and the acknowledgment of this by the Liberal members was full and gracious."³ Yet did the reductions, from which so much was expected, entirely fail to give any sensible relief to the nation, or alleviate in any degree the general distress which prevailed in consequence of the ruinous fall of prices. On the contrary, in the face of the reduction in expenditure and taxation, which had elicited such unbounded applause from the Liberal leaders and press, the distress went on ac-

cumulating, until in this very year it induced a change in the Ministry, and in less than two years an entire revolution in the constitution! a striking proof of the fallacy of the remedial measures on which the Opposition at that period were so strongly set. It is not surprising it was so, for the proposed reductions only relieved the nation to the extent of three or four millions; whereas the monetary laws, by cutting at least 50 per cent. from the remuneration of all branches of industry, commercial and agricultural, had reduced the incomes of the industrious classes to the extent of a hundred and fifty millions yearly.

These reductions, however, such as they were, revealed the perilous nature of the descent on which the nation had embarked, and the evident approaching ABANDONMENT OF THE SINKING FUND, so long and justly regarded as the palladium of the nation, its sheet-anchor alike in prosperous and adverse fortune. This melancholy topic did not escape the notice of Mr. Baring, who, amidst the chorus of Liberal flattery and approbation at the proposed reductions, had the courage to express the following just and manly sentiments: "Mr. Pitt, at the time when he proposed the Sinking Fund in 1786, said, 'To you do the public turn their eye, justly expecting that, from the trust you hold, you will make the most strenuous efforts in order to afford them the long-wished-for prospect of being relieved from an endless accumulation of taxes, under the burden of which they are ready to sink. Upon the debate of this day do they place all their hopes of a full return of prosperity and security, which will give confidence and vigor to those exertions in trade and commerce upon which the flourishing state of this country so much depends. To behold the country emerging from a most unfortunate war, which added such an accumulation to sums before immense, that it was the belief of the surrounding nations, and of many among ourselves, that our powers must fail us, and that we should sink under our difficulties; to behold this nation, instead of despairing at its alarming condition, looking its situation boldly in the face, and establishing, upon a permanent plan, the means of relieving itself from all its incumbrances, must give such an idea of our resources, and of our spirit of exertion, as will astonish the nations around us, and enable us to regain that pre-eminence to which, on many accounts, we were so justly entitled.'"¹ These were the words of Mr. Pitt, which were re-echoed by Mr. Fox, who, struck with the necessity of giving increased stability to the principle of security on which the public creditor relied, stifled, on this occasion, the eager spirit of party which at that time animated the House of Commons, and so exhibited a contrast, he regretted to say, to the degeneracy in the present time, when, within and without that House, no repugnance is shown to a total departure from those just principles upon which Mr. Pitt mainly relied to conquer our impending difficulties.

"The proposed reduction of taxation is £3,400,000. It is provided for by £2,667,000, being the existing surplus of income over ex-

33. Financial measures, and great reductions of Government.

34. Taxes remitted on beer, leather, and cider.

2 Parl. Deb. xliii. 124, 137; Ann. Reg. 1830, 80, 81.

35. Great satisfaction at the Budget, and its entire failure to relieve the general distress.

3 Martineau, i. 545.

36. Mr. Baring's speech on the abandonment of the Sinking Fund.

¹ Parl. Hist. xxv. 1296.

penditure by £330,000 a year from the increased duty on spirits, and £110,000 from stamps. The whole would amount to £3,070,000; leaving £330,000 a year to be still provided for, *after applying to the reduction every farthing of the Sinking Fund*. We have lived to see the time when a minister appeared in the House, and, after frittering away, on one pretense or another, all the benefits which were hoped to be drawn from the Sinking Fund, finally proposed to sweep away altogether the income laid by for its maintenance! Means might and should have been found to support this fund; but if we are to adopt the doctrines expounded in the market-place—if we are not to look at the consequence of being compelled to go to war, but, on the contrary, to obey the recommendations, and chime in with the prejudices, and act according to the political wisdom to be heard at Penenden Heath, or in the market-place at Chelmsford, then the credit, the honor, the interest, and the power of this country must ultimately sink with the weakness which permitted the House to listen to such suggestions. Mr. Pitt, when he established the Sinking Fund, had declared ‘that no minister would ever have the confidence to come down to the House, and propose the repeal of a measure the tendency of which was to relieve the people of their burdens; and that to suffer that fund *at any time, or on any pretense*, to be diverted from its proper object, would be to ruin, defeat, and overturn the whole plan. He hoped, therefore, that the House would hold itself solemnly pledged never to listen to any proposal for its repeal on any pretense whatever.’¹

¹ Parl. Hist. xxv. 1309.

Yet after, during a long course of years, the Sinking Fund had been frittered away on various pretenses, it is now proposed to abolish it entirely, and leave the debt forever a crushing burden upon the nation, by appropriating the whole surplus, and more than the surplus, to the remission of taxation. Even if the modified Sinking Fund of £5,000,000 yearly, which Parliament so solemnly pledged

² Ante, c. iv. § 81. itself, in 1819, to keep up inviolate,² had been maintained, the House would

now have had a surplus of above £7,000,000 to apply to the reduction of debt, and instead of entertaining a proposal for the reduction of interest on the Four per Cents, the whole of the debt at this moment might have been converted into terminable annuities, and its entire extinction insured at no distant period.” These remarks made no sort of impression, and the ministerial budget, repealing taxes to such an extent as to extinguish the last remnant of the

³ Parl. Deb. xxiii. 325, 327; Ann. Reg. 1830, 82, 84. Sinking Fund, passed without a division, amidst a chorus of approbation from both sides of the House, and in particular the warmest applause from the Liberal opposition.³

We have now reached a turning-point in English history—that when the Sinking Fund was practically abandoned, and the nation voluntarily took the whole public debt as a permanent and irremovable burden on itself. That this has been the case is evident from this decisive fact, that the unredeemed debt was considerably less in this year than it

was in 1854, when the Russian war broke out! * Three-and-twenty years of unbroken Continental peace has been attended with no other effect than adding eight millions to the national debt—although, during the fifteen preceding years, mutilated as the Sinking Fund had been by successive administrations, a very sensible reduction in this debt had been effected, for it had been diminished by seventy-five millions.† It is a melancholy reflection that twenty-three years of subsequent peace has brought only an increase of the debt, and that its redemption is now, by common consent, regarded as hopeless. It is the more so, when it is recollected that the Sinking Fund, at the close of the war, amounted to £15,000,000 annually; and that, if it had not been subsequently broken upon by successive administrations, it would have entirely extinguished the debt by the year 1845.¹

It is easy to see to what this great change, fraught with such vast and irreparable effects upon the future destinies and ultimate fate of the British empire, has been, in the first instance, owing. It arose from the repeal of so large a portion of the indirect taxes, which, according to Mr. Pitt’s policy, were to have been kept as a sacred resource, never to be trenched upon, so far as they were necessary to provide for the Sinking Fund. The direct taxes, universally felt as so oppressive, were never intended by him to be prolonged beyond the termination of the war. To such an extent has this system of abandoning the indirect taxes,† the sole support of the Sinking Fund, been carried by successive administrations, all bidding against each other in the race

* Unredeemed debt in 1830	£757,486,997
Ditto in 1852	765,126,382
Added to funded debt in twenty-two years	1,030,585
—PORTER’S <i>Parliamentary Tables</i> , i. 6; and <i>Finance Tables</i> , 1853.	
† Unredeemed debt in 1815	£816,311,940
Ditto in 1830	757,486,997
Paid off in fifteen years—funded debt	£58,724,943
—PORTER’S <i>Parliamentary Tables</i> , i. 6.	
Unfunded debt in 1815	£48,725,359
Ditto in 1830	32,079,483
Paid off in fifteen years—unfunded debt	£16,642,876
— <i>M. Reg.</i> , 1816, 485, and 1830, 373. <i>App. to Chron.</i>	
PAID OFF IN FIFTEEN YEARS.	
Funded debt	£58,724,943
Unfunded	16,642,876
Total	£75,367,719

‡ INDIRECT TAXES REPEALED AND LAID ON, FROM 1816 TO 1830, BOTH INCLUSIVE, VIZ.:

Years.	Taken off.	Laid on.
1816	£2,863,000	£375,058
1817	36,495	7,991
1818	9,504	1,356
1819	269,484	3,102,302
1820	4,000	119,602
1821	471,309	44,842
1822	2,139,101	—
1823	4,185,735	18,596
1824	1,801,333	49,605
1825	3,676,239	48,100
1826	1,697,215	188,725
1827	84,038	21,402
1828	51,998	1,966
1829	126,406	—
1830	4,070,742	—
	£21,486,599	£3,979,243
	3,979,243	

Balance of indirect taxes remitted from 1815 to 1830. } £17,507,356
—PORTER’S *Progress of the Nation*, 485–486, 3d edition.

for popularity, that these repeals amounted, between 1815 and 1830, to £17,507,356, clear indirect taxes remitted, after taking into view what had been imposed during the same period. It was impossible that so vast a reduction, coinciding with the additional remission of £15,000,000 direct property-tax during the same period, could take place without altogether extinguishing the Sinking Fund, which was based entirely upon those indirect taxes, and thereby inflicting a fatal and irrecoverable wound upon the whole financial system of the nation.

It is the more surprising that this great reduction of indirect taxes should have been carried through by every successive administration which succeeded to the helm of affairs, when it is recollected that the Government shared to the very full in the embarrassment so strongly felt in the country. There was no farmer, manufacturer, or weaver more embarrassed for money, in proportion to their resources, than the Treasury was during the greater part of this period. There must obviously have been some great cause constantly in operation from 1815 to 1830, which prompted a course so much at variance with the present interests of Government, and fraught with such danger to the ultimate financial prospects of the country. Nor is it difficult to see what this cause was. The threatened resumption of cash payments by the Bank in 1816, the completed resumption in 1819, the suppression of small notes by the bill of 1826, did the whole. They created an overbearing necessity which nothing could withstand. Prices having been lowered above 50 per cent. by these measures, and at least £150,000,000 annually cut off—save in 1818, 1824, and 1825, when the currency was expanded—from the remuneration of industry throughout the country, while debts and money obligations remained the same, it was impossible to maintain the former indirect taxes any more than the direct ones. Diminution of burdens became a state necessity to which every thing, even the ultimate existence of the nation, required to yield. The taxes remitted, indeed, were little compared to the remuneration of industry cut off, but still they were something, and their remission at least removed the bitterest ingredient in the cup of misery, that of having its sufferings disregarded.

It soon appeared, however, that the destruction of the Sinking Fund was not to be the only effect produced by the contraction of the currency, and its being based entirely on gold, which by no possibility could be always retained. The sufferings of the industrial classes also made themselves known in a still more audible manner; and with the disappearance of small notes from the circulation in England commenced the CRY FOR REFORM, which soon came to supersede all other cries, and produced such a ferment in the country as changed, first the administration, and then the constitution. The people, engaged in industrial pursuits, were so universally involved in distress that they could bear it no longer. They had petitioned the Legislature for inquiry and relief, over and over again, during the last fifteen years, and

these petitions had uniformly been rejected. Cities equally with counties, manufacturers alike with farmers, shop-keepers with squires, had earnestly implored relief, and offered to substantiate their distresses by evidence; but their prayers had been disregarded. They were told that they were altogether mistaken, that they were eminently prosperous, and that the cutting off of £150,000,000 annually from the remuneration of productive industry in the State had occasioned no diminution in its ability to bear the existing and undiminished burdens. Capital, entrenched in the close boroughs, which it had acquired by purchase, was more than a match for the industrial classes, still, under the existing constitution of the House of Commons, in a minority; and, finding itself increased by a half by the existing system, derided the impotent efforts of laboring industry. Like the farmers-general of the revenue in France, who made colossal fortunes out of the labor of the people anterior to the Revolution, they said, "*Pourquoi tant de bruit? nous sommes si bien.*" Worse, even than that, the influence of the capitalists had become such, that they had succeeded not only in stifling the cry of distress, but in blinding men to its real cause, and, by their influence over the press, had withdrawn the public attention from the only change by which the general suffering could be alleviated.

These causes produced that general and blind cry for change, which ere long acquired such force as to be irresistible. The Whig leaders, who were the proprietors of a large part of the close boroughs, and by means of them had governed the country for eighty years after the Revolution, were in no hurry to forward their extinction; and although this obliged them, in order to keep up their credit with the people, to join, on some occasions, in the outcry against the corruptions of Parliament, yet in secret they were not less inclined than their opponents to uphold them. "In this," says the historian of their party, "there is nothing to be wondered at. All the great families had almost entirely receded from the ranks of the reformers; and they looked with jealousy upon all who based their pretensions to popular favor upon views of parliamentary reform. In 1819, they made the most bitter invectives against the reformers; and when the Whigs, under Mr. Canning, became themselves part of the Government, their wishes for reform appear to have entirely disappeared."¹ The Canning party, both before

40.
Which was occasioned by the contraction of the currency.

42.
Disinclination of the Whigs generally to parliamentary reform.

41.
Which also produced the cry for Reform.

1 Roebuck, History of the Whigs, i. 205, 206.

* "Mr. Tierney declared that he never rose with more of the spirit of moderation, or with more of a disposition to harmony, than he felt at that moment; and in the first place, he must thank his noble friend (Lord John Russell) for the opportunity which he had afforded the House of *unanimously and decidedly discountenancing the wild and visionary doctrines of reform* which had lately agitated the country." Lord John Russell said, on July 1, 1819, "I agree in the propriety of disfranchising such boroughs as are notoriously corrupt, and I will give my consent to any measure that will limit the duration of Parliament to three years. I can not, however, pledge myself to support a measure that goes the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry is calculated to *throw a slur upon the representation of the country*, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarm."—*Parl. Deb.*, xii. p. 1106, and xi. p. 1440.

and after the death of its leader, was still more strongly, and on principle, opposed to any general reform.* But although these two great sections of the Liberal party, the Whigs and Canningites, were thus strongly opposed to the very last to any sweeping plan of parliamentary reform, yet the general and long-continued distress consequent on the contraction of the currency, from 1819 to 1830, obliged them to alter their tone, and, in order to preserve their lead with the people, give in to the general demand for an entire change in the representative system.¹

The first symptoms of this feverish and unconquerable anxiety for change appeared in a variety of motions on the subject of parliamentary reform, brought forward during the session of 1830 by several detached members, without any apparent concert with each other, but which showed in an unmistakable manner how earnestly the subject was forced upon them by their constituents. Lord Howick, who, like his father, Earl Grey, had, almost alone of the aristocratic members of the Whig party, been throughout a decided and consistent reformer, first brought forward a motion "for some general and comprehensive measure, the only means of checking the scandalous abuses which prevail," which was lost by a majority of only 27; the numbers being 126 to 99.²

On 18th February, the Marquess of Blandford, a leader of the High-Church party, which was so profoundly irritated at Mr. Peel and the Duke of Wellington for their conduct on Catholic emancipation, made motion for a vague and very sweeping measure of reform, conceived rather in anger than wisdom, which was negatived by a much larger majority—the numbers being 160 to 57.³ A much more formidable, because better conceived and reasonable onslaught on the existing state of things, was made by Lord John Russell, who, on 29th February, brought forward a motion for leave to bring in a bill "to enable the towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to return representatives to Parliament." Nothing more reasonable could be conceived; for this proposal, laying aside all projects of sweeping reform, went only to provide a remedy in the most moderate way for a great and acknowledged defect, and lessened the danger of future innovation by detaching

from it the formidable alliance of present grievance. The motion, accordingly, was supported by the whole strength of the united Whig and Canning parties in addition to the Radical reformers; and the division showed only a majority of 48, the numbers being 188 to 140.¹ The strength of the Reform party, evinced by this division, induced Mr. O'Connell, on 28th May, to bring in a bill, limiting the duration of Parliament to three years, to make suffrage universal, and protect the voters by the ballot. Lord John Russell upon this moved an amendment to the effect "that it is expedient to extend the basis of the representation of the people in this House, by giving members to large unrepresented towns, and to counties of greatest wealth and population." Mr. O'Connell's motion was rejected by a majority of 309, the numbers being 319 to 13; and Lord John Russell's amendment by 96, the numbers being 213 to 117.²

These different decisions sufficiently proved the progress which, in spite of the disinclination of the leaders of the Whigs and Canningites, the Reform question was, from the pressure from without, making in the House of Commons. But meanwhile a still more efficient ally to the cause was arising, and had already acquired considerable strength in the country. This was the Political Unions, which, in imitation of the Catholic Association, were formed in the principal unrepresented great towns in the empire, and which ere long acquired an influence that came to overbalance for the time that of both Houses of Parliament. They began in Birmingham, the city in the kingdom which had suffered most from the measures pursued by the Legislature, in consequence of the immense reduction in the price of hardware goods from the contraction of the currency. Their object was to collect funds, appoint committees, and organize corresponding societies, in order to raise a universal cry for parliamentary reform through the country; and to carry the question in spite of all the opposition which could be made by the holders of the close boroughs, by exaggerating the difficulties and distresses of the country, and representing reform in Parliament as the one and only panacea which would at once terminate all its sufferings. By steadily pursuing this object, and turning the whole ill-humor of the country arising out of the general distress into this one channel, they hoped to carry their point in spite of all the lukewarmness of the Whig, and the opposition of the whole Tory borough proprietors.³

Such, however, was the strength of the great capitalists interested in the continuance of the existing order of things, monetary as well as political, that it is doubtful whether these hopes would have been realized, at least without the aid of open violence, or for a long period, had it not been for two events which occurred in rapid succession at this period, and totally disturbed the balance of parties and equilibrium of the national mind in Great Britain. The first of these was the death of the King, which

* "Now, what remains behind?" said Mr. Huskisson, in 1829—"Parliamentary reform. I trust it will long remain behind. I hope we shall always resist it firmly and strenuously. I am sure, if we adopt the proposition of my honorable friend the member for Blitchingly [for giving the members for East Retford to Birmingham], the chance of our making a successful resistance to parliamentary reform will be increased; but if we adopt the proposition of the honorable member for Hertford [for giving the franchise to the Hundred], we shall see parliamentary reform, backed by a powerful auxiliary out of the House (I mean public opinion), made an annual and formidable subject of discussion."—*Mirror of Parliament*, 1829, p. 1450. "I feel no difficulty," said Lord Howick, in 1830, "in understanding the right honorable gentleman. He has made an admission for which I thank him. Individuals who think as the right honorable gentleman does, are willing to give up some of the outworks of corruption, in order that they may be better able to defend the strong-hold."—*Ibid.*, 1830, p. 127.

¹ *Mirror of Parliament*, 1830, 376.

² *Mirror of Parliament*, 1830, ii.

³ *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, 2056; 1830, 87, 97.

44. Rise of the political unions, and their great influence.

³ *Ann. Reg.*, 1830, 91, 92.

45. Illness and death of George IV. June 26.

took place on the 26th June, and rendered a dissolution of Parliament in the course of the autumn unavoidable; the second the French Revolution, and fall of Charles X. on July 28th, which caused the new elections to take place during a period when the public mind was excited to the very highest degree by the sight of the overturn of a throne by urban revolt in the neighboring kingdom. The health of George IV., which had been long precarious, and much impaired by the anxieties and regrets consequent on Catholic emancipation, failed so rapidly in the spring of this year, that on April 15.

15th April a bulletin was issued, stating that his Majesty was laboring under a bilious disorder, which was soon ascertained to be in reality an ossification of the heart. So rapid was the progress of this frightful disease, that within six weeks afterward it became necessary to bring a bill into Parliament, authorizing the royal sign-manual to be adhibited by stamp. The malady ran its

usual course, exhibiting alternately symptoms of alleviation and aggravation, and at length terminated fatally on 26th June, in the 68th year of the Sovereign's age.¹

George IV., who thus paid the debt of nature at one of the most critical periods of English history, is a Sovereign who has been so variously represented by political men and writers of opposite parties, that it is scarcely possible to recognize the features of the same individual in the two sets of portraits. The personal friend and cordial ally of the Whig leaders early in life, he became the object of their envenomed and impassioned malice, when in maturer years, after he had succeeded to power, he failed to realize the promises made to, and expectations formed by them, at a former period. By the Tories he was regarded with distrust and suspicion, while he was the companion of Fox, Sheridan, Tierney, the Duchess of Devonshire, and all the constellation of Whig talent; by the Whigs he became the object of the bitterest of all feelings, disappointed hope, when, after he became Regent, he called Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Eldon to his councils. It is easy to see that both parties, at these different times, regarded him with exaggerated feelings; and it is not impossible at this distance of time, when a new generation has succeeded, and different interests have arisen, to see where the truth lies between these conflicting statements.

His reign as Regent and as King will always be memorable in English history, for

Great events it commenced with the greatest military triumphs recorded in its annals, and it ended with the most important social and political changes which have occurred since the Great Rebellion. Neither the one nor the other, however, can in justice be ascribed to the Sovereign. He succeeded to the unrestricted duties and powers of royalty in June, 1812, when Wellington was commencing the Salamanca campaign, and Napoleon was engaging in that of Moscow; and he reaped the harvest prepared by the perseverance and sacrifices of others. He gave a cordial support to his ministers and the nation in bringing the

contest to a triumphant close; but there his merit in that respect ended. He departed from life amidst the heart-burnings and irritation consequent on Catholic emancipation, and on the eve of the great change which was to usher in reform; but he had neither merit nor demerit in these great events. He opposed the first as long and strongly as was consistent with his duties as a constitutional monarch, and beyond all question he would have done the same with the last, had his life been prolonged to the period when it came so violently to agitate the nation. His merits or demerits as a sovereign are irrespective, as is often the case with constitutional monarchs, of the great events of his reign.

He undoubtedly possessed talents of a very superior kind. They were thus portrayed by two men who knew him well, and whose testimony, independent of their honest character and eminent fame, is rendered the more trustworthy that it was drawn after the monarch was no more. "Posterity," said Sir Robert Peel, "will regard his late Majesty as a sovereign who, during war, maintained the honor and the glory of England, and who, during the whole period of his delegated trust, or of his reign as sovereign, never exercised, or wished to exercise, a prerogative of the Crown, except for the advantage of his people. I am not overstepping the bounds of sober truth when I state that his Majesty was an enlightened friend of liberty, that he was an admirable judge, and liberal patron of the fine arts; and I can from my own personal experience assert, that his heart was ever open to any appeal which could be made to his benevolence, and to the saving of human life, or the mitigation of human suffering." "The manners of George IV.," said the Duke of Wellington, "had received a polish, his understanding acquired a degree of cultivation, almost unknown to any individual: on every occasion he displayed a degree of knowledge and of talent not often to be expected of a person holding his high office."² This is very high praise, Parliament, and as such it has excited the indignation of the Liberal historians; but the concurring testimony of all who enjoyed the Sovereign's private society, or even met him on business, attest to its truth. His taste was refined in the highest degree; his ear for music exquisite; his manners won for him the reputation of being the "first gentleman in Europe," and several of his private holograph letters display a felicity of expression which the most experienced professional writer might envy.*

Unfortunately, his character, like that of most men, was of a very mixed description, and the bad qualities were those of the heart rather than the head. He was as well informed, clear-sighted, and intelligent as the ministers in daily converse with

* "Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above any reward. I know no language in the world worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say but devoutly to offer up my prayer of gratitude to Providence that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivaled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England."—PRINCE-REGENT to DUKE OF WELLINGTON, 3d July, 1813; GURWOOD'S *Dispatches*, x. 532.

him on business asserted; but he was also as selfish, capricious, and self-willed, as the women admitted to still closer intimacy too fatally experienced. Love is the touchstone not only of the warmth, but of the character of the heart; it does not alter the disposition, but only brings it out; it renders the brave more brave, the generous more generous; but not less certainly the selfish more selfish, the egotistical more egotistical. George IV. was wholly incapable of standing this searching test. Supposing his severance from Queen Caroline to admit of excuse, from what was afterward proved of the frailties and indiscretions of that ill-starred princess, his conduct on other occasions when he chose for himself, and could not plead the Marriage Act in extenuation, was cold-hearted, perfidious, and deserving of the very highest reprobation. His early amours with "Perdita" probably came to no other end than that which an accomplished courtesan expects and deserves; but the case was very different with a most superior and charming lady, Mrs. Fitzherbert, of whose person he obtained possession by going through a fictitious and fraudulent marriage ceremony, which he afterward made Mr. Fox deny in Parliament. That illustrious man never forgave the insult thus offered to his honor; and when he discovered the falsehood of the denial of which he had thus been made the unsuspecting instrument, he withdrew altogether from an intimacy followed by requisitions so degrading. Of truth, like other systematic voluptuaries, he was in a great degree regardless, at least when it interfered with his pleasures or his passions. Self-willed and capricious throughout, he became, as he advanced in life, faithful only to one desire, the common refuge of such characters—he was mainly governed by the love of ease; and to this object he sacrificed many objects which he even regarded as matters of conscience. He was strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation, and had serious compunctious visitings for having yielded to it; but he had not energy sufficient to face the struggle which would have ensued had he thrown himself on the country, and refused the royal assent; nor, in truth, could such refusal at that period have served any good purpose.¹

WILLIAM IV., who succeeded on the death of the reigning sovereign, was a prince of a different character from his predecessor. Like him, he has been the object of alternate eulogium and vituperation from the two great parties which divided the State. It was his lot to be called to the throne on the eve of the greatest political revolution which has ever occurred in its history, and he has in consequence shared the fate of all persons involved in similar convulsions—that of being praised by each party as long as he favored its views, and condemned as soon as he proved himself adverse to it. He was warmly eulogized by Mr. Brougham at the outset of his reign,* and the "most popular King since the

days of Alfred" was the object of incessant panegyric from the Liberal press as long as he went along with their measures. Gradually, however, their eulogies ceased, and at length turned into bitter invective, when he was found endeavoring to oppose the bulwark of the Crown to the threatening surges of democracy. In truth, however, he was not the fit object either of praise or blame on either occasion. On both he was the almost passive instrument of the efforts of others. The national passions were so strongly roused, that had he possessed the eloquence of Mirabeau, the capacity of Cæsar, or the energy of Napoleon, he would have failed in any attempt either to direct or oppose them.

His abilities were respectable, but not remarkable—by no means equal to those of George IV., which were, so far as natural powers go, by much the first of his family. Bred up by his father to the profession of the navy, he had imbibed the kindly feelings and buoyancy of mind so common in that profession, and at the same time shared in the deficiency of general information which the habits of a nautical life are so apt to produce. His conduct on the throne at times appeared inconsistent and capricious, but that did not proceed from any perfidy or duplicity of character, but from the limited range of his intellectual vision, which precluded him from foreseeing in the outset consequences which presented themselves with fearful clearness to him in the end. Brave individually, he was not firm politically; and above all, he had a secret vein of vanity which led him to court popular applause, irrespective of the ultimate consequences of the course applauded—a weakness common to him with Necker, Peel, and several other men, who have left the impress of their actions most indelibly engraven on the annals of their country, but perhaps the most dangerous weakness which persons in exalted situations can possess.

He had not the passion for meretricious variety which the Prince of Wales had indulged early in life, but he had formed one lasting *liaison* with a celebrated actress, Mrs. Jordan, by whom he had a numerous family, since ennobled by the title of Earl of Munster. He was in the sixty-fifth year of his age when he ascended the throne, and had been married for several years to the Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, who became Queen of England. She was a model of every feminine virtue, and endowed with no small amount of masculine courage and resolution. She had borne him two princes, both of whom died in infancy, and there was no longer any hope of a direct succession to the crown—a subject of regret at the time, but which has long since been forgotten in the virtues and popularity of the illustrious Princess who upon his demise succeeded to the throne.

The usual expressions of condolence on the demise of the late monarch, and congratulation on the accession of the new, by both Houses, did not long suspend the strife of parties in

* "I hope," said Mr. Brougham, "that elsewhere there is too much magnanimity, too much patriotism, too much munificence, too much strength of mind, to permit the illustrious Sovereign now upon the throne to shrink from looking in the face that ultimate termination of his earthly ex-

istence from which a recent event may show him that princes no more than their subjects are exempt."—*Mirror of Parl.*, 1830, p. 2616. These words were spoken of a living sovereign, and therefore more suspicious than Mr. Peel's eulogy on a departed one.

Parliament; on the contrary, it only became more keen and impassioned; for the death of the former king had removed the personal antipathies which had been one great cause of the long exclusion of the Whigs from power, and the known intimacies and facility of character of the new opened to them a fair prospect of speedily regaining it. The first proceedings in Parliament, accordingly, were marked by a great tenderness of the Liberal leaders toward the reigning monarch. They had long suffered from a rupture with the throne, and they were resolved not again to incur a similar difficulty. The Tories were retained in their places by William; but it was well understood that they held them on sufferance only, and that as soon as, by a coalition of parties, they were thrown into a minority in the House of Commons, the Sovereign would without reluctance call the leaders of Opposition to the helm.^{1*}

The first question on which the temper of the Liberals to the new Sovereign was evinced was regarding a passage in the Address, in which the Ministers recommended, in answer to a message from the Sovereign, that Parliament should sit till provision was made for carrying on the public service, and then be dissolved. Earl Grey in the Lords, and Lord Althorpe in the Commons, moved for a provision for a Regency, in the event of the demise of the Sovereign in the interval before the new Parliament assembled. The debate was chiefly remarkable for the lavish encomiums bestowed by the Whig chiefs, and especially Mr. Brougham, on the new King; but the motion, which was entirely a party move, was unsuccessful in both June 30. Houses, being defeated in the Lords by a majority of forty-four, and in the Commons by one of forty-six. These numbers indicated an approximation to equality between the two parties for long unknown in Parliament, and presaged a change in administration at no distant period.²

Two questions occurring during this session of Parliament powerfully contributed to influence the public mind, and increase the unpopularity of Ministers, already prepared by so many concurring causes. The first of these was a debate on certain prosecutions of the press, especially the *Morning Journal*, which had been instituted by Sir James Scarlett, the Attorney-General, for libels against the Government. Instead of adopting the wise course of disregarding such attacks altogether, and replying to them only by integrity and wisdom of administration, it was

deemed necessary to proceed against them by *ex-officio* information—a mode of proceeding unpopular at all times, and especially when instituted by a functionary who had himself been one of the warmest supporters of the liberty of the press. Government, at a critical moment, was seriously damaged in public estimation by this injudicious proceeding. The second was a motion brought forward by Mr. Brougham, toward the close of the session, on the July 13. subject of colonial slavery. His motion was, that “this House do resolve, at the earliest practicable period next session, to take into its serious consideration the state of the slaves in the colonies of Great Britain, in order to the mitigation and final abolition of slavery.” The motion was resisted by Government, and thrown out by a majority of 29, the numbers being 56 to 27; but Mr. Brougham made a powerful speech on the occasion, which harrowed up the feelings of the humane throughout the country, and procured for him the representation of the West Riding of Yorkshire at the next election. This debate, though conducted in a very thin House, deserves to be noticed as the commencement of that vehement feeling on the subject of slavery in the country, which soon after, for good or for evil, forced on the unconditional measure of NEGRO EMANCIPATION.¹

Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on 23d July, and next day a proclamation for its dissolution appeared, the writs being returnable on 14th September. Never had the country been appealed to under such critical circumstances, or a fortuitous combination of events produced such momentous effects on the British empire. The very day after the proclamation dissolving Parliament appeared in the *London Gazette*, the famous ordinances were signed by Charles X., and the contest began in the streets of Paris which terminated in the overthrow of the French monarchy. Incalculable were the results of this fortuitous, perhaps providential, coincidence. The elections, which began in the end of August or beginning of September, took place during an excitement, in consequence of that event, which never had been paralleled, since the Great Rebellion, in English history. All hearts were moved, all minds fired, all sympathies awakened by it. The national mind, grave and sedate on ordinary occasions, was then roused to a pitch almost of frenzy. It is in such characters that the passions, when once thoroughly excited, are ever the strongest and most irresistible. Unbounded was the enthusiasm excited in the whole middle classes, and a large part of the higher, by that great event. The English mind was sympathetic with the cause of freedom all over the world; and warmly interested in the first French Revolution at its outset, and detached from it only by the excitement of the war and its own atrocities, it now lent itself without reserve to the great and comparatively bloodless effort in favor of liberty made in the neighboring kingdom. The heroism displayed by the citizens during the conflict, the clemency and abstinence from pillage by which the triumph was distinguished,

* “The Whigs were determined not to have another personal quarrel with the Sovereign, and thus put themselves in a painful position when called to the presence of the Sovereign, and called to act in his name. Whatever might happen, therefore, they were resolved to be on good terms with the King, having experienced the mischief done to their party by their unhappy strife with his predecessor. Sir Robert Peel had indulged in panegyric on the late, Mr. Brougham employed his powers in eulogizing the new Sovereign. Nothing, therefore, was heard but a chorus of praise of the dead and the living.”—ROEBUCK, vol. i. p. 256.

¹ Mirror of Parliament, 1830, 2881; Brougham's Speeches, ii. 132; An. Reg. 1830, 137, 141.

² Prorogation and dissolution of Parliament, and French Revolution.

the celerity and completeness of the victory, diffused a universal enchantment. All ranks, though from different motives, joined in it. The ardent and philanthropic beheld with thankfulness a great triumph, almost unstained by human blood, achieved for the arms of freedom; the middle classes were elated by the prospect of a citizen-king being placed on the throne, and their armed representatives in the National Guard disposing of the crown; the press was charmed at the sight of the editors of newspapers becoming ministers of state; the Radicals were in transports at beholding a dynasty overthrown by a well-concerted urban revolt, and a monarch of the people's choice, "surrounded by republican institutions," assuming the reins of government. Fearful of the consequences, and trembling for themselves, the aristocratic leaders and far-seeing of the educated classes kept aloof, and awaited the course of events before they declared decidedly on the subject; but their numbers were too few to weaken the universal transports; and the liberal chiefs, to preserve the lead to 1830, 144, 145; Roebuck, i. 291, 296; Martineau, ii. 7, in the expression of the general enthusiasm.¹

This general excitement, which went on daily increasing for some months after the Revolution of 1830 took place, appeared with decisive effect upon the results of the elections. It was not the number of the victories gained by the Liberals so much as their character which was the decisive thing. Not one cabinet minister obtained a seat by any thing like a popular election, while their opponents carried the greatest constituencies without a contest, or by triumphant majorities. Mr. Brougham was returned without opposition for the West Riding of Yorkshire. "The squires," said he, "were all against me, but I canvassed the towns and villages, and soon convinced them that resistance was hopeless." Devonshire, after a violent contest, was carried by Lord Ebrington, a decided Whig, and the support of the same party brought in Sir Thomas Acland, a liberal Tory. Middlesex brought in Mr. Hume by a large majority, and in Cambridgeshire the old-established influence of the Rutland family was defeated in consequence of the indignation of the freeholders at the duke's vote in favor of the Catholics. These changes in the counties were nearly all owing to the strong opinion of the rural population on that question, and the ulcerated feelings with which they regarded those who, as they thought, had betrayed them. But in the great towns the result was the same, though springing from a general sense of suffering in consequence of the change of prices rather than from religious feelings. Liverpool returned Mr. Huskisson and General Gascoigne, both hostile, though on different grounds, to the Government. London, Westminster, Aylesbury, and nearly all the great towns, returned Opposition members. Even Mr. Croker lost his seat for Dublin University. In the general result of the election, it was calculated that Ministers had lost fifty seats, making a difference of a hundred on a vote: and the character of

the changes was even more serious than their number; for of the eighty-two county seats for England, only twenty-eight were ministerial; of thirteen great cities only three returned members in that interest; and upon the whole of two hundred and thirty-six seats, more or less open, only seventy nine were ministerial, while a hundred and forty-one were in decided opposition, and sixteen neu- 1830, 146, 147.

The enthusiasm excited by the French Revolution was no doubt one great cause of this decisive change, especially in the great towns, where it was sedulously fostered in public meetings, headed by Whigs and Liberals of all sorts. But much was also owing to the deep heart-burnings produced in the agricultural districts by the resistance of Government to every petition for relief, and the entire failure of Catholic emancipation to allay any of the disturbances, or alleviate any of the sufferings of Ireland. The English Protestant leaders pointed with triumph on the hustings to the example of that distracted country, as proving what might be expected when men deviated from the faith of their fathers. So far from being pacified, it was daily becoming more disturbed; so far from O'Connell having sunk into a *nisi prius* lawyer, he had become a more formidable chief of agitation than ever. Emancipation had become the platform on which the leaders of the movement planted their whole batteries for the demolition of the Protestant faith, and the severance of the connection with Great Britain. A new Catholic Association was formed under the title of "The Friends of Ireland, of all Religious Denominations," the avowed objects of which were a repeal of the Subletting Act, radical reform in Parliament, and the repeal of the Union.²

The Lord-Lieutenant put down this Association by proclamation, upon which Mr. O'Connell counseled a general run upon the banks, and formed a new association under the title of "The Anti-Union Association." This, too, was forbidden by the Lord-Lieutenant, upon which O'Connell summoned it to meet under the significant title of "Association of *Irish Volunteers* for the Repeal of the Union." He told them in the most emphatic terms to look at France and Belgium for examples of what might be done when the people were determined, and enjoined petitions from every county, city, parish, and village in Ireland, for the repeal of the Union, and the severance of all connection between Church and State. This Association, too, was proclaimed down; but meanwhile the object was gained: agitation was kept up, the press daily became more inflamed, the people more excited; and these feelings having been roused to the highest pitch at the time the elections came on, a great number of seats, especially in counties, were lost to the Government, and handed over to the most violent of the repeal agitators. And thus Ministers lost seats in the English counties from the indignation felt at the concession of Catholic emancipation;³ they lost as many in Ireland, from

¹ Ann. Reg. 1830, 144, 145; Roebuck, i. 291, 296; Martineau, ii. 7, in the expression of the general enthusiasm.¹

^{57.} Result of the elections favorable to the Liberals.

58.

Distracted state of Ireland, and entire failure of emancipation to pacify it.

² Ann. Reg. 1830, 148.

59. Successive efforts of the agitators, and their influence on the elections.

³ Ann. Reg. 1830, 147, 148.

the ingratitude with which the gift was received.*

A melancholy catastrophe, which heralded
60. in vast social changes, diverted for a brief period during this autumn the public attention in Great Britain from the important political revolutions in progress, both abroad and at home.

On the 15th September, the Manchester and Liverpool Railway was opened, being the first ever constructed for traveling in the empire. As such, it excited a very great interest, for opinions were much divided as to the success of the attempt; and some of the most eminent scientific characters had confidently predicted that it would prove a failure, or that at all events the carriages, owing to the friction of the wheels on the rails, could never be brought to go *more than ten miles an hour*. The Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, and several persons of the highest distinction, went to Liverpool to be present at the opening, and set out in ten carriages, three on the southern and seven on the northern line, but traveling in the same direction, and nearly abreast. It was deemed an astonishing effort that the carriage which conveyed the Duke went

¹ Ann. Reg. 1830, 145, sometimes at the rate of *fifteen miles* 146; Chron. an hour!¹

At Parkside station the carriages stopped, and Mr. Huskisson and several of his friends got out. Some of them, with the kind intention of bringing the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson together after their estrangement, led the latter round to that part of the train where the Duke was seated, who, as soon as he saw him, held out his hand to him, which was shaken cordially. At this instant the train containing the other gentlemen set off, coming up

past them, and a general cry arose, "Get in, get in!" Mr. Holmes, who was with Mr. Huskisson, immediately, with great presence of mind, drew himself close up to the Duke's train, the only thing to be done in such a situation, and which insures perfect safety. Mr. Huskisson unfortunately seized hold of one of the doors of the Duke's train, which was struck by a projecting part of the other train in passing, and swung round. This caused Mr. Huskisson to swing round also, and he fell on the other railway, so that his right leg was passed over by the engine and instantly crushed. The only words he uttered were, "I have met my death; God forgive me." This unhappily proved too true. He was carried to Eccles, where the best medical advice was obtained, but in vain. He survived only a few hours in great pain, which he bore with unshrinking fortitude. He received the sacrament with Mrs. Huskisson, and his last words were, "The country has had the best of me; I trust it will do justice to my public character. I regret not the few years that might have remained to me, except for those dear ones," added he, grasping Mrs. Huskisson's hand, "whom I leave behind me." He expired a few minutes after, and was interred, after a public funeral, in the new cemetery at Liverpool on the 24th, amidst the tears of an immense concourse of spectators.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1830, 145, 147; Huskisson's Life, i. 234, 240.

With this mournful catastrophe, and thus baptized in blood, did the railway system arise in England. Rapid beyond all human calculation was the progress which it made, and boundless beyond all human ken are the effects which it has produced. Like most of the discoveries destined to produce great and lasting changes on human affairs, its introduction owed little to science, by which it was distrusted, and its effects did not immediately develop themselves. But ere long they were fully made manifest, and they have now, in a manner, changed the whole face of society in the civilized world. Before the year 1850, no less than eleven hundred and eleven Acts of Parliament had been passed to form new lines or extend old ones; and the capital authorized to be expended on them amounted to the enormous sum of £348,012,188.²

62. Reflections on the railway system, and its rapid growth.

A considerable impulse was given to these undertakings in the years 1834 and 1835, which were distinguished by great commercial activity; but by far the greater part of the railways were set on foot during the joint-stock mania, which lasted from the beginning of 1845 to the end of 1847, during which the sums authorized to be raised by Acts of Parliament were above £230,000,000.* Not more than £200,000,000 of the whole sums expended on railways has proved productive, or yielded any return whatever; and above £150,000,000 has been absolutely lost in these undertakings, so far as the proprietors or the capital of the nation is con-

² Porter, Progress of the Nation. 327.

* During the heat of this controversy in Ireland, Mr. O'Connell was challenged for some violent expressions he had used in regard to Sir Henry Hardinge, then Secretary for Ireland. He refused to fight, on the ground of a "vow registered in heaven" never again to shed the blood of man in single combat, in consequence of once having done so before; and certainly no reasonable or honorable man will reproach another with abstaining from the absurdity of adding one crime to another by superadding murder to insult; but those who adopt this course should be careful to observe the *justum moderamen* in their own language, and if they have been casually betrayed into an intemperate expression, immediately to make the proper reparation. Instead of this, O'Connell had no sooner registered his vow in heaven against fighting, than he proceeded to apply the most violent and slanderous expressions to all his opponents on earth. It was then he first used his favorite expression, "base, bloody, and brutal," with regard to the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, who had earned for him emancipation. His conduct at this period is thus commented on by one of the ablest of the Liberal annalists: "The correspondence on occasion of this offense to Sir H. Hardinge settles the matter forever about O'Connell's honor, and the possibility of having dealings with him as between man and man; and it is here referred to as evidence that all parties that afterward courted him, or allied themselves with him more or less for political purposes, were not entitled to complain when he betrayed, insulted, or reviled them. That any terms should have been held with O'Connell by Government, English public, or gentlemen in or out of Parliament, after his present agitation for repeal, and his published correspondence with Sir H. Hardinge in Oct., 1830, is one of the moral disgraces of our time."—Miss MARTINEAU, ii. 8. These expressions are given as conveying the opinion of a liberal historian of deserved reputation, and of her party on their eminent men, rather than the author's own; for certainly they evince a tendency to slide too much into the very fault which she so justly censures in O'Connell.

* Viz.—1845 £60,824,088
1846 132,096,234
1847 40,397,395

£233,317,707

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 327, 3d edit.

cerned. It will appear in the sequel how powerfully this prodigious raising and expenditure of money came to influence the fortunes and destinies of the State; what unbounded prosperity it produced at one time, and what terrible disasters at another; and how the existing monetary system, encouraging speculations at first, and withdrawing the means of completing them at last, landed the nation in a series of difficulties, from which it was only extricated by events in the western and southern hemispheres, so timely and important that they can only be ascribed to Divine interposition.¹

But the effects of the railway system have not been confined merely to the industrial and monetary concerns of the nation, great and lasting as these effects have been. It has produced social and political results of the very highest importance, and which, like other things in this world, have been partly salutary and partly pernicious. It has in a great measure destroyed space, and brought the most distant parts of the empire into comparatively close proximity with its great cities and metropolis. In this way it has, to a most surprising degree, equalized the circumstances of the different parts of the country, and deprived the immediate neighborhood of the capital and large towns of the exclusive advantages which they have so long enjoyed. The markets of London are supplied with beef from Aberdeenshire, pork from Ireland, and vegetables and milk from the midland counties of England, as regularly as they used to be from the fields of Surrey or the downs of Sussex. Immense and entirely beneficial have been the effects of this equalization; and they have already become most conspicuous in the improved cultivation and extended resources of the distant parts of the empire. Nor have the moral and social effects of the increased facilities of communication been less important, or less conducive to human happiness. By reducing to a third the expense, and to a fourth the time of traveling, they have extended its benefits to a proportionally wider circle, and, in particular, brought them within the reach of the middle class, to whom they were previously almost unknown. A tradesman or mechanic can now make the tour of the British Islands, or even of Europe, in a few weeks, which formerly was never attempted but by the nobility, and accomplished in as many years. Immense has been the effect of this happy facility, alike in dispelling prejudice, refining manners, and improving taste; and these changes have powerfully reacted upon capital cities. It is from the railway system, and the desires to which it gave rise among a new and wide circle, that the Great Exhibition of London in 1851, the subsequent ones at New York and Paris, and the glorious Crystal Palace at Sydenham, have taken their rise.

In a political point of view, the effects of the railway system have been not less important. By bringing the distant provinces of our empire, comparatively speaking, into close proximity with the metropolis, it has augmented their intelligence, and in the same proportion increased their political power. The

constant intercourse from traveling, the increased facility for the transmission of books and newspapers, the almost instantaneous transmission of intelligence by the electric telegraph, which soon after followed, have powerfully contributed to equalize the advantages of situation, and give to the provinces a large portion, if not the whole, of the intellectual activity which formerly was peculiar to the metropolis. By enabling troops or police to be sent rapidly from one part of the country to another, it has augmented the efficiency of the central government, and enabled it to provide with fewer men, and at a less cost, both for defense against external enemies, and the maintenance of domestic tranquillity. That worst of all ascendencies in a community, the sway of the mob of the capital over the Legislature, from the mere force of proximity of situation, so fatally experienced in Athens, Rome, and Paris, has been in a great measure destroyed. A more striking proof of this can not be figured than was furnished by the fact, that when the disarmament of the National Guard in Belleville and Montmartre was carried into execution, after the suppression of the great insurrection in July, 1848, it was effected by the *National Guards of La Vendée*, brought up by the Orleans railway from that distant and secluded province.

There is no unmixed good in human affairs. Advantages, how great soever, are invariably attended by corresponding evils. The railway system is no exception to this general rule; on the contrary, it affords one of the most striking illustrations of it. It is the greatest promoter that ever came into operation of the *centralizing system*; but it has induced its evils as well as its advantages. As much as it has brought the physical force of the provinces to the support of Government in the capital, has it brought the intellectual influence of the metropolis down to the provinces. The chief talent of the nation being there concentrated, from the objects of ambition, political, literary, or legal, which are presented, the sway of mind in a particular quarter has become well-nigh irresistible. The empire has become a huge metropolis, which the London press rules with despotic sway. Originality or independence of thought in the provinces is crushed in all save a few intrepid minds, by the overwhelming weight of the capital.

Nor has the material and political influence of great cities been less increased by the change than their intellectual. The facility of reaching the metropolis has caused the great and the affluent to transfer nearly all their purchases to London; the attractions of Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow, have drawn the most part of the purchases of the middle classes in the provinces to these great emporiums of wealth and industry. The small towns have dwindled, or become stationary, because they have lost their purchasers; the great ones have swelled into Babylons because they have tripped theirs. Politically speaking, the change has been of incalculable importance. The landed proprietors have ceased to influence the small boroughs, because all their purchases are

¹ Porter, 327, 3d ed.

64. And moral and political effects.

65. Political effects of the railway system

66. Its evils and dangers in the undue sway of the capital.

67. Its political effects.

made in the great ones, or the metropolis. The great manufacturing towns have become the rulers, because it is from them that the employment which feeds the lesser towns flows. The only influence which can be reckoned on as durable is that which gives bread or employment. When it is recollected that three-fifths of the House of Commons consist of the members for boroughs, it may be conceived how important an influence this change has come to have on the balance of parties in the State.

Experience has not yet enabled us to determine what influence the railway system, when generally introduced, is fitted to have on military operations—the attack or defense of nations; for the only great wars which have taken place since its introduction—viz., those in Italy and Hungary in 1849, and Turkey in 1854—took place in countries where it had not been at all, or only partially introduced. It is usually considered as having strengthened the means of defense rather than attack, by facilitating the concentration of troops, which it certainly does, on the menaced point. Yet must this be taken with some limitations; for if it facilitates the concentration of the defending, it in an equal degree aids the accumulation of the attacking force: if it will bring the military strength of all France in three days to the menaced point in Belgium or the Rhine, it will not less certainly bring the whole invading force of Germany in as short a time to the same point. If generally introduced into Russia, it would double the already overgrown military strength of the Czar, by more than halving the distance which his troops have to march, and rendering the translation of them from the Baltic to the Euxine, or from Poland to the Caucasus, the work of a few days only, and of no fatigue or loss to the men.

Undoubtedly, however, upon the whole, it favors the arms of civilization in a contest with barbarism; for it requires an effort of skill and expenditure of capital for its general adoption which can only be looked for in a wealthy and enlightened state.

If it is equally adopted by two countries in a similar state of civilization, as France and Germany, and *suffered to exist*, it may cause war to resemble more closely a game at chess, by enabling the players to make the moves at pleasure. But if one, when invaded, has the courage or the patriotic spirit to break up the system, it may give a very great, perhaps a decisive advantage, to the party making the sacrifice; for if the retiring army tears up the railway lines and breaks down the bridges, it retains the advantages of the system to itself, and takes them away from its opponent. In this way it may be rendered an essential element in the defense, and important in maintaining the independence of nations. Probably, to take advantage of it, fortresses will come hereafter to be constructed in the heart rather than the frontiers of kingdoms, in order that an invading enemy may find his own facilities diminish, and the forces of his adversary increase as he approaches the centre of his power.

Before the great strife of parties began in

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Parliament, symptoms of discontent, attended with some danger, and more alarm, began in some of the agricultural counties. Many of the numerous county petitions, which had been presented on the subject of agricultural distress for some years past, had predicted that, if some measures calculated to afford relief were not adopted, it would be impossible to prevent the working classes from breaking into open acts of violence. This prediction was now too fatally verified. The disturbances began in Kent, from whence they rapidly spread to Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Buckinghamshire. Night after night new conflagrations were lighted up by bands of incendiaries; corn-stacks, barns, farm-buildings, and live cattle, were indiscriminately consumed. Bolder bands attacked mills and demolished machinery; thrashing-mills were in an especial manner the object of their hostility. During October and November, these acts of incendiarism became so frequent as to excite universal alarm. The first rioters who were seized were treated, from feelings of humanity, with undue lenity by the county magistrates, which, of course, augmented the disorders; and it was not till severe examples were made, by a special commission sent into the disturbed districts, and a large body of military was quartered in them, that they were at length put down. From what came out at the trials, it did not appear that these outrages had been the result of any general political design against the Government, but had rather arisen from great distress among the working classes, stimulated into acts of violence by the example of successful revolution at Paris, and similar acts of Jacobin atrocity in Normandy, where they had been very frequent. The Duke of Richmond stated the truth when he said in Parliament, "I believe a feeling now exists among the laboring classes, that your lordships and the upper classes of society are to be regarded rather as their foes than their friends."¹

Parliament met on the 26th October; but some days having been consumed

in swearing in members, the session was not opened till the 2d

November. On that day, the King's speech alluded slightly to the recent overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon in France, but more specifically to foreign events in Belgium and Portugal. "The elder branch of the house of Bourbon no longer reigns in France; and the Duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of King of the French. Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and maintain inviolate all the engagements with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French court. I have viewed, with deep regret, the state of affairs in the Low Countries. I lament that the enlightened administration of the King of the Netherlands should not have preserved his dominions from revolt; and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the complaints and desires of his people to an extraordinary

70.
Disturbances and incendiarism in the southern counties.

¹ *Mirror of Parliament*, 1830, § 2, p. 9; Ann. Reg. 1830, 149, 150; Martineau, ii. 12.

meeting of the States-General should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavoring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states. I have not yet accredited my ambassador to the court of Lisbon; but the Portuguese government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity, by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those relations which have so long subsisted between the two countries. I place, without reserve, at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues, and in those funds which may arise from any droits of the Crown or of the Admiralty, from the West India duties, or from any casual revenue, either in my foreign possessions or in the United Kingdom.¹

These words were of deep and important significance as regarded the policy which the Duke of Wellington's administration was prepared to pursue in reference to the important political changes then taking place, or which had recently occurred on the continent of Europe. But these changes, great as they were, did not form the all-absorbing object of public interest. It was domestic change which was the object of universal desire; it was on reform in Parliament that all hearts were set. Foreign affairs were regarded with interest almost entirely as they bore on this vital question; and, accordingly, on the very first day of the session, the two leaders of the opposite parties, Earl Grey and the Duke of Wellington, delivered their opinions on it in terms which have become memorable in English history. The former said: "We ought to learn wisdom from what is passing before our eyes; and when the spirit of liberty is breaking out all around, it is our first duty to secure our own institutions, by introducing into them a temperate reform. I have been a reformer all my life, and on no occasion have I been inclined to go further than I am prepared to go now, if an opportunity were to offer. But I do not found the title to demand it on abstract right. We are told that every man who pays taxes—nay, that every man arrived at the years of discretion—has a right to a vote for representatives. That right I utterly deny. The right of the people is to have good government, one that is calculated to secure their privileges and happiness; and if that is incompatible with universal or very general suffrage, then the limitation, and not the extension, is the true right of the people."²

The Duke of Wellington answered, in words which have become memorable from the revolution in the constitution which they undoubtedly contributed, if not to create, at least to accelerate: "The noble earl (Grey) has recommended us not only to put down these disturbances, but to put the country in a state to meet and overcome the dangers which are likely to arise from

the late transactions in France, by the adoption of something like parliamentary reform. The noble earl has stated that he is not prepared himself to come forward with any measure of the kind; and I will tell him further, neither is the Government. Nay, I will go further, and say that I have not heard of any measure, up to this moment, which could in any way satisfy my mind, or by which the state of the representation could be improved, or placed on a footing more satisfactory to the people of this country than it now is. I will say that I am thoroughly convinced that England possesses at this moment a Legislature which answers all the good purposes of a Legislature, in a higher degree than any scheme of government whatever has ever been found to do in any country in the world; that it possesses the confidence of the country; that it deservedly possesses that confidence; and that its decisions have justly the greatest weight and influence with the people. Nay, I will go yet further, and say that if, at this moment, I had to form a Legislature for any country, particularly for one like this, in the possession of great property of various descriptions, although, perhaps, I should not form one precisely such as we have, I would endeavor to produce something which should give the same result—viz., a representation of the people, containing a large body of the property of the country, and in which the great landed proprietors have a preponderating influence. Farther still, I beg to state, that not only is the Government not prepared to bring forward any measure of this description, but, in so far as I am concerned, while I have the honor to hold the situation which I now do among his Majesty's counselors, I shall always feel it my duty to oppose any such measures when brought forward by others."³

Such was the Duke of Wellington's famous declaration against reform, which immediately blew up the smouldering elements of innovation in the nation into a flame. No words from any statesman in English history produced such an impression. The transports became universal: all ranks were involved in it; all heads, save a few of the strongest and most far-seeing, swept away by it. Nearly all classes, though from different motives, had concurred in desiring reform, and with the characteristic dogged resolution of the English character, all, now that it was refused, resolved to have it. The High-Church party wished to raise a barrier against the Roman Catholics, against whom experience had shown the existing constitution afforded no sufficient security; the old Tories desired reform, because it would, as they hoped, restore the influence of landed property in the Legislature, and open the doors of Parliament to the petitions for agricultural relief; the Radicals longed for it, as a stepping-stone for themselves to supreme power; the great towns were unanimous for it, as conferring upon them their just share in the government of the country. The Whigs in secret were, for the most part, adverse to the change, as likely to undermine the influence by which they had, for a century after the

72. Lord Grey's declaration on reform.

² Mirror of Parliament, § ii. p. 13; Ann. Reg. 1830, 153, 154.

73. Duke of Wellington's famous speech against any reform.

Ann. Reg. 1830, 155; Mirror of Parliament, 1830, § ii. p. 18; Parl. Deb. i. 52 (new series).

74. Immense effect produced by this declaration.

Revolution, governed the country; but the current of public opinion was so strong that they, as popular leaders, were obliged to go along with it, and in public stand forth as the chief promoters of the desired change. The only considerable body in the State who steadily opposed reform in the abstract were the holders of the close boroughs, and the members whom they had introduced into Parliament; but their numbers were too inconsiderable to form any counterpoise to the formidable phalanx arrayed on the other side; and such as they were, their numbers had been lessened to an unprecedented extent by the result of the last elections, conducted under the pressure of internal distress, and the fervor of the French Revolution.

This strange, and, in English history, unprecedented combination of parties in favor of reform, appeared on the very first night of the session in the House of Commons. There was no division on the Address; but in the course of the debate on it, Mr. Brougham gave notice of a motion on the subject on the 16th November. He said "he had been described by one party as intending to bring forward a very limited, and therefore a very useless and insignificant plan; by another he was said to be the friend of a radical, sweeping, and innovating, and I may add—for I conscientiously believe it would prove so—a revolutionary reform. Both these schemes I disavow. I stand on the ancient ways of the constitution. To explain at this moment what I mean by that, would be inconvenient, indeed impossible; but my object in bringing forward this question is not revolution, but restoration; to repair the constitution, not to pull it down." From the manner in which this announcement was received by the old Tories, it was evident that a most formidable coalition of parties was likely to take place upon it.* "I must be allowed," said Lord Winchelsea, who represented that body, "to say, that if the assertion of the noble duke

(Wellington), made on a former night relative to parliamentary reform, was framed with a view of conciliating and gaining the support of the noble and high-minded persons with whom he had been usually united, I can tell the noble duke he might as well attempt to take high heaven by storm. These are times of danger and peril, in which we require to see efficient men at the head of the Government of the country. Now we see the consequence of having not long given up a great question, not upon the ground of justice or equity, but upon the ground of fear. So far from creating confidence, the yielding up of that question has created a feeling of distrust in the minds of the people. They no longer rely on the Government to afford them redress, or to mitigate their sufferings; they know that Ministers will grant nothing but upon compulsion. I am one of those who feel the necessity of having competent men at the head of the administration in the present situation of the country; and I feel bound to say, that those who compose the higher branches of his Majesty's government at this moment, are not, in my opinion, worthy of the confidence of Parliament, the people in this hour of imminent peril."¹

When such was the language of the most steady and consistent supporters of Government in former times, it was evident that its overthrow was only a question of time; and the whole attention of parties, and of the country, was fixed on the question, on what point the decisive division was to take place. A fortuitous event, however, accelerated the catastrophe somewhat sooner than was expected. It had been an ancient custom for the monarchs of England to partake, soon after their accession to the throne, of the splendid hospitality of the City of London; and on this occasion the day was fixed for the 9th November, being the one on which the lord mayor elect came into office. Magnificent preparations had been made for the monarch's reception, and all London was in anxious expectation of the splendid procession, when, on the evening of the 7th, the lord mayor received a note from the Home Secretary, stating that, in consequence of information recently received, there was reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty of the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of the nocturnal assemblage to create tumult and confusion, and endanger the lives of the people. The truth was, that the new police, which has proved so great a blessing to the metropolis, had lately come into operation; and the thieves and vagabonds of London, perceiving the difference between its energetic bands and the drowsy old watchmen who had preceded it, had been indefatigable in their endeavors to get up a tumult to overthrow it, and fixed on the day of the King's entry of the City for the execution of their design. Thousands of handbills had been printed and circulated, calling on the people to come armed on the occasion;*

* Mr. Brougham's plan of reform, which was laid before his party on the 13th November, was as follows—a curious commentary on his assertion, that he "was determined to stand on the ancient ways of the constitution."

1. All copy-holders and land-holders to have votes.
2. All house-holders also to have votes, regardless of the rent or value of the house.
3. The great towns, such as Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, and others, to have members.
4. All the rotten boroughs to be deprived each of half their present members, leaving at least one member to each.
5. All out-voters in towns to be disfranchised, but they still to have votes in counties.
6. Freemen to vote, if resident in the borough for six months.
7. Elections in all cases to be concluded in one day.
8. The House to be of five hundred members; Ireland in that event to have eighty members, Scotland forty five.—BROUGHAM'S MS., given in ROEBUCK, vol. i. p. 420, 421.

This is what Mr. Brougham called *Stare super antiquas vias*. His panegyrist, Mr. Roebuck, more correctly designated it when he said, "By this scheme the whole character of the House of Commons would have been changed."—ROEBUCK, i. 421. Undoubtedly it would have been so. Household suffrage in the boroughs—that is, in three-fifths of the House—was "the class government of the laboring classes;" that is, revolution. The £10 clause in the Reform Bill avoided this danger, but only by running the nation into another, viz., the class government of shop-keepers, under which we have since lived.

* "To arms! Liberty or death!"

"London meets on Tuesday next: an opportunity not to be lost for revenging the wrongs we have suffered so long. Come armed: be firm, and victory must be ours.—AN ENGLISHMAN."—Englishmen, Britons, and honest

Mirror of
Parliament,
1830, p. ii.
p. 81.

76.
Postpone-
ment of the
King's visit
to the City.
Nov. 9.

Nov. 7

and in addition to the contemplated riot in the streets, it was intended to attack the Duke of Wellington's house while the police were absent in other quarters, in order to give a political color to the disturbance.¹

Immense was the effect of this announcement upon the already excited minds of the metropolis. The most alarming reports were immediately in circulation, that a vast conspiracy had been discovered; that we were on the edge of a terrible convulsion; that the Revolt of the Barricades was to be re-enacted that very day in the streets of London. The citizens looked to the bolts and bars of their doors; the more courageous laid in arms, and prepared for resistance; the shutters were lined with iron plates, and iron blinds were hastily run up. Such was the general consternation that in two hours the Funds fell $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Before the end of the week the panic had subsided, when it was seen that no outbreak took place, and that the excessive alarm had been in a great measure unfounded. But with that reaction commenced a new set of feelings still more damaging to the Government. Ashamed of their own fears, and of the ridiculous length to which they had been carried, the citizens were fain to throw the responsibility for them upon the Ministers; and those who had a few days before been loudest in the exaggeration of the danger, were now foremost in proclaiming its entire groundlessness, and the culpable timidity of the Government which had yielded to such unfounded alarms.²

The liberal chiefs in Parliament made a skillful use of the consternation produced by this event. "I regret much," said Mr. Brougham, "the appearance of the letter of this morning. I regret it on account of the mischief which it is certain to cause in the mercantile world, and still more from the connection which it has with the fatal speech from the throne, and the still more fatal speech of the Duke of Wellington against every species of reform—a declaration to which I conscientiously believe he owes nine-tenths of his present unpopularity. I wish that that declaration had not been made. I wish also that I had not lived to see the day when a forgetfulness of the invaluable services

men the time has at length arrived, and all London meets on Tuesday. Come armed; we assure you, from ocular demonstration, six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang. Remember the cursed speech from the throne. These damned police are to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?"—*Ann. Reg.*, p. 159, 160.

in the field, which have won for the Duke of Wellington, as a soldier, a general, and a conqueror, a great, brilliant, and imperishable renown, coupled with a deviation by the noble Duke from his proper sphere into the labyrinth of politics—I wish to heaven I had not lived to see the day when the forgetfulness of the people of the merits of the soldier, and the forgetfulness of the soldier of his own proper sphere of greatness, display to England, to Europe, and to the world, that he can not accompany his Majesty on his journey into the hearts of an attached and loyal population."¹

It was now evident to all the world that the downfall of the Wellington Ministry was at hand, and the only question was on what point they should make their election to be beaten. Three important questions stood for early discussion—the Civil List, Parliamentary Reform, and Negro Slavery—of the two last of which notices of motion had been given by Mr. Brougham, and the former stood for the 16th of November. Ministers, with great propriety, resolved to retire on the first, on which they foresaw they would be beaten, because, by so doing, they avoided implicating the Crown or themselves upon the all-important national questions which remained behind. The debate came on upon the 15th November, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in common form that the House do resolve itself into a committee on the Civil List, whereupon Sir Henry Parnell moved as an amendment, "that a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and accounts printed by command of his Majesty regarding the Civil List." The debate was a very short one, but it was distinguished by one significant circumstance. Three old Tories—Mr. Bankes, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Holme Sumner—spoke in favor of Sir H. Parnell's motion, and against the Government. On a division there appeared 233 for the amendment, and 204 against it, giving a majority of TWENTY-NINE against Ministers. Mr. Hobhouse immediately asked Sir Robert Peel* whether Ministers intended to retain office after this expression of the sentiments of the House, to which he properly declined to give any answer at the time; but the next day the Duke of Wellington announced in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, that they held office only till their successors were appointed.²

* He had lately succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father, at the reverend age of eighty.

77.

General consternation on the occasion.

² *Ann. Reg.* 1830, 160, 161; Martineau, ii. 18; Roebuck, i. 415, 416.

78. Speech of Mr. Brougham on the occasion.

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1830, 161, 162; *Parl. Deb.* i. 74, 75 (new series.)

79. Division on the Civil List leaves Ministers in a minority. Nov. 15.

² *Ann. Reg.* 1830, 162, 163; Roebuck, i. 429, 430; Martineau, ii. 19; *Parl. Deb.* i. 87, 88 (new series.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE FALL OF THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION IN 1829, TO THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832.

Thus fell the Wellington Administration, the most important event in the domestic history of England since the Revolution, in the general annals of Europe since the battle of Waterloo. In the decisive and lasting transference by the political power in the State by which it was followed to another party, it bears a very close resemblance to the overthrow of the Coalition Ministry by Mr. Pitt in 1784, which terminated a dominion of nearly a century by the Whigs, and introduced one of half the time by the Tories. But in its political and social results it was far more important than Mr. Pitt's triumph. It induced a transference not merely of the reins of government from one party to another, but of political power from one class in society to another. It terminated the long-established dominion of the landed and commercial aristocracy, and vested it in the class of shop-keepers and small householders. It closed the sway of the interests of production, whether in land or manufactures, and created that of buying and selling. Thence has ensued an entire change in our whole domestic policy, both in relation to agriculture and manufactures, and the adoption of a series of measures calculated, by cheapening every thing, to benefit consumers and the holders of realized capital, without any regard to their influence on those engaged in the work of production. Thence also have arisen changes in our foreign policy equally startling and unexpected. It has displaced Great Britain from the head of Conservative alliances, and placed her in the front rank of the coalitions founded upon movement; and, stifling the ancient animosity of France and England, has brought the legions of both nations in cordial amity and generous rivalry to combat the forces of the Czar, in defense of Turkey, on the shores of the Crimea.

Superficial observers, and those whose attention is exclusively fixed on the influence of individual agency in human affairs, see in these vast events and this entire change of system, both foreign and domestic, the effect only of the capacity of the leaders and their dexterity in the management of parties; and they declaim against the mistakes which, as they conceive, have ruined ancient interests, and the tergiversations which have broken up old alliances. But without disputing the important effect of individual men in moulding the fate of nations, it may with safety be asserted that, in this instance, the great change which took place was owing to general causes. The Wellington Administration, and with it the old system of government in Great Britain, fell, because it had become unsuited to the altered circumstances of the people; it nei-

ther met their wishes, nor provided for their necessities.

The very errors, as they were deemed by many at the time, were themselves forced upon their authors by general and irresistible causes. It is easy to see now, on the retrospect, that it was the monetary measures of 1819 and 1826, coupled with the emancipation of the Catholics, which brought about the change, because it was these which spread discontent and division among the rural and industrious classes, who had heretofore been the firmest supporters of the throne, the steadiest friends of the constitution. But that only removes the difficulty a step farther back. The question remains, What caused these measures to be adopted by successive governments, in opposition alike to the interests of the whole industrious classes of the people and their religious feelings, and in direct antagonism to the policy pursued for a century and a half by the Government, and under which the country had risen to an unexampled height of prosperity and glory? It is evident to any one who attentively considers the progress of these changes that they were not forced upon the Legislature by individual men, but forced upon individual men by the Legislature; and that a fixed majority had got into the House of Commons, which rendered it impossible to carry on the government in any other way. Each successive administration since the peace had been compelled to relinquish, as the price of retaining office, a part of the old system, until none remained, and an entire change of government and of the constitution had become unavoidable.

It is not difficult to see, at this distance of time, what was the cause which rendered this change of system necessary; and what is very remarkable, and perhaps unprecedented in human affairs, that cause is to be found in the natural consequences of the entire success of the opposite system. So amazingly had the whole industrial interests of the community—landed, manufacturing, commercial, and colonial—grown and prospered under the old protective system, under which they had all found shelter during a hundred and fifty years, that a new interest had arisen in society, the fruit of their prosperity, but which was destined to limit and restrain it. This was the interest of REALIZED CAPITAL, the produce of long-protected and thriving industry, but which had at length, from the unexampled impulse and successes of the war, acquired an influence which enabled it to set all other interests at defiance. This interest, by the command of ready money, and the acquisition of the close boroughs, had succeeded in acquiring a majority in the House of Commons, and with it the entire government of the

1. Reflections on the fall of the Wellington Ministry.

3. Continued.

4. What had set these causes in motion.

State. Its interests were no longer identical with those of the industry from which it had sprung; on the contrary, they were adverse to it. To sell dear is the interest of the creators of wealth; to buy cheap is the interest of its inheritors. It is in the nature of things that Sir R. Peel the father, who made the fortune, should be the supporter of the protective; Sir R. Peel the son, who succeeded to it, the advocate of the cheapening system. Thence the change of system in the Legislature when the inheritors became the more powerful body; and thence the creation of a general discontent in the industrious classes, which at length overwhelmed at once the Ministry and the previous system of government. When once capital, for its own advantage, had rendered the currency of the country entirely dependent on the retention of gold, and introduced free trade into the principal branches of manufacture, a revolution in the whole frame and system of government had become inevitable, and it was merely a question of time when it was to take place.

It was this circumstance which rendered the Duke of Wellington's famous declaration against reform so very influential in inducing the immediate downfall of his administration. It announced the determination of Government at all hazards to maintain the existing system in the House of Commons. But that was the precise thing which the country desired to have altered, because it had been the cause of all the suffering which had been experienced. It was against the "borough-mongers," as they were called, that the outcry was directed, because they brought in the men who had pursued the system which had been attended with such disastrous results. *There was no hostility against the Crown; little, comparatively speaking, against the House of Lords, except in so far as it influenced the House of Commons. It was the venal and nomination boroughs which were the object of the general indignation, and they were so because the persons who got into Parliament through their seats had first, by the measures they pursued for the advantage of capital, created the distress, and then shown themselves insensible to all petitions for its relief. When the Duke of Wellington, therefore, declared himself decidedly opposed to every species of reform, he not only thwarted a vehement national passion, but expressed his determination to uphold what was the source of all the suffering which was experienced, and continue the close boroughs, which had become a great national grievance. It is no wonder that it accelerated his fall.

Earl Grey, as a matter of course, was sent for by the King to form the new Ministry, which it was easy to foresee would be composed chiefly, if not entirely, of the leaders of the Liberal party in the two Houses of Parliament. No small embarrassment, however, was experienced in forming the administration, chiefly in consequence of the difficulty of finding a suitable situation for Mr. Brougham, whose great abilities, and position as the real if not the avowed leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, gave him

claims to a higher situation than the aristocratic Whigs were willing to allow to any man who had raised himself by the unaided force of his own abilities, without patrician connections or support. On the other hand, it was very material to take the question of reform, which had only been postponed to the 25th November, out of the hands of a man at once so powerful, and so little inclined to follow the dictates or counsel of any other person. So strongly was Mr. Brougham himself impressed with these difficulties, that in postponing his motion for reform, which he stated he did with great reluctance, he said, "No change that can take place in the Administration can by possibility affect me." Earl Grey first proposed for him the situation of Master of the Rolls, which is permanent, and is consistent with a seat in the House of Commons, but to this the King peremptorily objected. The Attorney-General's gown was next offered to him, but at once rejected. At length, on the King's suggestion, it was agreed to offer him the Great Seals, which were immediately accepted. No further difficulty was experienced in making up the Administration, which was composed almost entirely of noblemen of the Whig party. The Duke of Richmond, as representing the ultra-Tories, was made Postmaster-General, with a seat in the Cabinet; a negotiation was opened with Sir Edward Knatchbull, the leader of the same party in the House of Commons, but it failed of success. The new Ministry was officially announced on the 21st November, and gave very general satisfaction to the country.* It is remarkable that in a Liberal Cabinet of fifteen members thirteen were peers, or sons of peers, one a baronet, and only one commoner.¹

EARL GREY, who at this eventful crisis succeeded to the government of the country, has left a name which never will be forgotten in English history, for he introduced that change in the constitution which has been attended with such great and lasting effects. He was beyond all doubt a most remarkable man. Gifted by nature with talents of a very high order, he pos-

* The new Ministry stood as follows:

In the Cabinet.—First Lord of the Treasury, Earl Grey; Lord-Chancellor, Lord Brougham; Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons, Lord Althorpe; President of the Council, Marquess of Lansdowne; Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Durham; Home Secretary, Lord Melbourne; Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston; Secretary of Colonies, Lord Goderich; First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham; President of the Board of Control, Mr. Charles Grant; Postmaster-General, Duke of Richmond; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Holland; without office, Lord Carlisle.

Not in the Cabinet.—President of the Board of Trade, Lord Auckland; Secretary at War, Mr. C. W. W. Wynn; Master-General of Ordnance, Sir James Kempt; Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Devonshire; Lord Steward, Marquess Wellesley; Master of the Horse, Lord Albemarle; Groom of the Stole, Marquess of Winchester; First Commissioner of Land Revenue, Mr. Agar Ellis; Treasurer of the Navy, Mr. Poulett Thomson; Attorney-General, Sir T. Denman; Solicitor-General, Sir W. Horne.

In Ireland.—Lord-Lieutenant, Marquess of Anglesea; Lord-Chancellor, Lord Plunkett; Commander of the Forces, Sir John Byng; Chief Secretary, Lord Stanley; Attorney-General, Mr. Pennefather; Solicitor-General, Mr. Crompton.

In Scotland.—Lord-Advocate, F. Jeffrey, Esq.; Solicitor-General, H. Cockburn, Esq.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1830, p. 164, 165; ROEBUCK, vol. i. p. 450, 451.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1830, 163, 165; Roebuck, i. 434, 450; Martineau, ii. 21, 22.

sessed, at the same time, that quality of still rarer occurrence, but which, when it does exist, seldom fails to lead to early shipwreck or ultimate greatness—moral courage, and invincible determination. His political life was consistency itself. He shared with his party their early hostility to the French war, and must bear with them the obloquy, in the eyes of posterity, of having defended the French Revolution long after its atrocities had discredited it in the eyes of all impartial men, and resisted the contest with it when it had become apparent that it was waged by this country for the liberty and independence of mankind. But this was the result of the firmness and consistency of his character, which, having once embraced an opinion, adhered to it for good or for evil through all the mutations of fortune. On the subject of reform he was the same throughout. Unlike the greater part of the Whig aristocracy, who supported it in public, and in secret deprecated it as the most dangerous innovation alike to the country and themselves, he was its advocate from his first entrance into public life; and the plan of reform which he brought forward in the House of Commons, without success, in 1797, differed in no material degree from that which he brought to a triumphant issue in 1832.¹

As a public speaker he must be assigned a very high place—second, perhaps, only to Pitt and Fox in the Augustan age of English oratory. He had not the power of lucid exposition of the former, nor the impetuous flow of the latter, but in condensed expression, cogent argument, and sarcastic power, he was equal to either. He had not the poetic fancy or playful expression of Canning, but he was more thoroughly, and at all times, in earnest—the great secret for moving and permanently ruling the hearts of men. His well-known philippic against that celebrated orator, when he succeeded to power in April, 1827, is deservedly placed among the most brilliant specimens of rhetorical power which the English language can boast. In society, his manner, though somewhat reserved and stately, had all the courtesy which belongs to real high-breeding; and in domestic life he was simplicity itself—the sure sign of a mind superior to any station, how lofty soever, to which its possessor may be elevated.

The great fault of Earl Grey, as of most men of his rank who are called to the general direction of affairs, was a want of practical acquaintance with mankind in all grades. He shared this defect with his whole cabinet, when arranged in 1830, which was almost entirely composed of the nobility; and so conspicuous did this deficiency immediately become, that, as will appear in the sequel, he was saved from early overthrow only by identifying himself with the extreme movement party, and advancing a measure which entirely and forever changed the institutions of the nation. He did great service to his country by taking the direction of that movement, and preventing it from falling into other and less scrupulous hands, and deserves its lasting gratitude for the use which he made of the vast

power he enjoyed when the victory was gained. There was much to condemn in the mode in which, in its latter stages, he carried on the contest, but nothing save to admire in the conduct he pursued after it was over. He then boldly confronted menaced rebellion in Ireland, coerced its wildest excesses, and when he had the power to have carried innovation in Great Britain to any imaginable length, stopped short with one organic change, and observed henceforward the landmarks of the constitution.

Although the practical results of the Reform Bill, which he carried through, have been widely different from what he either intended or desired, yet this is not so much to be ascribed as a fault to Earl Grey, as it was the unfortunate result of the elevated position he occupied, and the sphere in which he had moved in society. In the framing of that measure itself he was as completely misled by the representations of others of inferior rank about him, who possessed the practical knowledge which he wanted, and had their own ends in view in their representation, as he had been in early life as to the tendency of the French Revolution by the declamations of the philosophers and Girondists. He said it was the most aristocratic measure ever brought forward in Parliament, when it was a measure, as experience has now proved, which took the government of the country entirely out of the hands of the aristocracy. He declared he would stand or fall by his order, and yet he exerted all his talent and influence to carry through a measure which politically nullified that order, and substituted that of shop-keepers, with whom assuredly his aristocratic feelings had nothing in common, in its room. In this there was no duplicity or disingenuousness on the part of this proud and straightforward nobleman. He believed all he said, and acted accordingly; but his measures, being founded on no practical acquaintance with the community to which they referred, had a directly contrary tendency to what he intended, and ere long precipitated himself from power, and his order from the dominant position it had so long held in English society.*

* In the course of the debates on the Reform Bill in the House of Peers, Lord Sidmouth, who supposed Lord Grey to have been carried by circumstances far beyond his original intention, said to him, "I hope God will forgive you on account of this bill; I don't think I can." To which Lord Grey replied, "Mark my words: within two years you will find that we have become unpopular from having brought forward the most aristocratic measure that ever was proposed in Parliament." Lord Althorpe, too, did not conceal his opinion; he avowed it, "that the Reform Bill was the most aristocratic act ever offered to the nation; and the wonder is, who can doubt it, while the new county representation preponderates over the addition to the towns."—See *Sidmouth's Life*, iii. 439; and *Miss Martineau*, ii. 28, 29. The truth is, that there was much plausibility in the reason thus advanced to prove the aristocratic tendency of the Reform Bill; and without doubt these noble lords were perfectly sincere in the opinion thus advanced. But what they did not see, though their followers did, was, that these aristocratic tendencies were entirely neutralized and overpowered by three circumstances, the action of which has now been completely demonstrated by experience. These were: 1. The working of the ten-pound clause, which in all the boroughs (that is, three-fifths of the House of Commons) vested the returns in one class—that of small shop-keepers; 2. The operation of the monetary laws, which, by adding 50 per cent. to the value of money, and taking as much from the remuneration of industry, has rendered

Second only to Earl Grey in influence and station, and superior to him in versatile power, LORD BROUGHAM now stood prominently forward in a totally different sphere and position from that in which he had first moved and risen to such eminence. A tribune of the people, he was suddenly made a senator; a brilliant and successful advocate, he was at once, and without having gone through any of the intermediate stations, elevated to the very highest judicial station; a common lawyer, chiefly known in political or popular cases at *nisi prius*, he was put at the head of the Court of Chancery, and immersed in all the subtleties of conveyancing, and the niceties of the law of equity. He was the first barrister, if we except perhaps Lord Erskine, who was made Lord-Chancellor, and put at the head of the court of last resort, entirely from political considerations, and to avoid a difficulty in the formation of an administration, without any regard to his competency to discharge the important duties with which he was intrusted.

He was no common man who could stand such a change of position, not only His merits with no diminution, but in some respects with an increase of reputation. It is reported to have been said of him, when he was elevated to the Wool-sack, by a very great lawyer, "It is a pity Lord Brougham does not know a little of English law, for then he would know something of every thing;" and certainly his judgments in the Chancery Court will never be placed on a level with those of Lord Eldon, or Lord St. Leonards, or the other great masters of the law of equity. But it is a mistake to imagine that he proved a failure on the bench. It was not to be supposed that a man of his extraordinary versatility of talent and variety of information should have acquired the vast store of precedents which can be mastered only by a powerful mind exclusively devoted to their acquisition; still less that he should be on a level with experienced equity lawyers, when the first time he entered the Chancery Court was in advanced years as its head. But his example, and the great ability which he has shown now for a quarter of a century in determining cases in the House of Peers, proves that an extensive acquaintance with precedents is not an indispensable requisite for a great Judge; and that strong natural talents, and habits of forensic debate, in a different branch of jurisprudence, may, when the cases are fully laid before him, sometimes enable the Judge to supply the want of early acquaintance with another branch of law. Lord Eldon's judgments on Scotch cases are universally regarded with the utmost respect by the Scotch bar, and yet he never practiced at it, and had little experience of appeal cases from that part of the island before being put on the Wool-sack.

If the legislative measures in which Lord

these small shop-keepers chiefly dependent on the moneyed and commercial, instead of the landed and aristocratic class; 3. The vast extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, which rendered the greater part of the boroughs, and many of the counties in the manufacturing districts, dependent on the employment furnished by the great manufacturing cities, not the purchases made by the impoverished landlords in their vicinity.

Brougham took an interest, or has been mainly instrumental in promoting, are considered, we shall have more cause to admire the variety of his acquirements, the versatility of his powers, than the length of his vision or the solidity of his judgment. He did not foresee the real tendency of the measures which he so powerfully advocated, and in consequence brought about results the very reverse of what he intended and desired. He professed to "stand upon the ancient ways of the constitution" in all his projects of reform; and yet he strenuously supported, or besought the House of Peers, "on his bended knees," to pass a bill on that subject, which entirely altered those ways, because, in lieu of the old representation of classes and interest, it introduced the new representation of mere numbers. He was the uncompromising foe through life of West India slavery, and the generous advocate of the poor negro's rights; and yet, by urging on the fatal step of immediate and unprepared emancipation, he has proved his worst enemy, and thrown back the sable inhabitants of the Antilles centuries in the path of real and lasting improvement. No man saw more clearly, or has expressed more strongly, the decline which would be brought on British agriculture from the unrestrained competition of foreign states; and yet he has been active in the furthering of a series of measures which have rendered Great Britain, in seven years, from being practically self-supporting, dependent on foreign states, in ordinary years for a seventh, in unfavorable ones for a fifth, of the national subsistence.* In two important particulars, however, his labors have been attended with unmitigated good. He has been through life the zealous supporter of the cause of general education, although sectarian jealousy has hitherto much impeded the beneficent results of his efforts; and he has devoted his great powers, with equal judgment and success, to the great and difficult subject of Law Reform.

His style of speaking, though always energetic and powerful, affords the most striking contrast to that which his taste approves, and which he has uniformly recommended to the imitation of others. The last is condensed even to the confines of dryness; the first diffuse to those of excess. No one feels more strongly, or has expressed more emphatically, the manly simplicity of ancient oratory; and yet no one in his own speeches has deviated more completely from the style of Demosthenes, or overlaid ideas always forcible, often striking, by an overwhelming deluge of words. It would seem as if in his own style of oratory he was desirous, by the process of *reductio ad absurdum*, of establishing the truths of the general principles on eloquence which he has elsewhere inculcated.

* Consumed in British Islands, 1854:

	Qrs.	Qrs.
By man	32,850,000	
By animals and distillers.....	16,350,000	
		49,200,000
Produced		42,265,771
Imported on average of seven years, } ending 1852.....		6,929,786
Imported, 1853		9,987,714

—M'CULLOCH, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edit., voce Great Britain.

This verbose habit is very much to be regretted, for, on the few occasions on which it has been avoided, he has left most striking pieces of oratory. His expressions in each clause of a sentence are generally forcible, often epigrammatic; it is the frequent repetition of the same idea in different expressions, and putting it in different lights, which weakens the force of his oratory. Yet, however widely it may deviate from the standard of ancient eloquence or ideal perfection, if we are to judge from the result, it was well calculated for the persons to whom it was addressed; for he was mainly instrumental in achieving the four great Liberal triumphs of the last half century—the repeal of the Orders in Council, that of the Income-Tax, the passing of the Reform Bill, and of Negro Emancipation.

If there is any British statesman of his age who has acquired a European reputation, it may safely be pronounced to be LORD PALMERSTON, whose name will be forever associated with the great change in our foreign policy, and the substitution of Liberal for Conservative alliances. Foreign nations, not aware of the vital change which the Reform Bill made in our Government, ascribe this change chiefly, if not entirely, to his individual influence; and according as their statesmen and historians belong to the democratic or monarchical party, he is the object either of vehement laudation or of impassioned hatred. In truth, however, he is not the fit object of the praise he has received, or the vituperation with which he has been encountered. In a despotic country, a minister may impress his own principles upon the measures of government; in a constitutional one he must receive it from the Legislature. The Reform Bill having vested the government of England in the class of urban shopkeepers, the majority of whom are imbued with Liberal principles, the carrying out of their wishes into our foreign policy became a matter of necessity, to which every minister, however otherwise inclined, must bend.

If this change of policy, however, was imposed upon the country by the Reform Bill, it is equally true that the character and talents of the Liberal Foreign Secretary, in a prominent manner, fitted him for carrying it through. His abilities are not only of the highest order, but they are of the most marketable description. No man knows better how to address himself in speaking to the prevailing feelings and tastes of his audience, in acting to the inclination and interests of the class in society upon which his influence is rested. Great as are his talents, varied his accomplishments, they are rendered still more powerful by the versatility of their possessor. He can be, when he pleases, all things to all men. He has been a member of every administration, with the single exception of the short one of Lord Derby in 1852, for the last fifty years. He has alternately aided in expelling his former friends from power, and reinstating them in office; yet, strange to say, his character for consistency has not materially suffered from all these changes. The reason is that all men see that, like the Duke of Wellington, his leading

principle has always been the advancement of the power and glory of his country; and that he has taken a part in so many administrations, because they successively furnished him with the means of advancing that primary object. He has been through life not so much a statesman as a diplomatic soldier of the State.

His talents for diplomacy and administration are unquestionably of a very high order. To immense acquaintance with foreign treaties and conventions he unites the rarer but not less essential knowledge of courts and statesmen, and the prevailing influences by which they are severally governed. As Secretary at War during the contest with Napoleon, and Home Secretary under Queen Victoria, his administrative powers have been equally conspicuous; and such are his oratorical talents, that no man can with greater certainty alternately keep the attention of the House of Commons awake during a long detail of diplomatic proceedings, or fascinate a popular audience by the beauties of a varied and highly wrought eloquence. Indefatigable in his attention to business, he yet finds time, as men of a similar energetic turn of mind often do, for the pleasures of society; and much of his political influence is owing to the charm which manners of the highest breeding, and courtesy of the most finished kind, lend to a varied and delightful conversation.

The great fault of this accomplished minister—and it is a very serious one, for it has more than once brought his country to the brink of the most serious danger—is, that he never calculates the means at his disposal for effecting the projects which he has at heart, and engages in designs which he has not the means of carrying through, or stimulates movements in other countries which he has not the means of supporting. Bred in the school of Pitt, and essentially patriotic in his feelings and ideas, he sometimes forgets the difference in the situation and power of the country at different times, and has often held as high language in diplomatic intercourse, when a reformed House of Commons had not left twenty thousand disposable men in the country, or ten ships of the line to form a Channel fleet, as when Lord Castlereagh wielded the power of one hundred and fifty thousand, and one hundred ships of the line bore the royal flag. A sincere friend of freedom, he has sometimes proved its worst enemy, by stimulating movements of the Liberal party among the excitable inhabitants of other states, which the people of this country had neither the means nor the inclination to support, and being forced, in consequence, to leave them to be crushed by the military force of despotic states. With admirable skill he arranged all the other powers of Europe to check the ambition of France on the Eastern Question in 1840; and it was owing to the influence of his diplomacy that the cordial alliance of France and England was formed which put such a bridle in the mouth of Russia in 1854. But on other occasions his ill-timed assertions of British influence have been attended with the utmost hazard; for they brought us to the verge of a war with France, and once with France and Russia united, at a time when the country was

15. Lord Palmerston: his European reputation.

16. His versatile talents and character.

17. His character as a diplomatist and orator.

18. His errors.

wholly unprepared to maintain a contest with either the one or the other.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL has not obtained the same

19. elevated niche in the temple of fame Lord John as Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston; Russell. but still the nobleman who carried the Reform Bill through the House of Commons, and has since for years held the highest place in the councils of his Sovereign, or been the leader of the House of Commons, must be regarded as no common man. As an orator he occupies a useful rather than a distinguished place. He seldom aims at the highest flights of eloquence, and his speeches are distinguished by business-like habits, by information on the subject, and acuteness in reply, rather than either genius of conception or cogency of argument. If he owed, however, the distinguished position he has so long held in the House of Commons, in the first instance, to family influence, and the prestige of an illustrious name, he has since shown that he was not unworthy of it, by the qualities he has exhibited while discharging its duties. To admirable temper and great tact in debate he unites a thorough acquaintance with the feeling and prevailing inclination of the House, and especially of his own side—qualities invaluable in the leader of a party, and much more important than the more showy qualities which often dazzle only to mislead. His figure is not commanding, and his voice feeble, so that nature has not endowed him with the physical qualities requisite for subduing stormy assemblies, but she has in a great degree made up for the deficiency by the gift of the prudence and judgment which succeed in the end in leading them.

Sydney Smith has said, that such is Lord

20. John Russell's confidence in himself, His intrepidity and self-confidence. that he would, with equal readiness, at a moment's warning, assume the lead of the House of Commons, or take the command of the Channel fleet, or undertake to cut for the stone. Assuming that the celebrated discourses has here strained somewhat for the sake of point, it is evident, from Lord John Russell's public career, that there is some truth in the assertion, though his success in literature and biography by no means warrants the belief that the confidence is well founded. On several important occasions he has shown that he does not shrink from responsibility, and that, supported only by courage and conscious rectitude, he can engage fearlessly in the most hazardous undertakings. His conduct as the leader of the House of Commons on occasion of the Reform Bill in 1831, and the war with Russia in 1854, and of Cardinal Wiseman's assumption of titles when he was prime-minister, sufficiently demonstrates this. Unfortunately, his colleagues in the Cabinet are not always possessed of the same determination, and thus it has not unfrequently happened that the most intrepid denunciations on his part have been followed by no corresponding state measures, and thus have entirely lost their effect. In one respect his conduct has always been worthy of the very highest admiration: he never shirks responsibility, but, on the contrary, not only takes his full share of it when his own, but generously comes forward to divide with others a responsibility which belongs to their department, and

with which his connection is more nominal than real—a conduct which has done more than any thing else to win for him the respect of the country, for the obvious reason that it is the rarest quality in public men, and the one which most observers feel themselves least competent to imitate.

LORD MELBOURNE was a man of very different abilities and character from the 21. eminent ones which have now been Lord Melbourne. drawn; but he has occupied too important a position in the councils of his Sovereign, on her first accession to the throne, and for some years after, not to deserve a distinguished place in a contemporary gallery of state portraits. If his talents were not of the highest order, they were of the kind of all others best adapted for the important and responsible duty to which he was called, of guiding a youthful Queen in the first and most important years of her reign. To great and almost unrivalled powers of conversation he united the charm of the highest breeding, and the grace of the most polished manner. A man of the world in every sense of the word, he had mingled in all its circles only to glean from each what rendered him a delightful companion, a brilliant ornament to the most elevated. His store of anecdote was immense, and related to the most interesting characters; his felicity in recounting them equal to the tact with which they were given out or withheld. An accomplished classical scholar, and well versed in the traditional history of great families, he had little information on the subjects required by a statesman, and took his opinion on the measures brought forward rather from the authority of others than his own reflection. Yet his suavity of disposition and courtesy of manner conquered all opposition; and when, as prime-minister, he gave in the House of Lords, with perfect *nonchalance*, in answer to a question put to him, "I really know nothing at all about the matter," there was a loud laugh from all sides, and no farther inquiries were made. The truth was, all parties, and especially those of them who were nearest the throne, were aware of the vast importance of the duties which, when prime-minister, he discharged as counselor and almost guardian of our present gracious Sovereign in her early years; and if we are to judge of the debt of gratitude which the nation owes him for the manner in which he discharged them, from the strict propriety and wisdom of her Majesty's conduct ever since her accession to the throne, the debt is great indeed.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM owes more to natural advantages than any of the statesmen who have been mentioned. A tall and 22. Sir James commanding figure, handsome countenance, and powerful sonorous voice, give him the superiority in debate which, in civil almost as much as military contests, these qualities never fail to confer; and to these he unites administrative and oratorical talents of a very high order. As First Lord of the Admiralty on the Whigs' accession to office in 1830, and again when the Russian war broke out in 1854, he evinced a degree of vigor and capacity which was appreciated and acknowledged by all parties; and he displayed equal ability as Home Secretary during a very

trying time, from 1841 to 1846. Indefatigable in his attention to business, and endowed with great powers of application, he is always prepared on his own subjects; and, unlike Lord Melbourne, can give a satisfactory answer to every question put regarding them. The expression of his countenance has a supercilious cast, a quality which has been complained of of him in official intercourse, though none is more bland or courteous in private society. He is a powerful debater, as well from the cogency of argument employed as the stores of information displayed, and is excelled by none in the rare and effective power of reply. Occasionally, though not frequently, he rises to the highest flights of eloquence.

Inconsistency is his great defect, and his reputation has suffered more from this peculiarity than that of Lord Palmerston, who is also chargeable with it, because he has at different times taken more decided and contradictory views on the same question. There is hardly a subject of importance discussed of late years on which there will not be found, in the parliamentary debates, an admirable refutation of a previous equally admirable argument on the opposite side, of this skillful rhetorician. This, however, is the fault of the age and circumstances under which he lived, rather than of the individual man. Such is the mutability of general opinion in every popular government, that the rulers of the State can only maintain their ascendancy by changing with it. The philosopher may be consistent, because his aim is the discovery of truth, which is ever the same; the historian, because he traces the unchanging laws of the social order through all the mutations of fortune. But the statesman in a popular community, who aims at the enjoyment of power, can attain it only by the suffrages of the multitude, and to gain them he must often share its mutability. Consistency in such a case is a passport to ultimate fame, but it leads to present downfall.

Such were the chiefs of the Liberal party, who now succeeded to power, and in whose hands, with a few brief intermissions, the government of the country has since been constantly vested. Earl Grey, immediately after his accession to office, made the following profession of the principles of his administration, which diffused general satisfaction: "Prominently, and in the foreground, I place Reform in Parliament. I have, when out of office, declared that that great question could be satisfactorily introduced by the Government alone, and that the Government ought immediately to propound some measure concerning it. What out of office I have professed, I am now in office about to perform; and I promise that a proposal for the reform of our representative system shall be introduced immediately for the consideration of Parliament. It shall be a proposal not of any wild or unreasoning change, not of universal suffrage, not a mere theory of pretended accuracy and efficiency. I desire to stand as much as possible on the fixed and settled institutions of the country. What I seek to do is all that is necessary to secure to the people a due influence in the great Council of the nation, and to secure by that means confidence

and satisfaction in the determinations of Parliament. Any thing short of this will be insufficient. But while seeking for this end, I am anxious not to disturb, by violent changes, the established principles and practice of the constitution. To such a measure I have secured his Majesty's assent. The important matter of the poor will also be considered, and the laws which regulate the provision which the State makes for them. The whole and earnest attention of my colleagues and myself shall be directed to economy in every department of the State, and every saving that can possibly be made shall be adopted with the most unflinching severity."¹

¹ Mirror of Parliament, 1830, § ii. 310.

After a few routine measures had passed, Parliament adjourned to the 9th February. The interim was a state of great alarm and anxiety in England. The southern counties around London were, as Lord Grey afterward said in Parliament, "in a state of open insurrection;" and midnight fires or predial outrages seemed to have been imported into the peaceful realm of England from the distracted and wasted fields of Ireland. The special commission, however, which was opened in December, had a salutary effect: the execution of some desperadoes, convicted of fire-raising, spread a universal terror among the peasantry, and the transportation of great numbers of others, at length arrested the disorders which had attained so alarming a height. But the excitement in the towns was not so easily appeased. Public meetings were every where held, in many cases presided over by distinguished members of the Whig aristocracy, at which the most inflammatory language was used. Constant reference was made to the armed insurrection which had overthrown the government in France and Belgium, and hints given that, if the English aristocracy adopted a similar system of resistance to the public voice, their fate might be the same. These threats were always received with the most vociferous applause, inasmuch that not merely the timid and temporizing, but even the firm and intrepid, began to think that a general convulsion was at hand. Mr. O'Connell and the other members of the Catholic Association were in an especial manner laudatory of the revolution at Brussels, which, as leading to the overthrow of a government and the disruption of a kingdom by a rebellion fomented by the Romish priesthood, was held up as a glorious object, worthy of general imitation.²

^{25.} Distracted state of England during the winter.

"The proceedings and language of Mr. O'Connell," says Mr. Roebuck, "became every day more hostile and threatening: he went about the country making violent harangues, gathering together numerous assemblages of the people, under color of meetings for the purposes of petitioning, or of celebrating some feast or

² Ann. Reg. 1831, 2, 3; Roebuck, ii. 2, 3; Mirror of Parliament, 1831, 1209.

^{26.} Agitation and increased misery in Ireland.

* Mr. Sheil, not the least violent or able of Mr. O'Connell's friends, said at this time: "If the Union is not repealed within two years, I am determined that I will neither pay rent, tithes, nor taxes. They may distress my goods, but who'll buy, boys?—that's the word—who'll buy? Mind, I don't tell any man to follow my advice; but so help me God, if I don't do it, you may call me 'Sheil of the silk gown.'"—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 15.

festival. At all of these meetings he did his utmost to excite his ignorant hearers, but always ending his speeches by some earnest recommendations to keep the peace, hoping thus to escape the law.¹ Such was the alarm gen-

¹ Roebuck, i. 18, 19.

erally excited by these proceedings, that the magistrates in the disturbed districts asked from the Lord-Lieutenant how they should act in regard to them, not from any difficulty in determining what was the law, but from uncertainty whether, or to what extent, the Government would enforce the law, or support the acts of the magistrates in carrying it into execution. The answer of the Lord-Lieutenant was sufficiently clear, and such as every lawyer knows to be the law, and every man of sense must see is an exposition of what is essential to the peace of the community.* But meanwhile distress, the usual accompaniment of agitation, which distracts the minds of the peasantry, set in with extraordinary severity in Ireland. Potatoes in less than usual quantities had been planted in Ireland, and such even then had suffered under the epidemic which afterward made such fatal ravages in the country. Two hundred thousand persons were without food; and their sufferings were aggravated by great severity of weather, and want of clothing, food, and fuel. The peasants crowded in thousands into the towns, where they introduced contagion and death. When Parliament met in spring, one of their first measures was to vote £50,000 for the relief of the starving peasantry; but though this evinced a sympathy with their

sufferings, it did no good except alleviating immediate want, for it was nearly all expended in forming use-
² Ann. Reg. 1831, 302, 303; Roebuck, ii. 19, 20.
less roads, and making good roads had ones.²

The declared object of all these movements was to procure a repeal of the Union, and unwearied were the efforts, innumerable the shifts, of Mr. O'Connell to keep up the agitation for

* "The law recognizes the fair and legitimate exercise of the right of petition, and protects them in the full exercise of that right; but it does not warrant any assemblies having a manifest and direct tendency to a violation of the public peace, under whatever name, or for whatever professed object they are assembled. Therefore any assemblies of persons, whether collected under pretense of petitioning, or of public exhibitions of strength and skill, or under any other pretense whatever, if from their number, acts, place, or times of meeting, or other circumstances preceding or accompanying them, they excite in the minds of his Majesty's well-disposed subjects *reasonable fears* that the public peace will be thereby violated, and the lives and properties of the King's subjects thereby endangered; or if they be so constituted or conducted as to induce *reasonable and well-founded apprehensions* that the motives and objects of the persons so assembling are not the fair and legal exercise of constitutional rights and privileges, but the accomplishment of alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm *by means of intimidation, and by demonstration of physical force*, or by any other than legal and constitutional means; all these, and such like assemblies, however composed, or with whatever view collected, are illegal, and are by the law denominated 'unlawful assemblies.' And it is the duty of all magistrates within whose jurisdiction such assemblies are called together (being first satisfied of their illegal nature), by all lawful means within their power to prevent such meetings, and to suppress and disperse them."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 301, 302. It is impossible to state the law more clearly than is here done, and it was laid down in exactly the same terms by Lord Tenterden and the Court of King's Bench in Mr. Hunt's case. They form a curious commentary on the meetings at Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow, by which the Reform Bill was carried, and the monster meetings by which for so many years the germs of improvement in Ireland were crushed.

this object, without incurring the penalties of treason or sedition. The device usually adopted was to assemble the people in such numbers as to intimidate Government by the display of physical strength, and at the same time avoid an ostensible breach of the law by recommending peaceable conduct and obedience to the letter of the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation. As

fast as one meeting was proclaimed down, another was convened under a different name, or for a different avowed object; and in the interval letters were invariably published by O'Connell, recommending peaceable and ceaseless agitation, and promising a repeal of the Union in two years if his advice was implicitly followed.* At length Government, under the able and energetic advice of Mr. Stanley, wearied with this interminable pacific warfare, determined on a prosecution, and an indictment was accordingly executed against him and several of his associates. The grand jury found true bills against them; and although they threw every possible obstacle in the way of the proceedings, they were successfully carried through. Mr. O'Connell withdrew his demurrer, and actually *pleaded guilty* to some counts in the indictment. This was so unexpected a result that it naturally created a suspicion of some secret understanding or agreement with the Government. Mr. Stanley, however, the Irish Secretary, upon being questioned on the subject in the House of Commons, emphatically denied that there was any such understanding, and declared in the most solemn way, "It is the unalterable determination of the law-officers in Ireland to let the law take its course against him." But in making that declaration that highly-gifted nobleman was not yet aware of the degradation which sooner or later awaits all who, for political purposes, ally themselves with popular demagogues—*Mr. O'Connell was never brought up for judgment!* The Reform Bill was coming on in the House of Commons; a general election might at no distant period be anticipated; the support of the Catholic leaders in and out of Parliament might be required by Government, and the haughty spirit of Earl Grey yielded to the necessities of his situation. Nothing was done against O'Connell: he openly braved and abused the Government, but he and his party supported them in Parliament, and he and his associates were permitted to carry on for
fifteen years longer their unchecked
career of agitation, devastation, and
ruin.[†]

* "Let us be in no hurry. Events in England and on the continent of Europe are working for us. Every succeeding day weakens the supporters of despotism in every clime and country; each successive day strengthens the friends of cheap government and free institutions. Patience, my dear countrymen, and Ireland will achieve one more bloodless, stainless change. Since I was born she has achieved two such glorious political revolutions. The first was in 1782, when she conquered legislative independence; the second in 1829, when she won for her victory freedom of conscience; the third and best remains behind—the restoration of a domestic and reformed Legislature by the repeal of the Union. This we will also achieve if we persevere in a legal, constitutional, and peaceable course. Let my advice but be followed, and I will venture to assert that the Union can not last two years longer."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 22, 23.

† "The Crown has procured a verdict against Mr. O'Connell, and it will undoubtedly call him up to receive

27.
Agitation
for the re-
peal of the
Union, and
prosecution
of Mr.
O'Connell,
who is al-
lowed to es-
cape.

Parl. Deb.
ii. 494;
Ann. Reg.
1831, 317.

On February 11, Lord Althorpe brought forward the budget, which, although not of much moment in a financial point of view, as its leading provisions were defeated in Parliament,

was yet attended with very important results in a political, as that very defeat opened the eyes of Government to the necessity of conciliating their Radical allies, and had no small influence in the construction of the Reform Bill, now under the consideration of the Cabinet. The preceding year had been one of unsparing and unflinching economy, which had brought a considerable and real excess of income over expenditure. Lord Althorpe, basing his calculations on that year, estimated the national income in round numbers at £50,000,000; and the expenditure at £46,850,000, leaving an anticipated surplus of £3,150,000. Instead, however, of reserving this surplus, as it should have been, for the reduction of the national debt, it was resolved to take off taxes to more than the whole amount, and in lieu thereof to impose other taxes, which it was thought would be less burdensome to the people. The taxes taken off he estimated at £4,080,000, and the taxes to be imposed at £2,740,000, thereby reducing the anticipated clear surplus to £1,800,000 a year! A woeful reduction, when it is recollected that, when the new system of finance began, and present popularity was looked for instead of ultimate good, the Sinking Fund was £15,000,000, at which level it might have been retained but for the immense reduction of indirect taxes forced on by the contraction of the currency.¹

This was a sufficiently alarming state of finances, with a view to the ultimate solvency and resources of the country. But it was rendered doubly important with reference to *present* interests, by the description of taxes which were proposed to be removed, and those which were to be imposed. The principal taxes which were to be taken off were those on tobacco, sea-borne coal, tallow candles, and printed calicoes; and no one could deny that the reduction of these duties would be a very considerable relief to the industrious classes of the community. But with regard to the new taxes to be imposed, there was much more room for

judgment on it."—*Mirror of Parliament*, 1831, p. 281. Such were Mr. Stanley's words, in which he was undoubtedly sincere, but he was overruled by the Cabinet. The excuse put forward for this discreditable act—viz., that the act under which O'Connell had been convicted expired before he could be brought up to receive judgment—is unfounded both in fact and in law. He pleaded guilty on Feb. 5, and the Parliament was dissolved on April 22; and every lawyer knows that though an Act of Parliament may be temporary in its duration, the punishment of a crime committed while it was in force may be inflicted or continue long after. In truth, the whole affair was a mere compromise of justice for expedience, or rather party ambition; and it was discussed as such in the cabinet of Dublin, and produced an estrangement between Lord Cloncurry and Mr. O'Connell, and such a violent altercation between the former and the Attorney-General (Mr. Blackburn), who insisted for punishment, that the Lord-Lieutenant was obliged to take a pledge from both it should go no further. "I strongly urged upon Lord Anglesea," says Lord Cloncurry, "*the prudence of allowing Mr. O'Connell to escape, as the infliction of a nominal punishment, which could only have endured a few weeks, would only have the appearance of impotent malice.*"—LORD CLONCURRY'S *Recollections*, quoted in ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 60.

difference of opinion. They consisted chiefly of an increase in the duties on wine, colonial timber, raw cottons, steamboat passengers, and half a per cent. on the transfers of funded property.* These taxes were considerable in point of amount, but they were far more so in point of principle, for they indicated in an unmistakable manner the new interests which were rising to the government of the State, and the old ones whose influence was declining, and which were in consequence to be subjected to taxation. For the first time in English history, a duty was to be imposed on funded property; and by the equalization of the duties on Baltic and Canadian timber, and on Cape and foreign wines, the chief colonies of the empire would lose the benefit of protection on the staple article of their industry. These projects might be agreeable to some classes of the community, but they were eminently distasteful to others; and the latter were those who, by the possession of the close boroughs, had hitherto ruled the State. From the very first, accordingly, a violent clamor was raised against the proposed new taxes; and so vehement did it soon become, that two days afterward the Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged to declare in Parliament, that the proposed tax on funded transfers was abandoned, and that, in consequence, he could not remit the duties on tobacco and glass. The proposed duty on steamboat passengers was also abandoned, and that of 1*l.* a pound on raw cottons reduced to $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of 1*l.* The timber duties also were given up, by not being pressed to a division. In a word, the proposed budget was entirely abandoned, and the defeat of Ministers was so obvious that they must have gone out had they not trusted to the sheet-anchor of the Reform Bill, which was essentially modified by this calamitous issue of their first financial measures.¹

Meanwhile a committee of the Cabinet was sitting, and actively engaged with the formation of the projected Reform Bill. The committee consisted of Lord Durham (Earl Grey's son-in-law, and who was perfectly acquainted with his views on the subject), Lord Duncannon, Sir James Graham, and Lord John Russell. The instructions of the Cabinet to this committee were quite general, but they amounted to this, "that

* The budget proposed stood as follows:

<i>Taken off.</i>	
Tobacco	£1,400,000
Newspapers	190,000
Sea-borne Coal	830,000
Tallow Candles	420,000
Printed Calicoes	500,000†
Glass	600,000
Auctions	60,000
Miscellaneous	80,000
<hr/>	
<i>Laid on.</i>	
Cape Wines	£240,000
Colonial Timber	600,000
Raw Cotton	500,000
Coals exported	100,000
Steamboat Passengers	100,000
Transfers in funds	1,200,000
<hr/>	
£2,740,000	

--*Ann. Reg.*, 128, 129; *Parl. Deb.* (new series), ii. 411, 414.

† Though this tax produced only £500,000 a year, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the loss it inflicted on the community was £2,500,000.—*Parl. Deb.*, ii. 414.

the measure should be large enough to satisfy at once the public opinion, and prevent any further change; but which, while thus extensive, should be based on and connected with existing territorial divisions and rights. The constitution was not to be trenched upon, but the House of Commons was really to represent the intelligence, property, and feeling of the people."¹ The principles were first

¹ Roebuck, ii. 29. discussed, and the first draft submitted to the Cabinet proposed to make the suffrage in towns depend on a rent of £15 or £20, but combined with the ballot. This, however, was not agreed to, and Earl Grey held out for the higher suffrage for a time.* At length, as a measure of compromise, it was determined to make the suffrage £10 rent without the ballot. No one thought of introducing a suffrage depending on a *different kind* of qualification, or was aware of the effect of making it depend on *one alone*. The principle being agreed on, the details of the measure were next considered, and the boroughs to be wholly or partially disfranchised. Lord John Russell furnished the materials for this important part of the measure, proceeding, of course, on the information furnished by others; and the principle adopted was, that all boroughs having together two thousand inhabitants should be wholly, between two thousand and four thousand inhabitants partially, disfranchised. At length the selection was made, not, however, without vehement charges of favoritism from the other side—"not wholly," says the Whig historian, "if my information be correct, without reason. Certainly some of the results did look exceedingly suspicious. Tavistock was the common subject of hostile sarcasm, and always,

² Roebuck, i. 30, note. by some peculiar and happy fatality, escaped the drag-net of the dreaded schedules."²

While these important discussions were going on in the Cabinet, and in the committee to which the preparation of the measure had been intrusted, the country was agitated from one end to the other with anxiety regarding it, and the agitation increased as the time for announcing it approached, until it became almost unbearable. Vast numbers of petitions were presented to the House of Commons on the subject, which gave a curious and instructive picture of the state of public opinion on the subject, and evinced beyond all question the deep-rooted desire for change which pervaded the middle and inferior classes of society. The great object of all seemed to be to secure "a real, not nominal, representation of the people, and put an end to the influence of the aristocracy in returning members of the House of Commons."

* Earl Grey said in the House of Lords, on 28th March, "The first disposition of my mind was, to *limit the reform within a much narrower compass*; but after full consideration, and after having discussed the subject with my colleagues, I was convinced that nothing short of the present measure was likely to lead to the satisfactory result of fulfilling the wishes of all classes, and of giving to the Government security and respect," and Sir R. Peel said in the House of Commons, on 19th April, 1831, "I well know, for I heard it from the noble Earl himself, that at the close of last year the measure of reform contemplated by Earl Grey was of a more moderate nature—far more moderate than that which is now proposed. The present Lord-Chancellor, too, said the same thing."—*Parl. Deb.* (new series), ii. 1082.

As to the means for effecting these objects, in which all concurred, there was a great diversity of opinion, but the majority of the petitions recommended the shortening the duration of Parliament, extending and equalizing the elective franchise, and the use of the ballot in elections. The evils which these changes were designed to remove were, the existing commercial and manufacturing distress, the frequency of unjust and unnecessary wars, the profligate expenditure of the public money, and the amount of taxes kept up to impoverish the country by squandering its resources on placemen and pensioners. In addition to these petitions, which were extremely numerous, associations were formed in all the great towns under the name of POLITICAL UNIONS, the object of which, like that of the Catholic Association, was to provide the means of permanent agitation, by raising funds, providing a staff of itinerant orators, calling public meetings, influencing the press, and instilling by all possible means into the minds of the people the belief that all their sufferings were owing to the want of reform, and would be at once removed by its adoption.¹

At length the momentous day arrived, big with the future destinies of England and the whole civilized world. To Lord John Russell, out of compliment to the illustrious house from which he sprang, was assigned the honor of introducing the measure in the House of Commons. The House was crowded to excess in every part; all the avenues to it were choked with anxious and agitated crowds panting to get the first intelligence of the eventful measure, and messengers mounted on fleet horses to convey to the newspaper offices, and through them to the country, the earliest reports of the debate. When the doors of the gallery opened, the rush was tremendous, like that which had been witnessed at the theatres when Mrs. Siddons was to fascinate the world by her mimic powers. The House of Commons had become the stage, the world composed the audience. So well had the secret been preserved by the Cabinet, though so deeply interesting to so many, that not the slightest surmise had gone abroad of the intentions of Government; and when Lord John Russell rose amidst profound silence to state their designs, they came as much by surprise on the whole House as on the most distant parts of the country.²

On the one hand, it was urged by Lord John Russell, Mr. Macaulay, and Lord Advocate Jeffrey: "The measure now to be brought forward, though moved by one who is not a member of the Cabinet, is the result of the united opinions of the whole Cabinet, and especially of the noble Lord at its head. The object of the Government has been to frame a measure which, without going the length of the extreme partisans of either side, shall amend all existing imperfections, and satisfy all the reasonable demands of the country. We desire to stand between two hostile parties, neither agreeing with the bigoted, on the one hand, that no reform is necessary, nor with the fa-

^{37.} Introduction of the Reform Bill by Lord John Russell.

² Ann. Reg. 1831, 5, 6; Roebuck, ii. 65.

^{33.} Argument of the Ministers in favor of the bill.

natics on the other, that nothing but the most extreme measures will satisfy the people. To attempt to satisfy the public mind will not endanger the institutions of the country; to refuse to do so might have that effect. We hope to take a firm and steadfast ground between the abuses we wish to amend and the convulsions we hope to avert.

“Our ancient statutes of Edward I. contain the vital principles of our constitution. The 25th of that monarch, Cap. 6, declares, ‘that for no business from henceforth we should take such manner of aids, tasks, nor prizes, but by the common consent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prizes due and accustomed.’ The 34th Edward I., commonly called *De Tallagio non concedendo*, expressly provides, ‘that no tallage or aid shall be taken or levied by us or our heirs in our realm, without the good-will and assent of archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land.’ Although historical doubts have been thrown on this statute, its validity can not be contested, for it is asserted in the Petition of Right that it was allowed by the judges in the case of Hampden, and is, in fact, the foundation of the constitution, as it has existed since the days of the Stuarts. The consent of the ‘burgesses and other freemen of the land’ thus required to the validity of any imposition was given by their representatives, consisting, by immemorial usage, of two knights from each county, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough. For two hundred and fifty years the number of boroughs so sending members to Parliament was one hundred and twenty, and thirty or forty others exercised or lost that privilege, according as they rose or sunk in importance. At the beginning of this period there can be no question that the House of Commons did represent the people of England, and continued to do so for a very long period. No man of sense now pretends that this House represents the people of England. If the question is to be determined, therefore, by considerations of right, it must be determined in favor of reform.

“Turn now to the question as one of reason. Suppose a stranger from some distant country should arrive in England to examine our institutions. He had been informed that this country was singular from the eminence it had attained in wealth, science, and civilization. If, in addition to this, he learned that this country, so great, so learned, so renowned, once in six years chose its representatives to sit in the great Council of the nation, and legislate on all its concerns, with what eagerness would he inquire by what process so important an election as that of this body was effected? What, then, would be his surprise if he were taken by his guide, whom he had asked to accompany him to one of the places of election—to a green mound—and told that this green mound returned two members to Parliament; or to a stone wall, with niches in it, and told that they returned two members; or to a green park, and told it returned as many? But what would be his surprise if he were carried to the north of England, where he would see large and flourishing towns, full

of trade and activity, containing vast magazines of trade and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representatives in the assembly which was said to represent the people? Suppose him, after all, to ask for a specimen of popular elections, and to be carried for that purpose to Liverpool, his surprise would be turned into disgust at the gross corruption and venality which he would find to pervade the electors. After seeing all this, would he not wonder that a nation which had made such progress in every kind of knowledge, and which valued itself upon its freedom, should permit so absurd and defective a system of representation any longer to prevail?

“It has been often said, and by none so often as the late Mr. Canning, that whatever the constitution of the House of Commons may be, and however open to theoretical objections, it has worked well in practice, and has enjoyed the confidence of the people. Can that any longer be affirmed? Is it the case at this moment? So far from it, the whole people are calling loudly for reform. That confidence, whatever it was, and on whatever founded, which formerly existed in the House of Commons as at present constituted, has gone forever. It would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Manchester and Leeds to Gattton and Old Sarum, than to re-establish confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it is pleased to call its constituents. In a word, if the question is considered as one of right, it is in favor of reform; if it is considered as one of reason or justice, it is in favor of reform; if it is considered as one of reason and necessity, it is still more loudly in favor of reform.

“We talk of the wisdom of our ancestors, and in one respect certainly they were wiser than we are. They legislated for their own times; they looked at England as it was before them: they did not think it necessary to give twice as many members to York as they did to London, because York had been the capital of England in the time of Constantine; and they would certainly have been amazed if they had been told that a city with a hundred thousand inhabitants would be left without representation in the nineteenth century, merely because, in the thirteenth, it consisted only of a few huts. They formed a representative system, not indeed without defects and irregularities, but which was well adapted to the England of their time. But when new forms of property arose—when former towns became villages, and former villages became towns—a change in the representation became necessary, to prevent it from becoming the mere vehicle of class government, and thereby proving a curse instead of a blessing to society. Unfortunately, when times were changed, the old institutions remained unchanged. The form remained when the spirit had departed. Then came the pressure almost to bursting—the new wine in the old bottles, the new people under the old institutions.

“It is now time for us to pay a decent, rational, manly reverence to our ancestors, not by superstitiously adhering to what, under other circumstances, they did, but by doing what they, under our

circumstances, would have done. All history is full of revolutions produced by causes similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which had been of no account, expands and becomes strong. It demands a place in the system, suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present strength. If this is granted, all is well; if it is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of the one class, and the ancient privileges of the other. Such was the struggle between the patricians and plebeians of Rome; such was the struggle of the Italian allies for admission to the full rights of Roman citizens; such was the struggle of the North American colonies against the mother country; such was the struggle of the *Tiers Etat* of France against the aristocracy of birth; such was the struggle which the Catholics of Ireland maintained against the aristocracy of creed; such is the struggle which the free people of color in Jamaica are now maintaining against the aristocracy of skin; such, finally, is the struggle which the middle classes of England are maintaining against the aristocracy of mere locality—against an aristocracy, the principle of which is to invest a hundred drunken potwallopers in one place, the owner of a ruined hovel in another, with power which we withheld from cities renowned to the farthest ends of the earth for the marvels of their wealth, and the prodigies of their industry.

“The argument drawn from the virtual representation is wholly unfounded. On
39. Continued. what principle can it be maintained that a power which is admitted to be salutary when exercised virtually, is noxious when exercised directly? If the wishes of Manchester have already as much influence with us as if Manchester were directly represented, can there be any danger in giving direct members to Manchester? The utmost that can be said for virtual representation is, that it is as good as direct representation. If so, why not grant direct representation at once? If it be said there is an evil in change, is there not a still greater evil in discontent? Can it be said that a system works well which has become the parent of boundless discontent—which has almost alienated the hearts of the people from the institutions of their country? It is almost as essential to the utility of a House of Commons that it should possess the confidence of the people, as that it should deserve that confidence. But it is here that the crazy part of the constitution is to be found; what should be the most popular part of the constitution has become the most unpopular. No one but a few insane Radicals wish to dethrone the King or turn out the House of Lords. But the whole people desire to alter the constitution of the House of Commons.*

“The fall of all the free states that ever have flourished upon the earth has been
40. Continued. owing to the obstinate resistance of the privileged classes, who had got votes, and through them the government of the

state, to an extension of the privilege to other classes of citizens. Athens had twenty-one thousand freemen and four hundred thousand slaves; Sparta a still smaller number; and in the Italian republics there were twenty thousand electors disposing of the lives and properties of as many millions of unrepresented citizens. What interest can such a multitude of slaves of a class have in upholding institutions in which they are not allowed to participate? America was lost to England, because the latter contended for taxation without representation; there are many Americas in Yorkshire and Lancashire; let us beware lest the refusal of their claim produce a similar disruption in the British empire. Rome alone adopted the opposite system; she progressively extended the privileges of Roman citizens to all the inhabitants of the conquered states; she carried their affections with them, because she consulted and knew their interests, and she obtained in return the empire of the world.*

“We have tried cruel operations: what has been their result? Does there remain
41. Continued. any species of coercion not tried by Pitt and Londonderry? We have had laws, we have had blood. The press has been fettered, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, public meetings have been prohibited. Have these measures proved more than palliatives? You are at the end of your palliatives; the evil remains; it is more formidable than ever. Under such circumstances, Ministers have brought forward a great measure of conciliation, intended to still all animosities, reconcile all interests, and satisfy all reasonable expectations. It takes away a great power from a few, and distributes that power through the vast mass of the middle orders. It is a mistake to assert that this change will endanger the monarchy. Is it only in the aristocracy, or the higher ranks, that the principle of loyalty exists? Is it unknown among the middle ranks, among the citizens of towns, or the yeomanry of the country? All history tells the reverse. But if it really were so—if the great body of the middle class in England look with aversion on monarchy or aristocracy, then we must rest in the melancholy conclusion that monarchical and aristocratic institutions are unsuited to this country. The end of all government is the happiness of the people; and that happiness can never be promoted by a form of government in which the middle classes place no confidence, and which exists only, even for a time, because they have no organ by which to make their sentiments known. The truth is, that they are at bottom as much attached to our monarchical form of government as the higher; and they have become alienated solely from not being allowed to participate in it. Give them that power; throw open the portals of the constitution, and they will become its firmest defenders.

“To accomplish this object, the ministerial plan is as follows: It consists of three
42. parts—those calculated to get rid of Ministerial the close boroughs, those intended to plan of reform. extend the suffrage, those destined to diminish the expense of elections. To accomplish the first object, it is proposed to disfran-

* The three preceding paragraphs are abridged from Mr. Macaulay's speech on March 2, *Parl. Deb.* (new series), vol. ii. p. 1195, 1198. It is easy to recognize his composition from the condensation of the style, and the philosophical view of the subject.

* From Lord Advocate Jeffrey's speech on introducing the Scotch Reform Bill.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. iv. p. 796-799

chise entirely all boroughs which by the census of 1821 had less than 2000 inhabitants. This will utterly disfranchise sixty boroughs, and get rid of 119 members. With regard to boroughs containing from 2000 to 4000 inhabitants by the same census, it is proposed not to disfranchise them altogether, but to reduce them to one member each. This will cut off forty-seven members—Weymouth, which now, by a strange anomaly, returns four members, being reduced to two. Thus far the process of disfranchisement,* by which 168 members will be struck off. Then as to the work of enfranchisement, it is proposed that seven large towns,

hitherto unrepresented, should send each two members, and twenty others one member each. Twenty-seven of the largest counties are to return four members; Yorkshire, the largest of all, two members for each Riding, or six members. Ten new members to be added to London and its suburbs, which will, with London, Southwark, and Westminster, raise the metropolitan representation to eighteen members.

“The most important point of all—the qualification of the new voters—remains behind. The existing right of voting in all boroughs is to be made the same, and to depend on one *uniform qualification*—viz., the payment of a rent of £10 or upward, or property to the same amount. Existing non-resident electors were to retain their right, but in future no electors in boroughs to be entitled to enrollment if non-resident, and all leaseholders for twenty-one years to be voters. In counties, copyholders to the value of £10, and all householders paying £10 rent, and all leaseholders paying £50 rent, provided they had leases for twenty-one years or upward. No alteration to be made on the forty-shilling freeholders in counties. All electors to be registered: the registers to be made up by the overseers of parishes, according to the rating of each person; and the register to be made up and revised annually by assistant barristers appointed by the Lord Chief Justice. In towns, the poll to be limited to two days; in counties, the same, and the latter to be divided, so that, if possible, no elector should have more than fifteen miles to travel to his polling-place.

“It may be objected, that the effect of this plan will be to destroy the power and privileges of the aristocracy, and exclude talent from the Legislature. No apprehension can be more groundless. Large and populous boroughs will spontaneously choose men of great talent and public spirit. No reform can prevent wealth, probity, learning, and wit from having their proper influence on elections. Wherever the aristocracy reside, receive large incomes, perform important duties, relieve the poor by charity, it is not in human nature that they should not possess a great influence upon public opinion, and have an equal weight in electing persons to serve their country in Parliament. Though such persons may not have the direct nomination of members under this bill, they will have as much as they ought. But if by aristocracy are meant those persons who do not live among the people, and who care nothing for them—who seek honors without merit, places without duty, and pensions without service—for such an aristocracy we have no sympathy; and we think the sooner it is swept away, with the corruption which it has engendered, the better for the country in which it has repressed so long every wholesome and invigorating influence.

“With regard, again, to Scotland and Ireland, the same principles will be carried into execution. In the former country, where the constituency is only 2500 for 2,500,000 people, and where it depends in counties on a mere feudal title of superiority, independent altogether of the property or possession of land, and in boroughs on

* BOROUGHs ENTIRELY DISFRANCHISED AND PUT IN SCHEDULE A.

Auldborough, York.	Hedon.	Reigate.
Auldborough, Suffolk.	Heytesbury.	Romney.
Appley.	Higham Ferrers.	St. Mawes.
Bedwin.	Hindon.	Saltash.
Beeralston.	Ilchester.	St. Michael's, Cornwall.
Bishop's-Castle.	Looe, East.	Sarum, Old.
Bletchingley.	Looe, West.	Seaford.
Boroughbridge.	Ludwithiel.	Steyning.
Bossiney.	Ludgershall.	Stockbridge.
Brackley.	Malmesbury.	Tregony.
Bramber.	Midhurst.	Wareham.
Buckingham.	Milborne.	Wendover.
Callington.	Minhead.	Weobly.
Camelford.	Newport, Cornwall.	Whitchurch.
Castle Rising.	Newton, Lancashire.	Winchelsea.
Corfe Castle.	Newton, Isle of Wight.	Woodstock.
Dunwich.	Okehampton.	Wooten-Basset.
Eye.	Orford.	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.
Fowey.	Petersfield.	
Gatton.	Plympton.	
Haslemere.	Queenborough.	

120 Members.

BOROUGHs TO BE REDUCED TO ONE MEMBER EACH.—SCHEDULE B.

Amersham	Helston.	Rye.
Arundel.	Honiton.	St. Germain.
Ashburton.	Huntington.	St. Ives.
Bewdley.	Hythe.	Sandwich.
Bodmin.	Launceston.	Sudbury.
Bridport.	Leominster.	Shaftesbury.
Chippenharn.	Liskeard.	Tamworth.
Clitheroe.	Lyme Regis.	Thetford.
Cockermouth.	Lymington.	Thirsk.
Dorchester.	Maldon.	Totness.
Downton.	Marlborough.	Truro.
Droitwich.	Marlow.	Wallingford.
Evesham.	Morpeth.	Westbury.
Grimsby.	Northallerton.	Wilton.
Grinstead.	Penryn.	Wycombe.
Guilford.	Richmond.	

47 Members.

TOWNS TO SEND TWO MEMBERS EACH.

Manchester and Salford.	Birmingham and Ashton.	Greenwich.
Leeds.	Wolverhampton.	Sheffield.
		Sunderland.

TOWNS TO SEND ONE MEMBER EACH.

Brighton.	Walsall.	Tynemouth.
Blackburn.	Gateshead.	Cheltenham.
Macclesfield.	Whitehaven.	Bradford.
South Shields.	Kendal.	Frome.
Warrington.	Bolton.	Wakefield.
Huddersfield.	Stockport.	Kidderminster.
Halifax.	Dudley.	

TWO ADDITIONAL MEMBERS TO

Yorkshire, East Riding.	Wilts.	Sussex.
Cheshire.	Warwick.	Nottingham.
Derby.	Cumberland.	Surrey.
Durham.	Northampton.	Stafford.
Gloucester.	Cornwall.	Northumberland.
Lancashire.	Devon.	Leicester.
Norfolk.	Essex.	Hampshire.
Somerset.	Kent.	Worcester.
Suffolk.	Lincoln.	
	Salop.	

—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. ii. p. 1072-1074.

the votes of self-elected town-councils, an entire change will be made. The qualifications will be the same in counties and boroughs as in England, so that in both political power will be taken out of the hands of the small junto in which it has hitherto been vested, and extended to the great middle class of the people. In Ireland, the ten-pound clause will be introduced both in boroughs and counties; and the franchise will be taken out of the hands of the corporations which have hitherto exclusively enjoyed it, and vested in the whole body of resident citizens. The general result would be an increase over the whole empire of about 500,000 electors, making, with those already enjoying it, above 900,000 for the two islands. Of these, 50,000 will be found in the new towns created into parliamentary boroughs in England; 110,000 additional electors in boroughs already returning members; London, 95,000; counties, 100,000; Scotland, 60,000; Ireland, 40,000. No change is intended to be proposed in the duration of Parliament, nor is the ballot to be introduced. The House will consist in all of 596 members, being a reduction of sixty-two on its present number of 658.¹ By such a course alone will it be possible to give permanency to that constitution which has been so long the admiration of surrounding nations on account of its popular spirit, but which can not exist much longer unless strengthened by an additional infusion of popular spirit, commensurate with the progress of knowledge and the increased intelligence of the age.*

No words can convey an adequate idea of the astonishment which the announcement of this project of reform created in the House of Commons and the country. Nothing approaching to it had ever been witnessed before or has been since. Men's minds were prepared for a change, perhaps a very considerable one, especially in the enfranchising new cities and towns which now were unrepresented; but it never entered into the imagination of any human being out of the Cabinet that so sweeping and entire a change would be proposed, especially by the King's ministers. The Tories never had dreaded such a revolution; the Radicals never had hoped for it. Astonishment was the universal feeling. Many laughed outright: those who did so were chiefly those whose seats were to be taken away. None thought the bill could pass; it was supposed by many that Ministers themselves neither intended nor desired it, but wished only to establish a thorn in the side of their adversaries, which should prevent them from holding power if they succeeded in displacing them. So universal was this feeling

that it is now generally admitted that, had Sir R. Peel, instead of permitting the debate to go on, instantly divided the House, on the plea that the proposed measure was too revolutionary to be for a moment entertained, leave to bring in the bill would have been refused by a large majority. The Cabinet Ministers themselves are known to have thought at the time that their official existence then hung by a thread, and that it depended entirely on the debate being allowed to proceed.^{1*}

The course which the Ministers dreaded, however, was not adopted; the debate was allowed to proceed, and it lasted seven nights. It was contended, on the part of opposition, by Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Richard Vivian, and Sir Robert Peel: "This is the first time for fifty years that any person invested even with the reflected light of Government has come down to the House formally to declare that the House is incompetent to the due discharge of its legislative functions. It is the first time during that period that the advisers of his Majesty have thought fit to pledge their Sovereign before his people to the doctrine that the House of Commons is 'unworthy of the confidence of the people,' unworthy to stand between their fellow-subjects and the throne. The doctrine is not new; but the circumstances under which, and the persons by whom it is now advanced are new, and they invest it with a character not less novel than ill-omened. We hear much of the demand of the people for reform, and the perilous consequences which might ensue from resisting it; but the truth is, that the present excitement has arisen entirely from the example of successful revolution in France and Belgium, and will subside gradually when these convulsions have terminated, as terminate they will, in universal suffering. Even now the clamor, of which so much is said, comes from a part only, and

* "I have often heard," says Mr. Roebuck, "Lord Brougham relate a circumstance connected with his celebrated motion, which vividly illustrates the ignorance of the administration, even at the eleventh hour, as to the real feelings of the people. The members of the Cabinet who were not in the House of Commons, dined that day with the Lord Chancellor, whose secretary, Mr., now Sir, Denis Le Marchant, sat under the gallery of the House of Commons, and sent half-hour bulletins to the noble lord as to the progress of the debate. They ran thus: 'Lord John has been up ten minutes—House very full—great anxiety and interest shown.' Another came describing the extraordinary sensation produced by the plan on both sides of the House. At last came one saying, 'Lord John is near the end of his speech—my next will tell you who follows him.' 'Now,' said the noble host, and narrator of the story, 'we had often talked over and guessed at the probable course of the Opposition, and I always said, Were I in Peel's place, I would not condescend to argue the point, but would, so soon as Lord John Russell sat down, get up and declare that I would not debate so revolutionary, so mad a proposal, and would insist upon dividing the House at once. *If he does this, I used to say, we are dead beat*; but if he allows himself to be drawn into a discussion, we shall succeed.' When Le Marchant's bulletin at length came, which was to tell us the course adopted by the Opposition, I held the note unopened in my hand, and laughing said, 'Now this decides our fate, therefore let us take a glass of wine all round, in order that we may with proper nerve read the fatal missive.' Having done so, I opened the note, and seeing the first line, which was, 'Peel (should have been Inglis) has been up twenty minutes,' I flourished the note round my head—'Hurra! hurra! Victory! victory! Peel has been speaking twenty minutes!' and so we took another glass of wine to congratulate ourselves on our good fortune."—ROEBUCK, ii. 87, 88, note.

* The Members were thus distributed:

House at present	658
Disfranchised	168
Remain	490
Additional Members for Scotland	5
“ “ for Ireland	3
“ “ for Wales	1
“ “ for London	8
“ “ for English large towns	34
“ “ for English counties	55
	596

Decrease from existing Members... 62

—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. ii. p. 1082.

that the least respectable part, of the community; and to it we may apply Mr. Burke's words in 1770, 'Faction will make its cries resound through the nation as if the whole were in an

1 Thoughts on the present Discontents—Works, ii. 267.

uproar, when by far the majority, and much the better part, will seem for a time annihilated by the quiet in which their virtue and moderation incline them to enjoy the blessings of government."¹

"As to the measure itself, it has no pretensions to be what Ministers call it—a restoration of the principles of the constitution to their pristine purity from the pollution they have received from an accumulation of abuses. The very foundation of it, viz., that population and taxation should be the foundation of representation, never was the principle of the English constitution. Our sovereigns in early times called Parliaments together because they wanted men and money, and the appeal was made to the *liberi homines*. The next step was the calling on 'communities' to assist at these Parliaments, but then each community had only one vote. At that time the county of Cornwall had but eight members. How can it be contended that population and taxation was the principle of representation, when from the earliest times small towns in some places had been called to send representatives, and large ones been left unrepresented? Can a single instance be pointed out in the whole history of England, in which a town or borough was called into parliamentary existence because it was large or populous, and excluded from it because it was small or declining in its inhabitants? Old Sarum, of which we hear so much, was never large or populous, or more so than it is now; on the contrary, in the same year, 23d Edward I., writs were issued for the first time to Old and New Sarum—the former to oblige the Earl of Salisbury, by putting his friends in the House; other boroughs, as Newport in the Isle of Wight, received members in the same way—in that instance to please Sir G. Carew. All the Cornish boroughs had sprung up in this way; while at the same time Halifax, with 8400 inhabitants, Manchester, with 5400, were never called on to send any. These towns had prospered without any representatives; and no one ever heard that their commercial interests had suffered from the want of advocates in this House to maintain their rights.

"The constitution of England was fixed at the Revolution, and at the Revolution only. Since that time the Crown has not claimed the right of creating boroughs, and probably would not be advised to attempt to create that right by its mere charter. It may therefore be considered as certain that the House of Commons, as it now is, is the same practically as it was at the Revolution, only that it is more popular. It has adapted itself, almost like another work of nature, to our growth. How different is the county representation of England from what it once was; how unlike are the country gentlemen to what they were a century ago; how completely do they now reflect in their own the mind of their constituents, as well as advocate their local wants! Such, generally speaking, is the House

of Commons now, and such has it been for a long succession of years. It is the most complete representation of the interests of the people that ever was assembled in any age or country. It is the only constituent body that ever existed which comprehends within itself those who can urge the wants and defend the claims of the landed, the commercial, and the professional interests of the country; those who are bound to uphold the prerogatives of the Crown, the privileges of the nobility, the interests of the lower classes, the rights and liberties of the whole people. It is the *absence of symmetry in our elective franchise* which admits to this House interests so various. The *concordia discors* opens the door to the admission here of all talent, and of all classes, and of all interests. How far, under any other than the present circumstances, the rights of the distant dependencies of the East Indies, of the West Indies, of the colonies, of the great corporations, of the commercial interests generally, of the fund-holders, could find their just support in this House, it is impossible to see. If all the members of the House represented the *landed* interest exclusively, the trade and commerce of the country would be pressed on by restrictive laws alike intolerable and impolitic; if, on the other hand, mere *population* were taken as the basis of the representation, the members sent here *would vie with each other in a clamor for cheapness*, to the destruction of the only permanent interest, the agriculture of England. 'All interests,' said Burke, '*must be let in*;' a great official, a great professional, a great military and naval interest, all necessarily comprehending many men of the first weight, ability, wealth, and spirit, has been gradually formed in the kingdom. The new interests must be let into the representation.*

"The men who have entered Parliament by means of the close or rotten boroughs, as they are called, have been its ^{50.} greatest ornament, and more than Continued. any other contributed to the prosperity and advancement of the kingdom. There has not been an eminent man in the House of Commons for the last hundred years, who did not begin his career as member for some close borough; and if that door is closed, rely upon it the race will disappear. Lord Chatham came into Parliament in this way—his earliest seat was for Old Sarum. Mr. Pitt sat for Appleby. Mr. Fox came in for a close borough; and when rejected by a populous place, he again took refuge in a close borough. Mr. Burke sat originally for Wendover; it was only in his glory he was transferred to Bristol. Mr. Canning, too, had fixed his fame as member for Wendover before he was called to Liverpool. In later times, Mr. Wentham, Mr. Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly, and nearly all the existing ornaments of this House, have owed their parliamentary existence to the same system. None have got in in early life for populous places, to which the representation is now to be confined. Had the system now proposed been in existence in their early days, they would never have been heard of. We are told, on the other side, that the professional class will obtain an entrance

* This paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Sir R. Inglis's admirable speech.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. ii. p. 1108, 1109.

under the new system; but how is this to be effected? Will men of independence or genius condescend to the arts requisite to gain large constituencies? and if they will not, how or where are they to find an entrance? They obviously will find none, unless they condescend to prostitute their talents to the purposes of mob oratory, the lowest and most debasing purpose to which they can be applied.

"It is said the House of Commons is corrupt, and this corruption would be removed by the proposed change of system. Corruption is of three kinds—by money, by place, or by party. As to the first, the thing is unknown in these times; it was not so two generations back. God grant, if reform is carried, it may be unknown two generations hence. In the time of James II. the secret-service money was a twentieth of the whole revenue, now it is a seven-hundredth part. But the House is corrupted by place-money! So far from it, there never was a time when so few placemen sat in the House as at this period, or when the offices at the disposal of the Crown were so few.* In truth, no patronage remains to the King but that of commissions in the army and navy, which must always remain with him as long as the Crown enjoys the power of declaring peace and war. And as to the corrupting influence of party, so far is that complaint from being well founded, that it is universally acknowledged to be one of the misfortunes of the times that there are no leading men on either side under whose banners others will range themselves, and thus give character and steadiness to the Government, or consistency to the Opposition.

"The monarchy can not long coexist with a free press and a purely popular representation. It never yet has been found to be consistent with it in any age or country. We have a memorable example of what such a combination leads to in the annals of our own country, when the Commons, in 1648, voted that their resolutions had the force of law, and thereby in one day murdered their King and voted the House of Lords useless. 'I can not,' said Mr. Canning, 'conceive a constitution of which a third part shall be an assembly delegated by the people, not to consult for the good of the nation, but to speak day by day the people's will, which must not ere long sweep away every other branch of the constitution that might attempt to oppose or confront it.' The thing may not happen to-day or to-morrow, but before ten years are over the shock will be decisive. The examples of the National Assembly of France, of the Cortes of Spain and Naples, of the Chamber of Deputies last year in France, prove how utterly impossible it is for a purely popular representation to coexist with a monarchy. Forty years ago Mr. Pitt declared that, 'from the period when the new and alarming era of the French Revolution broke in upon the world, I found that the grounds upon which

the question of reform rested were essentially and fundamentally altered.' Is not the same the case with the last French Revolution, which, not less than the first, has entirely unsettled the minds of men, and blasted the brilliant career of prosperity which the Restoration had opened to France? It is possible that titles of honor may still be continued; it is possible that the House of Lords may have a nominal existence, but its real conservative power, its distinct and legislative character, is gone. The Reformers evince no hostility to the Lords or the Crown now, because they do not require to do so; they know, if they can popularize the House of Commons, they will get every thing their own way.

"The Reformers," says Canning, 'are wise in their generation. They know well enough, and have read plainly enough in our history, that the prerogatives of the Crown, and the privileges of the nobility, would be but as dust in the balance against a preponderating democracy. They mean democracy, and nothing else. Give them a House of Commons constructed on their own principles, the peerage and the throne may exist for a day, but they will be liable to be at any time swept away by an angry vote of the House of Commons. It is, therefore, utterly unnecessary for the Reformers to declare hostility to the Crown; it is superfluous for them to make war upon the peerage. They know that, let but their principles have full play, the Crown and the peerage would be to the constitution which they assail but as the baggage to the army, and the destruction of them but as the gleanings of the battle. They know that the battle is with the House of Commons as at present constituted, and that that once overthrown, and another popular assembly constructed on their principles, as the creation and depository of the people's will, there would not only be no chance, but there would not be even a pretense for the existence of any other branch of the constitution.'"¹

Such was the substance of this great debate, which, commencing on the 1st March, continued through seven successive nights, at the close of which the bill was allowed to be brought in and read a first time without a division; it being understood that the trial of strength was to take place on the second reading, which stood for the 21st March. Immense were the efforts which both sides made during this interval, and great the transposition of parties which took place during its continuance; but the Reformers gained greatly more by the delay than their opponents. All classes of the Tories, indeed, were reunited by the approach of danger: the divisions consequent on the contraction of the currency, agricultural distress, and Catholic emancipation, were forgotten; and a great section of the House of Commons rallied in earnest, and in the ancient spirit, round Sir Robert Peel, who stood forth as the leader of the Conservatives on this momentous crisis. Lord Winchelsea, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir Richard Vivian, were found by his side not less cordially than Lord Haddington, Sir G. Clerk, or his own im-

* First Parliament of George I. were placemen in House of Commons. 271
First Parliament of George II. were placemen in House of Commons. 257
First Parliament of George IV. were placemen in House of Commons. 109
—*Parl. Papers*, p. 569, 16th July, 1833; and No. 543, 9th July 1822.

53. Concluded.
1 Canning's Speeches, vi. 361 *et seq.*; Parl. Deb. ii. 1090, 1126.

54. Clear division of Conservatives and Reformers which ensued in the country.

mediate supporters. But the Reformers gained infinitely more than the Conservatives by the delay. The towns all took fire, and infinite pains were every where taken to fan the flame into a conflagration. The country for the most part stood aloof, but in silent amazement, stupefied by the din and clamor, and overpowered by the vehemence of the urban multitudes. The Reformers at once perceived the democratic character of the measure which had been proposed; they discovered its practical working as completely as its aristocratic authors had been ignorant of it.* An unerring instinct caused them to fasten on the £10 clause as decisive in their favor, and adequate for all their purposes. "The £10 clause," said the *Examiner*, "secures the constitution on a democratic basis: nothing remains but to prevent Ministers from abandoning it." To this object their whole efforts were directed; and they began the cuckoo cry, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill,"

¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 77, 78; watch-word of all classes of Reformers, and rendered it impossible for Ministers, if they had been so inclined, to recede from any material part of the proposed measure.[†]

The interval between the close of the debate on leave to bring in the bill and Agitation in that on the second reading, a period of a fortnight, was a season of incessant agitation and turmoil over the whole country, such as, since 1642, had never been seen in Great Britain. The press, following, as is generally the case, in the wake of popular passion, made the most strenuous efforts to inflame it, and these efforts were attended with the most signal success. Petitions were every where got up, and signed by thousands and tens of thousands, praying that the bill might pass "untouched and unimpaired." These petitions from the large towns had often 20,000 or 30,000 signatures; and though, without doubt, the usual arts to get names were practiced with every possible exaggeration on this occasion, yet enough remained to show that the middle and working classes were nearly unanimous in favor of the change. So completely had their attachment to existing institutions been undermined by the long and dreary year of suffering which they had undergone, and their passions been inflamed by the impassioned language

every where addressed to them! To such a length were the people excited, that the worst and most degrading effect of vehement faction became conspicuous. Private character and worth were entirely overlooked, a lifetime of beneficence was forgotten, and the noblest characters, if they refused to bend to the popular voice, were put on a level with the most degraded, and abandoned to the whole fury of popular indignation.^{1*}

While such was the vehemence of the populace throughout the country, and such the efforts made alike by the Radical Reformers and the partisans of Government to inflame and organize them, there were not wanting those who boldly stood forward on the opposite side, and exhibited the noblest of all spectacles, and the most characteristic of a really free people—that of a small but resolute minority, standing firm amidst the surging and surrounding waves of an overwhelming majority. First in position, as first in importance, must be placed a petition from the merchants and bankers of the city of London, which, presented at this time amidst the heat and din of the conflict, contains a mass of arguments, remarkable even at this day for the far-stretching ken by which it was distinguished. "While," said they, "we should have been far from opposing the adoption of any proposition, temperate in its character, gradual in its operation, consistent with justice and the ancient usages of the realm, and having for its object the correction of acknowledged abuses, or any amelioration in the administration of public affairs, we feel it impossible to regard in that light a measure which, by its unprecedented and unnecessary infringement on the rights and privileges of large and wealthy bodies of people, would go far to shake the foundation of that constitution under which our Sovereign holds his title to the throne, his nobles to their

¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 77, 80; Roebuck, ii. 116, 118; Martineau, ii. 32, 33.

^{56.} Courageous petition from the merchants and bankers of London against the bill.

* "The opponents of the measure were not treated as men entitled to entertain their own opinion, and differing on a question with which, by possibility, reason might have nothing to do. They were all dealt with as being profligate oppressors, who wished to trample on and plunder the people; creatures, therefore, to be hunted down as beasts of prey, if they did not voluntarily fly from before the faces of their pursuers. Was there a man who was distinguished for nothing but having discharged all his duties; who had borrowed nothing from aristocratic patronage, and was innocent of the receipt of one farthing of the public money; who, standing on no other foundation than that of his own honest industry and honorable aspirations, had gained for himself a decent reputation in his profession, or a respectable fortune in the unpolled exercise of his calling; and did he, the most estimable of all citizens, doubt, as hundreds of thousands of such citizens did doubt, whether the ends of good government would be served by increasing, as Ministers wished to increase, the efficiency of a pure democracy in the constitution—such a man was placed beyond the pale of citizenship. He was a betrayer of the rights of the people, a corrupt plunderer of the humble and the poor; he was the mean and crawling slave of the wealthy few. He was entitled to no opinion, or his opinion was of no use except to degrade his character, for it was different from the opinion of those who thought otherwise, and who had determined, in accordance with the Ministry, that to doubt the unmixed wisdom of 'the bill' was to manifest a corruption of heart, an incapacity of understanding, which unfitted the man whom they disgraced for any exercise of judgment on political institutes, and which invited and justified any charges which might be imposed upon them, if they could not be seduced by vanity or the love of power."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 79, 80.

* "I honestly confess," said Mr. John Smith, a sincere Reformer, "that when I first heard the Ministerial proposal, it had the effect of taking away my breath, so surprised and delighted was I to find the Ministers so much in earnest."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 108.

† "Ministers have far exceeded our expectations. The plan of reform, though short of radical reform, tends to the utter destruction of borough-mongering, and will prepare the way for a complete improvement. The ground, limited as it is, which it is proposed to clear and open to the popular influence, will suffice, as the spot desired by Archimedes for the plant of the power that must ultimately govern the whole system. Without reform, convulsion is inevitable. Upon any reform, farther improvement is inevitably consequent, and the settlement of the constitution on the democratic basis certain. If we supposed that the plan before us could be permanent, we should declare it insufficient; but we have no such apprehension in our age of onward movement, and we hail it as a first step to a greater good, and as a first step toward abandoning an odious vice. It does not give the people all they want, but it takes the arms from their enemies. Like Sinbad, we have first to dash from our shoulders the Old Man of the Island, and afterward to complete our deliverance."—*Examiner*, 6th March, 1831.

estates, and ourselves and the rest of our fellow-subjects to the various possessions and immunities which we enjoy by law; a measure which, while it professes to enlarge the representation of the kingdom on the broad basis of property, would, in its practical operation, have the effect of closing the principal avenues through which the moneyed, the commercial, the shipping, and colonial interests, together with all their connected and independent interests throughout our vast empire abroad, have hitherto been represented in the Legislature, and would thus effectually exclude the possessors of a large portion of the national wealth from any effectual voice and influence in the national affairs."¹

¹ Petition of London Bankers and Merchants, March 19, 1831; An. Reg. 1831, 81.

At length the debate on the second reading of the bill came on on the 21st March. It lasted only two days, and was distinguished rather by increased vehemence and acrimony than additional information or more enlightened views. The opponents of the bill openly denounced it as revolutionary, and as likely, at no distant period, to overturn both the throne and the altar. Its supporters loudly retorted that it was the only measure which could avert revolution; and that the rejection of a bill on which the nation was so unanimously set, could not fail to lead to the most terrible convulsions. The press opened with the utmost violence on the opponents of the measure, whom it held up to the hatred and contumely of the country.* The nation was in anxious suspense for two days; but at length the public anxiety was terminated by the announcement that the bill had been carried by a majority of one in a House of 608. The numbers were 302 to 301, the Speaker and four tellers being excluded. It was the fullest House on record, there being only 50 wanting out of 658. An analysis of the vote† showed how entirely the public voice had turned against the close boroughs, and how thoroughly the temper of the counties had been changed from what it once had been, by the low prices and agricultural dis-

* Take as an example the following: "When night after night borough nominees rise up to infect the proceedings of the House of Commons, to justify their own intrusion into it, and their continuance there, thus imprudently maintaining what the lawyers call an 'adverse possession,' in spite of judgment against them, we really feel inclined to ask why the rightful owners of the House should be longer insulted by the presence of such unwelcome inmates? It is beyond question a piece of the broadest and coolest effrontery in the world for these hired lackeys of public delinquents to stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service they have embarked in."—*Times*, 14th March, 1831. See also *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 82; and *Parl. Deb.*, vol. iii. p. 602.

† Over the whole empire the vote, when analyzed, stood thus, pairs included:

	For.	Against.
England	229	237
Wales	14	10
Scotland	14	27
Ireland	55	37
	312	311

—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. iii. p. 818.

It is a singular circumstance how many of the most momentous divisions on record have been carried by a majority of one. The first triumph of the *Tiers Etat* in the National Assembly in 1789, when they constituted themselves a separate chamber, was carried by one; and it will appear in the sequel that a similar majority ousted the Whigs, and re-seated Sir Robert Peel in power in 1841. —See *History of Europe*, chap. iv. § 46.

tress of the last ten years; for 60 county members for England and Wales were for the second reading, and only 32 against it; while in Ireland the disproportion was still greater, there being 40 county members for the bill, and only 21 against it.¹

This memorable division was hailed in the country as a decided triumph by the Reformers, and immensely augmented the excitement already so great on the subject; but by the Ministry, and those more immediately acquainted with the working of parties in the House of Commons, it was with reason regarded as a defeat. They knew that many of those who had voted in the majority had done so from the dread of losing their seats at the next election, but were in secret averse to the measure, and would do their utmost in committee, by voting for amendments, or staying away from divisions, to defeat the measure. No less than sixty votes for the bill were for places to be disfranchised or reduced; and it was not to be supposed that their representatives could be very sincere in the wish to have the places they sat for extinguished. This accordingly soon appeared. On the 18th April, Lord John Russell moved that the House go into committee on the bill, and stated several alterations on the details of the measure which he proposed to make, not affecting its general principles. Upon this General Gascoigne moved, as an instruction to the committee, "that it is the opinion of the House that the total number of knights, burgesses, and citizens returned to Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be reduced." The motion was seconded by Mr. Sadler, in a powerful and argumentative speech; but strongly opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who declared that "the object of the amendment was to destroy the bill."

An animated debate ensued, which terminated in a majority of eight against Ministers, the numbers being 299 to 291.²

This was the crisis of the reform question. It was now apparent that a majority of the House was adverse to the bill, and that the only course which remained to Ministers, if they desired to carry it, was to dissolve the House of Commons. But this course was neither easy nor free from danger. It was well known that the King had become seriously alarmed at the probable effects of the measure, and was to the last degree reluctant to appeal to the people on a question of such moment, and on which the public mind was so vehemently agitated. There was no saying what a House of Commons, elected in a moment of such unparalleled excitement, might force upon the King and the Government. On the other hand, the danger appeared to be not less in the end, and much more pressing in the beginning, if the sense of the country were not taken on a question concerning which the anxiety of the public mind had become so strongly excited. To do so was to follow the course prescribed by the constitution, and generally adopted in similar circumstances; and there was too much reason to apprehend that, if it were not followed, the threats of the Radicals might

^{58.} General Gascoigne's motion is carried against Government by eight. March 19.

² An. Reg. 1854, 104, 108; Parl. Deb. iii. 1606, 1687.

^{59.} Dangers on both sides in ulterior measures.

be realized, and the monarchy and constitution be overturned in some terrible convulsion. Ministers have since confessed that they beheld equal perils on both sides, and felt as if crossing the bridge figured by the poets, consisting of a single arch of sharp steel, spanning a fiery gulf on either hand!¹

Earl Grey, however, had judiciously taken one step, calculated, in some degree, to lessen these difficulties, by smoothing the way to a better understanding with the Sovereign. The whole Cabinet were impressed with the idea that William IV. was in reality as averse to them as his predecessor would have been; that they had been intrusted with the government merely because it could not be avoided; and that the first opportunity would be gladly seized to displace them. It is not surprising that, entertaining this belief, they were desirous of establishing themselves on a more solid foundation with the King; and with sovereigns, as well as individuals, it is not the least effectual way of establishing a good understanding to remove all difficulties about money matters. This was accordingly done. The committee on the civil list which, on Sir H. Parnell's famous motion which displaced the Ministry, had been appointed, had reported that a reduction of £12,000 a year should be made in the expense of the royal household, chiefly in the departments of the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse. This report gave great offense to the King, who required the Lord Chancellor to give him his opinion as to whether the committee were empowered to make such a proposal. Finding his Majesty thus disposed, Ministers conceded the point, and proposed £510,000 a year for the civil list, instead of £498,480, as recommended by the committee; and at the same time a liberal jointure of £100,000 a year was settled on Queen Adelaide. This dextrous move gratified the King in the highest degree; the bill, settling the civil list as he desired, passed the House of Commons with very little opposition, and it received the royal assent on the very last day of the session, a few minutes before Parliament was dissolved.²

Ministers, however, had still a very difficult task before them in obtaining the royal assent to a dissolution of Parliament; for his Majesty was very reluctant to take so extreme a step, and the Opposition lost no opportunity, in public and private, of impressing upon him the great danger with which it would be attended. The great reliance of the Ministry was on the vanity which was the principal foible in the royal character; and this worked with surprising effect. The historian of the Whigs has given the following account of the manner in which they acted on this occasion:

"The King was vain, and he was timid; he was flattered by his extraordinary popularity, and he was fearful lest confusion might follow a rejection of the bill. The Ministers were now compelled to play upon these two strings; to take every opportunity of making the King the subject of eulogy, of noisy and vociferous applause. He was delighted by the extravagant

manifestations of his own popularity, with which the eager and confiding populace supplied him whenever he appeared in public. And he was, with great dexterity, made to feel that all this vehement applause resulted directly from the public belief that he sincerely desired reform, and intended to support his Ministers by the whole weight of his prerogative in their endeavors to promote it. The people, from time to time, began to show symptoms of impatience and distrust; menaces were every now and then thrown out, which the Ministers were obliged openly to condemn, but which, nevertheless, very materially promoted the object they had in view, which was to make the King understand the ticklish condition of his present popularity, and the serious and imminent risk attending a positive rejection of the measure."¹

Notwithstanding all these arts, which they practiced with great skill, the Whig leaders found it no easy matter, when the crisis arrived, to induce the King to dissolve Parliament. The Cabinet were unanimous in recommending it, regarding, with justice, General Gascoigne's amendment as the first of a series of measures intended to defeat the bill. But the Sovereign expressed the utmost reluctance to take the decisive step. The story told, and generally credited at the time, of his being so anxious to do so that he said, when informed the royal carriages were not in readiness to take him to the House, "Then call a hackney-coach," is now known to have been a well-devised fable; and the following is the account of this transaction, given by the historian of the Whigs, whose known intimacy with Lord Brougham, as well as the fact of his statement not having been contradicted by his lordship, entitles it to confidence: "On the morning of the 22d, Lord Grey and the Lord Chancellor waited on the King, in order to request him instantly to dissolve Parliament. The necessity of a dissolution had long been foreseen and decided on by Ministers; but the King had not yet been persuaded to consent to so bold a measure; and now the two chiefs of the Administration were about to intrude themselves into the royal closet, not to advise and request a dissolution, but to request the King on a sudden, on that very day, and within a few hours, to go down and put an end to his Parliament, in the midst of the session, and with all its ordinary business unfinished. The bolder mind of the Chancellor took the lead, and Lord Grey anxiously solicited him to *manage* the King on the occasion. So soon as they were admitted, the Chancellor, with some care and circumlocution, propounded to the King the object they had in view."²

"The startled monarch no sooner understood the drift of the Chancellor's somewhat periphrastic statement, than he exclaimed, in wonder and anger against the very idea of such a proceeding, 'How is it possible, my lords, that I can, after this fashion, repay the kindness of Parliament to the Queen and myself? They have just granted me a most liberal civil list, and the Queen a splendid annuity, in case she survive me.' The

¹ Roebuck, ii. 149, 150; Martineau, ii. 34.

^{60.} Liberal settlement on the Royal Family.

² Roebuck, ii. 159, 160; Ann. Reg. 1832, 19, 22.

^{61.} Efforts made to win the King by his vanity.

¹ Roebuck, ii. 121, 124.

^{62.} Means by which the King was induced to dissolve Parliament.

² Roebuck, ii. 148, 149.

^{63.} How the King's resistance is overcome. April 22.

Chancellor confessed that they had, as regarded his Majesty, been a liberal and wise Parliament, but that, nevertheless, their further existence was incompatible with the peace and safety of the kingdom, and both he and Lord Grey insisted upon the absolute necessity of their request, and that this request was in pursuance of a unanimous decision of the Cabinet, and that they felt themselves unable to conduct the affairs of the country in the present condition of Parliament. 'But, my lords,' said the King, 'nothing is prepared; the great officers of state are not summoned.' 'Pardon me, sir,' said the Chancellor, bowing with profound *apparent* humility; 'we have taken the great liberty of giving them to understand that your Majesty commanded their attendance at the proper hour.' 'But, my lords, the crown, the robes, and other things needed, are not prepared.' 'I entreat your Majesty's pardon for my boldness; they are all prepared and ready, the proper officers being desired to attend in proper form and time.' 'But, my lords, you know the thing is wholly impossible; the guards, the troops, have had no orders, and can not be ready in time.' 'Pardon me, sir; we know how bold the step is, but presuming on your Majesty's great goodness, and your anxious desire for the safety of your kingdom, and happiness of your people, *I have given the order, and the troops are ready.*' The King started in serious anger, flamed red in the face, and burst forth with, 'What, my lords! have you dared to act thus? Such a thing was never heard of. You, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know that *such an act is treason—high treason*, my lord.' 'Yes, sir,' said the Chancellor, 'I do know it; and nothing but my thorough knowledge of your Majesty's great goodness, of your paternal anxiety for the good of your people, and my own solemn belief that the good of the State depends upon this day's proceedings, could have emboldened me to the performance of so unusual, and, in ordinary circumstances, improper a proceeding. I am ready, in my own person, to bear all the blame, and receive all the punishment which your Majesty may deem meet; but I again entreat your Majesty to listen to us, and follow our counsel.' After some further expostulations by both the ministers, the King cooled down and consented. The speech to be delivered by him on the occasion was ready prepared, and in the Chancellor's pocket. He agreed to it, and dismissed his ministers for the moment, with some-

¹ Roebuck, ii. 150, 152.

While this extraordinary scene, fraught with the future destinies of England, was going on in the King's closet, a still more violent exhibition occurred in the House of Commons. That House had met early, as it was well known that a dissolution was about to take place; and on the presentation of a petition in favor of reform, Sir R. Vivian took occasion to arraign Ministers violently for their intention of dissolving Parliament. Sir Francis Burdett rose and contended that Sir Richard was out of order, as the question of dissolution was not before the House. The Speaker was appealed to, who decided that Sir Richard was in order. The Reformers, however, persisted in maintaining that he was not

so, and the discussion was going on with great vehemence when the cannon were heard which announced his Majesty's approach. Upon this a scene of indescribable violence ensued. The cries were loud for Sir R. Peel, who rose, and was addressing the House with undisguised emotion, when the admonitory knock of the Usher of the Black Rod summoned the House to attend his Majesty to the House of Peers.¹

A scene scarcely less violent was in progress in the House of Lords when the King approached their hall. That House also had met early to discuss a motion made by Lord Wharncliffe for an address to his Majesty *not* to dissolve Parliament, and the most vehement language had passed on both sides in the course of the debate. As usual in such cases, each party accused the other of being out of order, and Lord Brougham from the Wool-sack said, "I never until now have heard that the Sovereign has not the right to dissolve the Parliament when he sees fit to do so, more particularly when the House of Commons have considered it proper to take the extreme and unprecedented step of stopping the supplies."* Lord Londonderry upon this started up, denying the imputation; and Lord Mansfield afterward rose, and was addressing the House with great energy on the awful predicament of the country, and the conduct of Ministers "in conspiring together against the safety of the State, and making the Sovereign the instrument of his own destruction—" when the arrival of the King cut short his speech. The King, with a flushed cheek, and an unusual brightness in the eye, ascended the throne, and said in a loud and shrill voice, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its *instant dissolution!*" A loud murmur arose, which prevented the remainder of the speech from being audible; and at its close both Houses adjourned amidst a scene of tumult and excitement never before witnessed within the walls of Parliament.²

And now commenced a scene which never before since the Great Rebellion had been witnessed in Great Britain, and never, it is to be hoped, will be seen again. The enthusiasm in favor of the "bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," was such that it not only led to great and justifiable efforts on the part of the reforming party to secure as great a number as possible of seats at the coming election, but to the most outrageous and disgraceful excesses. Large subscriptions were made at the Reform Club in London, and active working committees appointed to carry on the contest, and so far all

* This statement of the Opposition having stopped the supplies, though very current at the time, and supported by the authority of the Wool-sack, is now universally admitted to have been erroneous. It originated in the Opposition having, in the preceding evening, carried a motion to *postpone* the consideration of the ordinance estimates which stood for that evening—a postponement which Sir James Graham, who was in the secret of the Cabinet, and knew what was coming next morning, said, with a significant smile, was equivalent to a stopping.—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 154.

¹ Martineau, ii. 36; Parl. Deb. iii. 1804, 1806; Roebuck, ii. 156, 158.

² Scene in the House of Peers when the King dissolved Parliament.

² Parl. Deb. iii. 1806, 1808; Martineau, ii. 35, 36; Roebuck, ii. 154.

^{66.} Violence at the elections.

^{64.} Violent scene in the House of Commons.

was right; and the same thing was done by the Tories. But, in addition to this, the press, both in London and the provinces, almost unanimously* broke out into the most violent language, and openly recommended the most flagitious measures. To the disgrace of English literature be it said, the first in talent, and the first in circulation, took the lead in this crusade against independence of thought; counseled the use of the "brickbat and the bludgeon," and recommended the Reformers to "plaster the enemies of the people with mud, and duck them in horse-ponds."¹ The advice was not March 29, long of being followed. The Reform-1831. ers, especially in Scotland and Ireland, took advantage of the vast numerical majority they possessed to break out into the most violent excesses, which only demonstrated to impartial men how little fitted they were for the exercise of power. In London, the Lord-Mayor sanctioned a general illumination on the dissolution of Parliament; and in Edinburgh, and other towns, where the same thing was not enjoined by the magistrates, the Reform Clubs took upon themselves to order it. All the windows of those who did not illuminate, and not a few who did, but were suspected of Tory principles, were broken. "As dash," says a Radical, "went the stones, smash fell the glass, and crash came the window-frames, from nine o'clock to near midnight." Reflection arose, and asked seriously and severely what this meant. Is it reform—is it popular liberty?²†

The Lord Provost of Edinburgh was seized by the mob on the day of the election, 67. who tried to throw him over the North Bridge, a height of ninety feet—a crime for which the ringleaders were afterward convicted and punished by the Justiciary Court. The military were called out by the sheriff and magistrates, but withdrawn at the request of the Lord Advocate (Jeffrey), who pledged himself, if this was done, the riots would cease. It was done, and they were immediately renewed, and continued the whole evening. At Ayr the violence of the populace was such that the Conservative voters had to take refuge in the town-hall, from whence they were escorted by a body of brave Whigs, who, much to their honor, flew to their rescue, to a steamboat which conveyed them from the scene of danger. No person any where in Scotland could give his vote for the Conservative candidate without running the risk of being hooted, spit upon, or stoned by the mob. At Wigan, in Lancashire, a man was killed during the election riots. In London, the windows of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Baring, and other leading anti-Reformers, were all broken; and those memorable iron shutters were forced upon Apsley House, which, till the Duke's death, contin-

ued to disgrace the metropolis. At Lanark a dreadful riot occurred, which was only quelled by the interposition of the military, and the Conservative candidate was seriously wounded in the church where the election was going forward. At Dumbarton, the Tory candidate, Lord William Graham, only escaped death by being concealed in a garret, where he lay hidden the whole day. At Lauder, the election was carried by a counselor in the opposite interest being forcibly abducted, and the ruffians who did so were rescued by the mob. At Jedburgh, a band of ruffians hooted the dying Sir Walter Scott. "I care for you no more," said he, "than for the hissing of geese." Genius, celebrity, probity, beneficence, were in those disastrous days the certain attraction of mob brutality, if not slavishly prostituted to their passions.^{1*}

One fact was conspicuous on this occasion, which points to an important conclusion in political science. This is, that while in Scotland, where this appalling violence was exerted to intimidate the electors, who were almost entirely composed of the higher classes of society, two-thirds of the members returned were in the Conservative interest, it was just the reverse in England, where nearly the whole members returned, either for counties or popular places, were of the Reform party. Yorkshire returned four Reformers, London the same. General Gascoigne was driven from Liverpool, Sir R. Vivian from Cornwall, Sir Edward Knatchbull from Kent, Mr. Banks from Dorsetshire; even the Duke of Newcastle's candidate was defeated at Grantham. Of eighty-two county members only six were opposed to the bill; so completely had the heart-burnings consequent on neglected agricultural distress and Catholic emancipation alienated those who formerly had been the firmest supporters of the constitution. In Ireland the whole Catholics threw their weight in favor of the Reformers, and secured a decided majority for the Government. Strange to say, the sturdy Protestants of England coalesced with the furious Catholics of Ireland to overturn the constitution! The conclusions to be drawn from these anomalous and unexpected facts are, that a long course of selfish legislation and unwise monetary laws had alienated the landed interest in Great Britain, and that on a social crisis, such as had now occurred, no reliance is to be placed on voters of the same class in society to resist the march of even the most perilous innovation commenced by their compeers. If it is to be checked at all, it must be by those belonging to a different sphere, and enfranchised by a different suffrage.² The gentlemen of Scotland, voting on their estates, or the parchment qualifications for which they had given

* The *Morning Post*, *Standard*, and *John Bull*, at this period, were almost the only honorable exceptions.

† The Author's windows in St. Colme Street, Edinburgh, and those of his brother, Professor Alison, in the same city, whose life had been devoted to the relief of the poor, though illuminated, were utterly smashed in five minutes, as were those of above a thousand others of the most respectable citizens in that city. A friend of his, who was in the crowd that did the mischief, told him afterward "the crash was glorious in St. Colme Street."

* Sir Walter's diary of 18th May bears—"Went to Jedburgh greatly against the wishes of my daughter. The mob were exceedingly vociferous and brutal, as they usually are nowadays. The population gathered in formidable numbers; a thousand from Hawick also—sad blackguards. The day passed with much clamor and mischief. Henry Scott was re-elected for the last time, I suppose—*Troja fuit*. I left the burgh in the midst of abuse, and the gentle hint of 'burk Sir Walter.' Much obliged to the brave lads of Jeddart."—LOCKHART'S *Life of Scott*, vol. vi. p. 257.

¹ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, vi. 286, 287; Ann. Reg. 1831, 152, 153; Personal knowledge.

² Ann. Reg. 1831, 154.

³ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁶ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁷ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁸ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁰ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹² Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹³ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁴ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁵ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁶ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁷ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁸ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

¹⁹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁰ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²² Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²³ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁴ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁵ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁶ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁷ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁸ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

²⁹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁰ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³² Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³³ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁴ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁵ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁶ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁷ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁸ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

³⁹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁰ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴² Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴³ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁴ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁵ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁶ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁷ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁸ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁴⁹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵⁰ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵² Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵³ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵⁴ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵⁵ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵⁶ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵⁷ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

⁵⁸ Ann. Reg. 1831, 155; Roe-

£1000 or £1200 each, courageously withstood the tempest; the forty-shilling freeholders of England, with very few exceptions, were swept away by its fury!

While the elections were in preparation or going forward, the political unions throughout the country were exerting themselves to the uttermost, not merely to intimidate their opponents by the threat of rebellion, but by organizing the means of rebellion itself.

The following account of their proceedings is taken from an unsuspected source, the able Liberal historian of the period: "In March and April, 1831, the great middle class, by whose intelligence the bill must be carried, believed that occasions might arise for their refusing to pay taxes, and for their *marching upon London*, to support the King, the Administration, and the bulk of the nation, against a small knot of unyielding and interested persons. The political unions made known the numbers they could muster—the chairman of the Birmingham union declaring that they could send forth two armies, each fully worth that which had won Waterloo. On the coast of Sussex ten thousand men declared themselves ready to march at any moment; Northumberland was prepared in like manner; Yorkshire was up and awake; and, in short, it might be said the nation was ready to go to London if wanted. When the mighty procession of the unions marched to their union ground, the anti-reformers observed with a shudder that the towns were at the mercy of these mobs. The cry was vehement that the measure was to be carried by intimidation, and this was true: the question was, whether, in this singular case, the intimidation was wrong."¹

¹ Martineau, *ii.* 32, 33.

Future ages will scarcely be able to credit the generality of the delusions which pervaded the minds of the middle and working classes at this eventful crisis. The former flattered themselves that rent and taxes would be abolished, and the sales of their shop goods at least tripled, from the universal prosperity which would prevail among their customers. The latter believed, almost to a man, that the wages of labor would be doubled, and the price of provisions halved, the moment the bill passed.*

The Anglo-Saxon mind, eminently practical, did not, in these moments of extreme excitement, follow the *ignis fatuus* of "liberty and equality," like the French in 1789, but sought vent in the realization of real advantages, or the eschewing of experienced evils. It was this which constituted the strength of the reform passion; it visited every fireside with the expectant sunshine of domestic bliss. There was as much truth as humor in the picture which a sagacious and able Reformer drew of the expectations of his party at this period: "All young ladies imagine that, as soon as this bill is carried, they will be instantly married; school-

boys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished, and that currant-tarts must ultimately come down in price;² the corporal and sergeant are

sure of double pay; bad poets expect a demand for their epics; and fools will be disappointed, as they always are."

Amidst the general turning of heads there were some examples of courageous and resolute resistance on the part of the Conservatives, which, as they were prompted by a sense of duty in a case which was obviously hopeless, must command the respect even of those who are most strongly convinced that that sense of duty was mistaken. A petition against the bill was prepared and extensively signed by the bankers and merchants of Bristol, which ably and firmly, but temperately, stated the leading objections to the measure.*

At Edinburgh, a great public meeting was held of those opposed to the bill, at which the late lamented Professor Wilson and the present able Lord Justice General (McNeill), then an advocate at the bar, distinguished themselves on the platform. The higher part of the press also began now to meet their able and indefatigable opponents with a sturdy array of facts and arguments. In this warfare of the pen, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Examiner*, and the *Spectator*, on the one side, took the lead, and the *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *Fraser's Magazine*, on the other; and in some of their essays, composed during the heat of the conflict, and in the most violent state of general excitement, the consequences of the measure were predicted with a truth which subsequent experience has verified to the letter.†

* "This declaration, though proved to be mistaken in its view, was in its diction and manner calm, loyal, and courageous. If the opposition of the anti-reformers had been more generally of this character, there would have been less marshaling of the political unions."—MARTINEAU, *vol. ii.* p. 33.

† "The fundamental and irremediable defect of the proposed constitution is, that it vests an overwhelming majority in the populace of the island, to the exclusion of all the other great and weighty interests of the British empire. By vesting the right of returning members to Parliament in forty-shilling and ultimately £10 freeholders in counties, and £10 house or shop holders in towns, the command of the Legislature will be placed in hands inaccessible, save by actual bribery, to the approach of the commercial, colonial, or shipping interests. If such a change does not soon produce a revolution, it will in the end infallibly lead to the dismemberment of the empire. The Indian and Canadian dependencies will not long submit to the rule of the populace in the *dominant island*, indifferent to their interests, ignorant of their circumstances, careless of their welfare. This evil is inherent in all systems of *uniform representation*, and must to the end of time render it unfit for the representation of a great and varied empire. Being based mainly upon *one class in society*, it contains no provision for the interest of the other classes, and still less for the welfare of the remote but important parts of the empire. The great majority of electors being possessed of houses rented from £10 to £20 a year—that is, enjoying an income of from £60 to £120 per annum—the representatives will be persons inclined to support their local and immediate interests. The remote possessions of the empire can have no influence on such men, save by the corrupted channel of actual bribery. The most valuable feature of the British constitution, that of affording an inlet through the close boroughs to all the great and varied interests of the empire, will be destroyed. The Reform Bill should be styled, 'A bill for *disfranchising the colonial, commercial, and shipping interests*, and vesting the exclusive right of returning members of Parliament in the populace of Great Britain and Ireland.'

"What the measures are which they will force upon the Government may be judged of by those which have been commenced to conciliate their good-will: confiscation of the Funds, under the name of taxes upon transfers, or a heavy property-tax—of land, under the name of a duty of succession; the withdrawal of all protecting duties on the produce of the colonies; the sacrifice of every

* The Author often heard these opinions from the working classes at this period.

Parliament met on the 21st June, and the speech from the throne said: "Having had recourse to the dissolution of Parliament, for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people on the expedience of a reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that important question to your earliest and most attentive consideration. Great distress exists in Ireland; the most pressing cases have been relieved by temporary measures, and Parliament is invited to consider what measures should be adopted to assist the country, in order to prevent the recurrence of the like evils. Local disturbances, unconnected with political causes, have taken place in various parts of Ireland, especially Clare, Roscommon, and Galway, for the repression of which the constitutional authority of the law has been vigorously and successfully applied, and thus the necessity of enacting laws to strengthen the executive, will, it is hoped, be prevented. To avert such a necessity ever has been my anxious wish; but if it should arise, I do not doubt your firm resolution to maintain the power and order of society, by the adoption of such measures as 86, 87; Ann. Reg. 1831, 156. may be necessary for their more effectual protection."¹

The first question brought forward, of course, was the all-engrossing one of Reform. The bill was read a first time without opposition, the debate being reserved for the second reading, which came on the 4th July, before which time the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills had also been brought in. The debate lasted three nights, but it was distinguished by no novelty, excepting increased vehemence on both sides; revolution being confidently predicted by the opponents of the measure if the bill passed, and as openly threatened by the other if it should be thrown out. At length, all parties being worn out by the speeches, the division was loudly called for, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 136, in a House of 598 members. This majority, how great and decisive soever, was scarcely so large as had been anticipated by those who had seen the results of the elections, 906; An. Reg. 1831, 165, 166. which they had been conducted.²

The bill now went into committee, when the case of each individual borough which it was proposed to disfranchise came under consideration. The first which came, from its alphabetical position in Schedule A, was Appleby, and

other interest to furnish cheap articles of necessity or convenience to the sovereign multitude in towns, will and must be the future policy of the Government. The landed interest will be sacrificed by a repeal of the Corn Laws, to procure their favor by the purchase of cheap bread; the Canadas will be lost from the throwing open the trade in timber; the West Indies will be ruined in the conflagration subsequent on immediate emancipation of the negroes, or in the losses arising from a free trade in sugar; the East India interest, deprived of the monopoly of the China trade, will be reduced to the doubtful military sovereignty of a distant continent. These effects may not all follow at once: considerable periods may elapse between each successive step; but their ultimate establishment under a reformed Parliament is as certain as that night succeeds day."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, May and June, 1831, vol. xxix. p. 748, 976. The Author is happy to think, after the lapse of twenty-five years, he has no reason to regret, and no cause to retract, predictions uttered during the first heat of the conflict.

it led to a long and keen debate as to whether the census of 1821, which brought it below two thousand inhabitants, should be taken as the rule, in opposition to the allegation of the inhabitants that their number now exceeded two thousand, and that this had been established by the census of the population just completed. Ministers resisted this to the uttermost, upon the ground that the progress of a great national measure could not be arrested by investigation concerning so insignificant a place as Appleby, and so it was carried by a majority of 97, the numbers being 284 to 187. The Opposition, however, was not discouraged, for next day Mr. Wynn moved a general resolution, that the consideration of the schedules should be postponed—avowedly for the purpose of taking advantage of the new census, the report of which might be expected in a few weeks. "After," said Sir Robert Peel, "having obtained so large a majority as 136 on the principle of the bill, Government would have acted wisely, even for the interests of the measure itself, to have postponed going into the details of the bill till they were in possession of better documents on which to proceed. They know what is coming, they are aware of the event which is casting its shadow before; namely, that the boroughs will be overtaken by the population returns of 1831. In another fortnight these returns will be laid before the House; and though his Majesty's ministers now proceed expressly on the doctrine of a population of two thousand or four thousand, they are guilty of the inconceivable absurdity of proceeding on the returns of 1821, when they can so soon be in possession of the census of 1831. Before this bill leaves this House, it may be shown that so inapplicable are the returns of 1821, that there are many boroughs so increased since that time in population, as that they are now excluded, while they ought to be included in the enjoyment of the franchise." The House, however, by a majority of 118, determined to proceed, making the census of 1821 the rule.¹

A protracted and tedious series of debates ensued on the details of the measure and the disfranchisement of particular boroughs, which continued, without interruption, for two months, but in which Ministers uniformly had triumphant majorities. The mind of Mr. Croker, forcible and indefatigable, but minute and microscopic, shone forth with peculiar lustre in these discussions. Two points of general and lasting interest were, however, determined in the course of these interminable debates. The first was a motion, brought forward by Mr. Hume on 16th August, that members should be given to the colonies; and the proposal was of the most moderate kind; for all he asked was, that 19 members should be given to the whole colonies of Great Britain, including four for British India, with its 100,000,000 of inhabitants.* The proposal was supported by the Conservatives, but excited very little attention, and was nega-

* He proposed to give British India 4, Crown colonies 8, Canada 3, West Indies 3, Channel Islands 1—total, 19.

72.
King's speech
on opening
Parliament.

74.
Discussion
on particular
boroughs—
Appleby.

1 Mirror of
Parliament,
Sept. 2, i. 551;
An. Reg. 1831,
118.

75.
Motion to
give mem-
bers to the
colonies
negated
without a
division.
Aug. 16.

tived without a division. When "Australia" was read out as to send a member, there was a loud laugh. "Gentlemen," said Mr. Hume, "may laugh; but it can be shown that Australia already has twenty times the number of inhabitants of many of the boroughs in England which are now to be enfranchised." Within twenty-five years of the time when these words were spoken, Australia had a population of 600,000 souls, took off annually £14,000,000 of British manufactures, and a single province of it (Victoria) yielded the local government a revenue of £3,500,000 a year! It is a curious and instructive proof of the inherent and universal selfishness and thirst for power in all ranks, that, at the very moment when the Reformers of England were most strenuously contending for and successfully asserting the right of the middle classes at home to a preponderating share in the government, they would not *even entertain a proposal* for the extension of similar rights, in the smallest degree, to their fellow-countrymen beyond the seas! It may safely be affirmed that the future destinies of the British empire, and its dissolution at no distant period, were determined on this eventful though unobserved night; for, can it be supposed that the vast and rapidly-growing colonies, destined ere long to outstrip the mother country in wealth, commerce, and population, will remain permanently subject to a Legislature exclusively elected by the inhabitants of a distant island, ignorant of

their circumstances, indifferent to their wants, and actuated by interests adverse to their prosperity?¹

"Cælum non animus mutant qui trans mare currunt."

If the subject of colonial representation excited no attention in the whirlwind of domestic reform, the same could not be said of another topic brought forward by Lord Chandos, which was the extension of the elective franchise to tenants-at-will. By the bill as it originally stood, tenants holding leases for twenty-one years or more, and paying £50 rent, were to obtain votes in counties. This

76.
Marquess of
Chandos's
motion on
£50 tenants
carried.

* It can not be said that this decision was come to in ignorance of the circumstances and claims of the colonies; for, in the course of the brief debate on Mr. Hume's motion, Mr. Keith Douglas observed: "In the present times of sweeping and universal change, the plan of the honorable member for Middlesex is a subject of the very highest importance. The idea of giving due proportion to the commerce and colonies which had raised this country to its present pitch of greatness, was worthy of the most attentive consideration. It appeared, by the returns of 1827, that our colonial imports were then worth £90,000,000 (official value), and our exports £80,000,000; that the ships employed in this trade amounted to 4580, and their tonnage to 900,000, independent of those employed in the colonies themselves. They were now about to *localize the representation*, and in all probability the various boroughs would in future return gentlemen resident in their immediate vicinity, so that the class of persons connected with the colonies, who had hitherto found their way into Parliament, and who were alone able to give information concerning colonial matters, would be completely excluded. In whatever point of view the great question of our colonial policy and government came to be considered, it was impossible to doubt that the honorable member for Middlesex had done perfectly right in bringing it forward." Hansard's Reports bear, "He (Mr. Hume) had begun his speech by expressing a fear that very few members who heard him would give their attention to the subject; but he was now convinced that those who laughed did give their attention to the subject—the late Secretary of the Admiralty might laugh. (Mr. Croker, 'I did not laugh at all; I was reading this paper.')

clause, however, applied to a very small number of such persons, leases being rare in England. The Marquess of Chandos now moved that tenants-at-will should be enfranchised who paid £50 rent—a great change, for it went to admit the whole body of the English tenantry holding farms to that value. The debate was short, for the minds of nearly all were made up on the subject; and the Whig territorial magnates, though obliged for consistency's sake to side with the Government in opposing the amendment, were in secret most anxious for its adoption. The result was that the amendment was carried by a majority of 84—the numbers being 232 to 148. Ministers, nothing loth, acquiesced in the change, which became, and has ever since continued, an integral part of the Reform Act. There can be no doubt that it was a very great improvement on the measure, and that on principle, irrespective of its influence on the state of parties in the House. It introduced at once a class of voters qualified by a *different franchise* from the general £10 voters, and thus tended to modify, in some degree, that fatal vesting of power in one single class of society, which is the invariable and worst effect of a uniform system of representation.¹

At length, after having undergone an amount of discussion unparalleled even in the long annals of parliamentary warfare, the bill approached its final stage in the Lower House. On the 21st September it was passed by a majority of 109—the numbers being 345 to 236. This division was received with loud and long-continued cheers, which were prolonged through great part of the night in the streets of the metropolis, which was violently agitated. The news spread like wild-fire through the country, and was almost every where received with ringing of bells and acclamations. London was partially illuminated, and the windows of those who declined to do so were generally broken; but the excitement over the country was not so violent as on the dissolution of Parliament in the April preceding, because that was the first decisive victory; this had long been foreseen.²

All eyes were now turned to the House of Peers; and the question, "What will the Lords do?" was in every mouth. All the usual engines of intimidation were applied to the Peers, and the bishops, in particular, were daily threatened by the press and the political unions with spoliation, deprivation, and even death, if they persisted in opposing the voice of the people. Meetings were called to inform the Peers of the "tremendous consequences of rejecting the bill, and how deeply the security of commercial, as well as all other property, would be shaken, if the bill were any longer delayed. The Peers would be insane if they refused to do so; they would pass it, as they hoped to transmit their honors to their children; they would pass it, if they desired to retain their rank and legitimate privileges; and they would, moreover, pass it without delay, for the public would not submit much longer to see trade stand still, and business remain in protracted stagnation, on account of

77.
Bill read a
third time,
and passed.
Sept. 21.

2 An. Reg.
1831, 231;
Parl. Deb.
vi. 463.

78.
Efforts to in-
timidate the
Peers.

such tediously protracted expectation. The people will thenceforward not pay taxes, nor would they be justified in doing so, when the

¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 254; Roebuck, ii. 202, 203; Martineau, ii. 43. country had decided that the constitution was not such as it ought to be. Let the Lords refuse this bill if they dare; and if they do, dearly will they rue their obstinacy hereafter."¹

Amidst all this violence and excitement, the bill was carried to the Upper House. ^{79.} It was read a first time without opposition, and the second reading came on on October 3. The debate lasted for five nights, and much exceeded that of the Commons in dignity, statesmanlike views, and eloquence; giving thus the clearest proof of the weight which the Upper House had acquired, by the successive additions of talent of the highest order from the Lower. "It exhibited," says Mr. Roebuck, "a most admirable, striking, and memorable example of finished excellence in parliamentary discussion." Earl Grey moved the second reading in a calm, dignified, and powerful speech, which concluded with these memorable words: "Brave I know your lordships to be, and angrily susceptible when approached with a menace. I fling aside all ideas of menace and intimidation; but I conjure you, as you value your rights and dignities, and as you wish to transmit them unimpaired to your posterity, to lend a willing ear to the representations of the people. Do not take up a position which will show that you will not attend to the voice of nine-tenths of the people, who call upon you, in a tone too loud not to be heard, and too decisive to be misunderstood. The people are all but unanimous in support of the bill; the immense preponderance of county members, and members for populous places who have voted for it, is a sufficient proof of that. If this measure be refused, none other will be accepted; none less would, if accepted, be satisfactory. Do not, I beg, flatter yourselves that it is possible by a less effective measure than this to quiet the storm which will rage, and to govern the agitation which will have been produced. I certainly deprecate popular violence. As a citizen of a free State, and feeling that freedom is essentially connected with order, I deprecate it. As a member of the Government it is my duty to maintain tranquillity; but as a citizen, as a member of the Government, as a man and a statesman, I am bound to look at the consequences which may flow from rejecting the measure. And although I do not say, as the noble Duke (Wellington) did on another occasion, that the rejection of this measure will lead to civil war—I trust it will not produce any such effect—yet I see such consequences likely to arise from it as make me tremble for the security of this House and of this country. Upon

² Mirror of Parliament, 1831, 2604; Parl. Deb. vii. 965, 966. your lordships, then, as you value the tranquillity and prosperity of the country, I earnestly call to consider well before you reject this measure."²

"Let me respectfully entreat the right reverend prelates to consider that, if this bill be rejected by a narrow majority of the lay peers, and its fate should

thus be decided, within a few votes, by the votes of the heads of the Church, what will then be their situation with the country. You have shown that you are not indifferent or inattentive to the signs of the times. You have introduced, in the way in which all such measures ought to be introduced by the heads of the Church, measures of melioration. In this you have acted with a prudent forethought. You appear to have felt that the eyes of the country were upon you; *that it is necessary to put your house in order, and prepare for the coming storm.* I implore you to follow on this occasion the same prudent course. There are many questions at present which may take a fatal direction, if, upon a measure on which the nation has fixed its hopes, and which is necessary for its welfare, the decision of this House should, by means of their votes, be in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the people. You are the ministers of peace; earnestly do I hope that the result of your votes may be such as will tend to the peace, tranquillity, and happiness of the country."³

The debate elicited talent of the very highest order on both sides; and Lord Harrowby in particular, on the second night, made the best speech which had yet been delivered in either House against the bill.⁴ The closing night of the debate brought the two great champions on the opposite sides—Lord Brougham and Lord Lyndhurst—into the lists, whose speeches, as might have been expected, embraced every thing which could be urged on either side, and were master-pieces of forensic power and eloquence. The former said, "By all you hold most dear—by all the ties that bind every one of us to one common order, and one common country—I solemnly adjure you—I warn you—I implore you—on my bended knees I supplicate you—reject not this bill." The latter said, "Perilous as the situation is in which we are placed, it is at the same time a proud one: the eyes of the country are anxiously turned upon us, and if we decide as becomes us, we shall merit the eternal gratitude of every friend of the constitution, and of the British empire." On a division, which took place at half past six, the bill was lost by a majority of 41—the numbers being 199 to 158.⁵

This decision, having been long foreseen, took no one by surprise; and the reforming party, both in and out of Parliament, adopted immediate measures to obviate its effects. The Funds suddenly fell, many of the shops were closed in London, and that general anxiety was felt which is so often the precursor of some great public calamity. The King requested Ministers to retain their places, and shape the bill so as to disarm their opponents, being much alarmed at the prospect of an approaching convulsion. On the Monday following, Lord Ebrington, in the House of Commons, moved a vote of confidence in Ministers,* which

* The vote was in these words: "That while this House laments the present state of a bill for introducing a reform into the Commons House of Parliament, in favor of which

¹ Parl. Deb. vii. 967, 968.

^{81.} Bill thrown out by a majority of forty-one.

² Parl. Deb. vii. 1146, 1175.

³ Parl. Deb. viii. 275, 276, 299, 340.

^{82.} Vote of confidence in the Commons carried by 131.

was carried by a majority of 131—the numbers being 329 to 198. This vote enabled the Ministers to retain their places; and the parliamentary contest, for the present at least, being now over, the King, on 20th October, prorogued Parliament in person, with these significant words: “To the consideration of the important question of the reform of the House of Commons the attention of Parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing session; and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which, in combination with those of the 1831, 291; other orders of the State, are essential to the support of our free constitution.”¹

The declared resolution of the King and the House of Commons to carry out the principles of reform, however, was not sufficient to allay the apprehensions or calm the passions of the people. In London these ebullitions were confined to the lowest of the populace, whose acts, however, indicated to what they had been stimulated by the incendiary language so long addressed to them by the reforming journals and the public meetings. The Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Marquess of Londonderry were assaulted in the street, and with difficulty rescued by the police and the respectable by-standers from the violence of the mob. The latter nobleman, whose courage and determination during the whole contest had signalized him for vengeance, was struck senseless from his horse by showers of stones at the gate of the Palace, amidst cries of “Murder him—cut his throat!”² Persons respectably dressed, and wearing ribbons round their arms, took the lead on these occasions, gave orders, and, rushing forward from the crowd, led it on, and made way for those who commenced the demolition of the windows of Apsley House.* But alarming as these riots were in the metropolis, they were as nothing to those which occurred in the provinces, where scenes ensued which have affixed a lasting stain on the English character, and proved that, when their passions are thoroughly roused, the people of this country may become as dangerous, and engage in atrocities as frightful, as the worst populace of foreign states.³

While the bill was yet pending in the House of Lords, a great meeting was called by the Political Union of Birmingham, attended, it was said by the Reformers, by one hundred and fifty thousand, and probably, in truth, by one

the opinion of the country stands unequivocally prominent, and which has been matured by discussions the most anxious and the most laborious, it feels itself most imperatively called upon to reassert its firm adherence to the principles and leading provisions of that great measure, and to express its unabated confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those Ministers who, introducing and conducting it so well, consulted the best interests of the country.”—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 278.

* See in particular the statements of Mr. Trevor and Col. Trench (who followed the crowd which committed the outrages), in the House of Commons on 14th October. —*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 288, 289.

hundred thousand persons. At this meeting very violent language, as might have been expected, was used, though not more so than was usual on all such occasions at that period.* But it acquired a historic importance from what followed. The meeting voted an address to the King, setting forth the “awful consequences” which might ensue from the rejection of the bill, their pain at imagining that the House of Lords should be so infatuated as to reject it, and their earnest desire that his Majesty should create as many peers as might be necessary to insure its success. They voted also thanks to Lord Althorpe and Lord John Russell. Both these noblemen acknowledged the compliment with thanks; the latter, in doing so, used the expression which became so celebrated: “I beg to acknowledge, with heartfelt gratitude, the undeserved honor done me by one hundred and fifty thousand of my countrymen. Our prospects are now obscured for a moment, and, I trust, only for a moment. *It is impossible that the whisper of faction should prevail against the voice of the nation.*”¹

Similar meetings, attended by vast multitudes, took place at Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow, Newcastle, Edinburgh, and all the great towns, at all of which language the most violent was used, and ensigns the most revolutionary were displayed; while the press, provincial as well as metropolitan, increased every hour in vigor and audacity. To intimidate the Peers was the great object, and acts soon ensued more calculated even than words to produce this effect. At Derby, the mob, as usual, demolished the windows of the anti-Reformers; and some of the ringleaders having been apprehended by the magistrates and put in jail, it was forthwith attacked, the doors forced, and the whole prisoners liberated. At Nottingham the violence was of a still more serious and systematic kind, as the Duke of Newcastle, to whom the castle and great part of the property in the town belonged, had signalized himself by the most decided opposition to the bill. A mob suddenly assembled there, and moved against that venerable pile, once a royal residence, and associated with many of the most memorable events in English history; for it was there that Charles I. unfurled his banner at the commencement of the civil wars. The

* One of the speakers said: “He declared before God, that if all constitutional modes of obtaining success of the reform measure failed, he should and would be the first man to *refuse the payment of taxes*, except by a levy upon his goods (tremendous cheers). I now call upon all those who are prepared to join me in this step to hold up their hands (an immense forest of hands was immediately held up, accompanied by vehement cheering). I now call upon you who are not prepared to adopt this course to hold up your hands and signify your dissent (not a single hand was held up). Mark my words, ‘Failing all other constitutional means.’” Another speaker said: “It is said that the reverend fathers in God, the bishops, will oppose this bill: if they do, their fate, which even now is exceedingly doubtful, will be irrevocably sealed. The haughty remnants of the Establishment will be buried in the dust, with a nation’s execration for their epitaph: the splendid mitre will fall from the heads of the bishops; their crosses will fall as if from a palsied hand; their robes of lawn may be turned into a garb of mourning, and my Lord Bishop of London may shut up his episcopal palace, and take out a license for a beer-shop.”—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 282.

gates were quickly forced, the building sacked, set on fire, and burnt to the ground. A regiment of hussars having opportunely arrived from Derby, prevented any farther damage being done in the town; but the mob, thirsting for plunder, issued forth into the country, and attacked several houses of noblemen or gentlemen known to entertain anti-reform principles. Among these were those of Lord Middleton and Mr. Musters, the latter of which was sacked and pillaged, and his unfortunate lady, driven to seek safety by concealment among the shrubby bushes on a cold and rainy October evening, lost her life.¹

¹ An. Reg. 1831, 281.

These disorders, serious as they were, however, all sunk into insignificance before the riots at Bristol, which were of so dreadful a kind as not only to spread a universal panic over the country, but to affix a dark stain on the English character, and suggest a painful doubt as to its ability to retain its equilibrium in periods of violent political excitement. The occasion, or rather the pretext, for the outbreak, was the appearance of Sir Charles Wetherall, a noted anti-Reformer, who, as Recorder of Bristol, with more courage than judgment, made his public entrance into Bristol on the 29th October. He was received by the magistrates with the pomp and respect usually shown to the judicial representatives of royalty on such occasions; but at the same time the cavalcade was followed by a disorderly mob, which, beginning with groans and hisses, soon proceeded to throwing of stones and brickbats. The respectable citizens at the commercial rooms received them with three cheers; but this only irritated the rabble, who, when the procession reached the Mansion House, assailed it with missiles of every description. The mayor in vain requested the mob to disperse, and withdrew a portion of the special constables, who were particularly obnoxious to them, in order to appease their fury. This only increased it, and the mob swelled in number and audacity as night approached. The Riot Act was read, but the military were not called in. The consequence was, that the constables were suddenly attacked and driven back, the doors of the building forced, the Mansion House stormed, its whole furniture smashed and pillaged, and the iron palings in front torn up, and put into the hands of the rioters for future mischief. Meanwhile Sir Charles and the magistrates escaped by a back door, and the former left the city. The latter called in the military, and two troops of dragoons, amply sufficient to have arrested the disorders, arrived in the square. But they received at first no orders to act, either from the magistrates or the commanding officer; and the soldiers, not knowing what to do, for some time merely walked their horses through the multitude. Seeing this, the mob proceeded to break the windows of the Council House, and the military then charged, dispersed the crowd, and prevented any farther mischief that night.²

But the lull was of short duration. Deeming the riot over, the magistrates allowed the dragoons, who were much fatigued, to retire for the night, and

the mob made good use of the breathing-time thus afforded them to prepare for ulterior measures. The indecision evinced the preceding evening spread far and wide the conviction that the magistrates would not order the soldiers to act, and that if ordered they would not do so. This belief brought multitudes next day to the expected scene of plunder and intoxication; the bargemen from the adjoining canals flocked in on all sides, and those wild-looking haggard desperadoes began to appear in the streets, which in all civil convulsions, like the storm-birds to the distressed mariners, betoken coming shipwreck. Thus reinforced, the mob returned in greater numbers on the following morning to the scene of their former violence, broke open and ransacked the cellars of the Mansion House, and soon intoxicated wretches added the fumes of drunkenness to the horrors of the scene. The military were again called in, and a troop of the 14th was soon on the spot; but no magistrate was there to give them orders, and the commanding officer, though the violence was going forward, having no orders from the civil authorities, thought it his duty to abstain from acting, and soon after deemed it best to withdraw his men from the risk of contamination, and moved them to the barracks. They were replaced at the Mansion House by another troop less obnoxious to the people. Upon this the mob cheered loudly, and leaving the Mansion House, where nothing now remained to pillage, dispersed in different bodies over the city.¹

¹ Martineau, ii. 48; Ann. Reg. 1831; Chron. 175, 176.

The most frightful scene of violence and devastation ensued. One detachment proceeded to the bridewell, where they broke open the doors, liberated the prisoners, who immediately joined them, and set the building on fire; another went to the new jail, which was also forced open, the prisoners liberated, and the building consigned to the flames. The Gloucester county prison shared the same fate, and the chief toll-houses round the town were destroyed. A band next proceeded to the bishop's palace, which was set on fire and totally consumed. The Mansion House shared the same fate; and, not content with this, the rioters set fire to the Custom House, Excise Office, and other buildings in Queen Square, which soon were wrapped in one awful conflagration. An attempt was made to fire the shipping in the docks, but happily repulsed by the vigilance and courage of the seamen. Exclusive of the Mansion House, jails, and other public edifices, forty-two private houses and warehouses were burnt, and property to the amount of £500,000 destroyed. Before night, Queen Square and the adjoining streets exhibited the most appalling spectacle. Flames were bursting forth on all sides; the walls of buildings already consumed were falling in every minute, and the square and streets filled with infuriated crowds in the last stage of intoxication, many of whom were lying senseless on the pavement, while not a few perished in the flames which they themselves had raised.²

² 88. Immense destruction of property.

² Ann. Reg. 1831, 176, 177; Martineau, ii. 48.

While these terrible scenes were going on in the town, the soldiers, for fear of irritating the

^{87.} Frightful disorders.

² Ann. Reg. 1831, 292; Martineau, ii. 48; Hughes, vii. 294; Trial of Bristol Rioters, 28, 29.

people, had been sent into the country; and the officers and men beheld with speechless agony the whole firmament, on Sunday night, reddened by the flames of the burning city. At length, however, the enormity of the evil worked out its own cure.

Orders were sent by the magistrates to the military to return on Monday morning; and under the command of an active and gallant officer (Captain Wetherall of the 14th) the work was speedily and effectually done. The dragoons charged the rioters with the utmost vigor in all the streets where they were assembled, and in an hour's time the insurrection was quelled. Passing from the extreme of audacity to the most abject terror, the rioters fled in crowds from the sabres of the military, and in many instances, in drunken alarm, precipitated themselves into the burning houses, and perished miserably. On the whole, no less than ninety-four persons were killed and wounded during these disastrous days, who were brought to the public hospitals, and

¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 294, 295; Chron. 177, 178; Martineau, ii. 48, 49.

probably a still greater number perished in the burning houses, and were never heard of. Since Lord George Gordon's riots in 1780, no such scenes had disgraced the annals of England.¹

This violent outbreak, like many other things when matters have reached the extremity of evil, in the end did good. All classes took the alarm at the terrible consequences which it was now apparent flowed from exciting the passions of the people. It was seen how little security the boasted solidity of the English character afforded, when the cupidity of the populace was excited by the prospect of power or plunder. The trial of the ringleaders, which came on in December, and was presided over by Lord Tenterden, terminated in the conviction of a great number of prisoners, three of whom underwent the last punishment of the law. What was still more material, the facts which came out in evidence as to the committing of the worst acts of incendiarism in presence of the military, but in absence of the magistrates, drew from that venerable judge an exposition of the law on that important point; which amounted to this, that every citizen, armed or unarmed, is entitled to interfere to prevent a felony being committed, or destruction to life or property being effected; that a citizen does not cease to be such by becoming a soldier; and that, although in the general case it is advisable for the military to await the orders of a civil magistrate before they act, yet they are entitled, and even bound to do so, even without such orders, in extreme cases, in defense either of their own lives, or of the lives or property

² Per Lord Tenterden, Bristol Rioters' Trial—Leak's Crown Cases.

of others.² Lastly, these events afforded a decisive proof of the ruinous effects which invariably result from either the magistrates or military officers flinching from their duty in the commencement of

such disorders, whether from timidity or mistaken humanity. The only course to be adopted in such cases is to let the felonious intent be fairly proved by deeds before giving the orders to act, but when it is so proved, to act

at once, and with the utmost vigor. Had this been done at the commencement of the riots, they might have been put down in a few hours. A melancholy tragedy, which closed the Bristol disorders, brought home these truths still more impressively to the public mind. The mayor, and the commanding officer of the district, Colonel Brereton, were both brought to trial for neglect of duty on the occasion. The former was acquitted, as it was proved he had not been adequately supported by the military; but the evidence against the latter proved so overwhelming, that after the fourth day of the trial he committed suicide by shooting himself through the heart.¹

Disturbances of a lesser but very alarming kind took place about the same time in other quarters.

At the Bristol riots, it was proved that some of the rioters, when firing the bishop's palace, exclaimed, "We'll soon have every church in England down!" This disposition appeared in attacks on those who had hitherto been the object of most veneration to the English mind. At Croydon the Archbishop of Canterbury was publicly insulted when returning from a Bible meeting. Lord Nov. 3.

Tenterden's carriage was attacked when his lordship was proceeding to Westminster Hall; and Bond Street and Regent Street were kept in alarm by mobs of some thousand persons, which broke the windows of all the respectable shops. At Bath the mob surrounded the inn where the yeomanry were assembled to proceed to Bristol during the riots, thus preventing them getting out, and almost pulled the building down. Serious riots took place at Worcester and Coventry, at the latter of which places a mill was burnt down. Finally, to give greater unity to the operations of the different political unions, a "National Political Union" was formed in London at a great meeting, Sir Francis Burdett in the chair. This Union, a few days after, issued a proclamation, in which, besides demanding annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, it was stated, "that all property honestly acquired is sacred and inviolable; that all men are born equally free, and have certain natural and unalienable rights; that all hereditary distinctions of birth are unnatural, and opposed to the equal rights of man, and ought to be abolished; and that they would never be satisfied with any laws which stopped short of these principles." At the same time, an immense number of staves, having the tricolor flag painted on them, were prepared in the neighborhood of Bethnal Green; swordsticks were to be seen in many shops of the metropolis, and the demand for bludgeons was so great that the makers could not supply it. And during the whole recess, Earl Grey's privacy was daily intruded upon by deputations of political unions calling upon him to call Parliament instantly together, and quell the opposition of the factious by a great creation of peers.²

However insensible Ministers, in the heat of the reform contest, might be to the signs of the times, they did not escape the penetra-

¹ Ann. Reg. 1831, 13, 14, Chron.; Martineau, ii. 49.

² Ann. Reg. 1831, 295, 297; Martineau, ii. 51, 52; Hughes, vii. 296.

ting eye of the chief magistrate of the realm.

92. Though not free from foibles, which prevented the higher points of his character from being appreciated, William IV. was by no means destitute of the sagacity and firmness which is inherent in his race. He early conceived the utmost apprehension at the proceedings of the political unions, and daily, and even hourly, called upon his Ministers to check them. He composed and submitted to them a very elaborate memoir on the subject, required from the law officers a statement of the means which the existing law afforded for their suppression, and required his Ministers, if these means were insufficient, to apply to Parliament for additional powers. Thus urged, and having the sacking of Bristol before their eyes, the Ministers at length issued a proclamation against the political unions, which satisfied the King, but was far from checking the proceedings of these audacious bodies. Trusting to the protection of juries, which in the present excited state of the public mind would never, they flattered themselves, convict them, they proceeded unchecked in their measures to overawe and intimidate the Government; and

1 Roebuck, in de-
i. 219, 220; Ann. Reg.
1831, 296,
298; Mar-
tineau, ii.
52, 53.

the National Political Union, in de-
rision, ostentatiously placarded the proclamation at the door of the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, which was then their headquarters.¹

Parliament met on the 6th December, after this brief and stormy recess, and the first thing done of course was to bring in a new Reform Bill. It was introduced on the 12th by Lord John Russell in the Lower House, and though the leading principles of the former bill were preserved entire, several alterations in matters of detail were introduced, which afforded a just though transient subject for congratulation and triumph to the Conservative opposition. Lord Chandos's fifty-pound clause for voters in counties was retained, and as this was done with the secret approbation of the Whig leaders, it could not justly be considered as a triumph to their political opponents. But other changes, which had been resisted with the whole influence of Government in the former Parliament, were adopted. The House was restored to its original number of 658, though the former House had been dissolved on that very point. The census of 1831 was adopted as the basis of the disfranchisement, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts made to retain that of 1821; and very considerable changes were made in the distribution of boroughs in the schedule. A change, important in principle, though not very material in its present results, was introduced also in the calculations on which the rule for disfranchising boroughs was framed. This was no longer done by mere numbers, but by *numbers compounded with the amount of assessed taxes paid*—an obvious improvement, as letting in at least some consideration of property, and which was industriously and correctly worked out by Lieutenant Drummond.² Sir Robert Peel made a skillful use of the advantage thus afforded him, and iron-

93. The new Reform Bill introduced.
Dec. 12.

2 Ann. Reg.
1832, 17, 18;
Parl. Deb.
xi. 407, 413.

ically congratulated the new Parliament upon the tribute paid to the *manes* of the old one, by adopting General Gascoigne's amendment.

In truth, however, the new bill, though it adopted some of the amendments for which the Opposition had contended in the discussion of the former one, was in reality more democratic than the former one had been. The ten-pound clause, which enfranchised the middle class, and the schedules A and B, which disfranchised property and the colonies, were retained. The first of these schedules, being that containing boroughs which were to be entirely disfranchised, was kept up at its original amount of fifty-six, and there was no addition to the one hundred and forty-four county members, as proposed by the first bill. Eleven towns were taken from Schedule B, and placed in Schedule C, containing new towns returning two members each. The general result was, that the borough members for England amounted to three hundred and twenty-eight, and the county to one hundred and forty-four, or *considerably less than a half!* Yet did Government still persist in the belief that the landed interest would not be impaired by the change. "The House," said Earl Grey, on introducing the bill into the House of Peers, "know how unfounded must be the alarm of those who thought that the present measure would be fatal to the influence of the landed interest."¹

94. Increased democratic character of the new bill.

1 Ann. Reg.
1832, 16,
104; Parl.
Deb. xii.
22, 23.

The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 136; the numbers being 367 to 231. This was a much larger majority than had yet been obtained on the subject, and demonstrated the progress which the question was making in the public mind.

It was strenuously and firmly, though temperately, opposed by Sir R. Peel. "I shall oppose this bill," said he, "to the last, believing as I do that the people are grossly deluded as to the practical benefits to be derived from it; that it is the first step, not directly, to revolution, but to a series of changes which will affect the property and alter the mixed constitution of the country; that it will be fatal to the authority of the House of Lords, and that it will force on a series of farther concessions. I will oppose it to the last, convinced that, though my opposition will be unavailing, it will not be fruitless, because it will in some degree oppose a bar to future concessions. If the whole House were now to join in giving way, it would have less power to resist future concessions. On this ground I take my stand, not opposed to any well-considered reform of any of our institutions which the well-being of the country demands, but opposed to this reform in our constitution, because it tends to root up the feelings of respect toward it which are founded in prejudice perhaps, as well as in higher sources of veneration for all our institutions. I believe that reform will do this, and I will wield all the power that I possess to oppose the gradual progress of that spirit of democracy to which others think we ought gradually to yield; for if we make these concessions, it will only lead to establish the supremacy of that principle. We may, I know, make it supreme; we may

95. Division on the bill, and Sir R. Peel's speech against it.

be enabled to establish a republic, full, I have no doubt, of energy—not wanting, I have no doubt, in talent—but fatal, in my conscience I believe, to our mixed form of government, and ultimately destructive of all those usages and practices which have long insured to us a large share of peace and prosperity, and which have made and preserved this the proudest kingdom in the annals of the world.”¹

The third reading of the bill was carried, on 23d March, in the Commons, after 96. Third reading carried in the Commons by 116, and Lord J. Russell’s closing declaration. March 23.

Russell closed his arduous task with these remarkable words, which, without doubt, expressed in good faith the opinion of Government regarding the measure: “With respect to the expectations of the Government, I will say that, in proposing this measure, they have not acted lightly; but, after much consideration, they were induced to think, a year ago, that a measure of this kind was necessary, if they would stand between the abuses which they wished to correct and the convulsions they desired to avoid. I am convinced that, if Parliament should refuse to entertain a measure of this nature, they would place in collision that party which, on the one hand, opposed all reform in the Commons House of Parliament, and that which, on the other, desired a reform extending to universal suffrage. The consequence of this would be, that much blood would be shed in the struggle between the contending parties; and I am perfectly convinced that the British constitution would perish in the conflict. I move, sir, that this bill do now pass.”²

Before following the bill to its next stage, and recording the momentous conflict between the Crown and the democracy which ensued in the Upper House, it is necessary to mention two circumstances which occurred at this period, which threw an important light both on the causes that had produced the reform passion, and the effect its gratification was likely to have on the prosperity and welfare of the nation. Before the first half of the year 1831 had passed, all branches of industry in the country had come to be sensibly affected by the consternation which generally prevailed, and the feeling of danger which existed on the part of the holders of property in regard to the security of their possessions. Before the end of the year this feeling had become so strong that enterprise and speculations of all sorts were paralyzed, expenditure was generally contracted, and industry of every kind in consequence became depressed to a most alarming degree. Mr. Hunt, the Radical member for Preston, brought this under the notice of the House of Commons, by an amendment on the Address, which expressed the feeling of the democratic classes in regard to the remote causes of their distresses.* No one sec-

onded his amendment, and it was negatived without a division. Posterity will probably reverse the sentence, as it has already done the unanimous vote of the National Assembly finding Louis XVI. guilty, and come to regard the contraction of the currency, and introduction of Free Trade, to which he referred the whole existing distress, as the real cause of all the convulsions into which the nation had been thrown.¹

But how insensible soever the House of Commons, during the heat of the reform contest, might be to the real causes which had induced the general distress, and with it the desire for change, its effects were soon brought to light in a form which could neither be overlooked nor mistaken. The revenue exhibited a falling off to a most alarming extent. On October 3d, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his second budget for the year, the first having been abandoned, as already stated,² and he was obliged to admit a very considerable defalcation in the principal articles of revenue. The Customs, in the preceding quarter, had fallen £644,000 below the corresponding quarter in the preceding year, and the Excise, in the same period, no less than £1,909,000. Upon the whole, the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the revenue at £47,250,000, and the expenditure at £46,756,000, leaving an apparent excess of income of £500,000 a year.* But so far were these expectations from being realized, that the total income, deducting the cost of collection from both sides, for the year ending 5th January, 1852, was only £46,424,000, and the total expenditure £47,123,000, leaving a deficit of £700,000 a year, which of course more than extinguished the last remnants of the Sinking Fund.³

Ireland also, before the end of the year, ex-

perienced such difficulties by the withdrawing of, and narrowing the circulation, without a proportionate reduction of taxation, by which the incomes of all those classes but those who lived upon the taxes are reduced one half in value, the greatest distresses existed; that these were aggravated by the baleful system called Free Trade, by which a competition of foreign silks, gloves, and other articles is permitted with our own manufactures; that by these means the people have been driven to desperation and frenzy; and that to these causes are to be attributed those incendiary proceedings going on in the country.”—*Ann. Reg.*, 1831, p. 13.

* The income and expenditure for the year 1831, as actually realized, stood as follows:

INCOME—Net.	
Customs	£16,516,271
Excise.....	16,303,025
Stamps.....	6,947,829
Taxes.....	4,864,343
Post-office.....	1,530,205
Lesser Payments.....	262,757
	£46,424,430
EXPENDITURE.	
Interest of Funded Debt.....	£24,372,894
Terminable Annuities.....	3,318,688
Interest of Unfunded Debt.....	649,833
Civil List, etc.....	1,548,772
Army.....	7,216,292
Navy.....	5,689,858
Ordnance.....	1,472,944
Miscellaneous.....	2,854,013
	£47,123,465
Deduct income, net.....	46,424,440
Excess of expenditure over income.....	£699,025

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1832, p. 229, 230. App. to Chron.

* “That by the present critical and alarming state of our country, when trade and manufactures are reduced to

98. Declining state of the public revenue.

³ *Ann. Reg.*, 1831, 289, 290, and for 1832, 229, 230; App. to Chron.

hibited a most afflicting increase of predial 99 outrage and disorder. Then was seen State of how utterly fallacious an idea it had Ireland. been that the exclusion of the Catholics from the Legislature had been the real cause of the disturbances of the country, and how little their admission into it had done to remove them. So far from it, their success on the former occasion had only made them more audacious; and the agitators and priests over the whole country had now banded the people together in a general combination for resistance to tithes, which led to the most frightful tragedies. The misery and crimes of the people were daily increasing, and never had this increase been so great as since emancipation had passed. Murder, robbery, searching for arms, were committed in open day, and by such large bodies as set resistance at defiance even by the armed police. In daylight they dug up the potatoes in the fields. Five were shot dead while attacking a house in Tipperary; but this had no effect in deterring from similar outrages. Nine persons were killed during a conflict between the insurgents and police at Castle Pollard, in the county of Westmeath, on May 23. the 23d of May. Twelve were killed June 18. and twenty wounded during an affray at Newtonbarry, in Wexford, originating in a sale for distraining of tithes. The coroner's jury, after sitting nine days, could arrive at no verdict, six Catholics being on 1 Ann. Reg. 1831, 324, the one side, and six Protestants on 326. the other.¹

As winter approached, and the severities of 100. nature were added to the animosities of man, these outrages assumed a still more sombre and alarming character. Payment of tithe generally ceased; when it was recovered, it was only by distraining, which generally led to conflicts between the police and peasantry, ending in wounds and death, terminating in still more unseemly struggles for vengeance or impunity in the courts of justice. Nov. 25. In the end of November, five of the peasantry were shot dead by the military in a tithe riot, when the latter had been assailed by a band of ruffians; but soon after the insurgents took a bloody revenge. Dec. 14. A strong party of police having gone to protect a legal officer employed to serve a tithe notice, the peasantry assembled in multitudes on the road-sides, armed with pitchforks, bludgeons, and scythes, and having closed with the procession of the police, the commanding officer and twelve of his men were killed. Such was the ferocity of the mob, that they beat out the brains of five of the police, who lay on the ground weltering in their blood, and put to death the captain's son, a boy of ten years 2 Ann. Reg. 1831, 324, of age, who was with the procession, and the pony on which he 326, 328. rode!²

While these frightful scenes were going forward, and the country, from one end to the other, was in a state of the most violent excitement, from the dread of yet greater calamities impending over it, the Cabinet were anxiously engaged in the consideration of the all-important question, how the declared hos-

tility of the Peers to the bill was to be overcome. The King had, in the outset of the discussions on the Reform Bill, distinctly declared to his Ministers that he would not dissolve the House of Commons if it should reject the bill, nor create peers if the Upper House did the same. "He had been induced, however," says the Whig historian, "under the mixed influence of vanity and alarm, to dissolve the intractable Parliament of 1830; but he declared he never would consent to any coercion of the Peers by means of creation."¹ The Cabinet, however, distinctly saw that 1 Roebuck, ii. 223. matters had now come to such a point that such a measure was unavoidable, to avoid a rejection of the bill; and great division of opinion existed in the Ministry on the subject. Lord Brougham and Lord Durham strenuously supported the measure, which they represented as unavoidable, and even urged a creation of sixty, to neutralize an anticipated majority to that amount. Lord Grey, on the other hand, manifested the utmost repugnance, and declared that he could never bring himself to acquiesce in any such unconstitutional measure. Lord Durham combated Earl Grey's objections in a written memoir, dated in January, 1832; and Sir James Graham recommended the creation of a small batch of peers in the first instance, to show that Government were determined, and had the power to enforce their determination. The discussions in the Cabinet were long and anxious; and when Parliament met, on 6th December, no decision was arrived at on the subject. It was not till the first week of January, 1832, that the repugnance of Lord Grey was overcome; and a majority of the Cabinet had resolved to present the creations to the King as a Cabinet meas- 2 Roebuck, ii. 223, 224. ure.²

Meanwhile the King, who also foresaw that the matter would ultimately come to his decision, was in a state of the utmost anxiety and agitation, and he repeatedly and vehemently declared that he considered a creation of peers a revolutionary proceeding, and tending directly to the destruction of the House of Lords. It was on the 1st January, for the first time, that the majority of the Cabinet was brought round to the creation of peers, and on the 3d of the same month, after a long conference with Earl Grey, he was, with great reluctance, induced to give his consent to "the measure of *peer-making*," as he termed it, if, on reflection, the Cabinet should remain of opinion that it was absolutely unavoidable; but, to be satisfied of that, he required all the members of the Cabinet to give him their opinion *in writing*; adding, at the same time, that nothing but the most stern necessity would induce him to consent to so *fatal* a measure, and that, if done at all, he would prefer doing it at once to proceeding by successive small creations. He insisted, also, that the new peerages, with the exception of two, or at most three, should be in favor either of the eldest sons or heirs-presumptive of peers, and he expressed a hope that twenty-one might be sufficient. These conditions he said he considered essential to the preservation of the *hereditary* character of the peerage, and he expressed the utmost alarm at

101. Resolution of the Cabinet to create peers.

102. The King is violently agitated, and reluctantly consents.

the revolutionary spirit which was abroad in the country, and entreated his Ministers, in the most earnest manner, to do every thing in their power to check and restrain it.¹

In the mean time a negotiation was secretly commenced, through Sir Herbert Taylor, the King's private secretary, between his Majesty and some of the Opposition peers, particularly Lord Wharncliffe and Lord Harrowby, the object of which was to induce them to vote for the second reading of the bill as a matter of absolute necessity, and in the hope of effecting some important improvements upon it in committee. The fixed opinion of the King, which he expressed on all occasions, was, that a large measure of reform had become indispensable, but that a creation of peers to effect it would give an irremediable wound to the constitution, and that every possible effort should be made to avert so dire an alternative. The influence of his Majesty, as well as the obvious reason of the thing, had a decisive effect upon a considerable number of peers, respectable alike by their talents and their position, and the result appeared in the vote which followed, though it did not avert the catastrophe which was apprehended. Indeed, to any one who calmly considers the circumstances of the British empire at this period, it must be evident that the view taken by the King and these peers was well founded, and that there was now no alternative between an extensive reform and revolution. The nation had been worked up to such a pitch by the long dependence of the question and the efforts of the press, that it had become altogether ungovernable, and it had determined upon a change, which, for good or for evil, must be conceded. "A majority," says Roebuck, "of the wealthy, intelligent, and instructed, as well as the poor and laborious millions, had now resolved to have the Reform Bill. They had resolved to have it, if possible, by peaceable means, but, if that were not possible, BY FORCE."²

² Martineau, ii. 56, 57; Ann. Reg. 1832, 100, 102; Roebuck, ii. 259.

Decisive proof of this ungovernable and revolutionary spirit speedily appeared during the three weeks which immediately preceded the second reading of the bill in the Upper House. The political unions and Radicals turned the Easter recess to good account in the furtherance of agitation to overawe and coerce the House of Peers. The assembly of numbers made, and violence of the speeches delivered at the meetings which they called in all the great towns, much exceeded any thing witnessed even during the earlier stages of this disastrous contest. Every thing breathed approaching civil war. Argument or persuasion was little thought of: threats, denunciations of vengeance, predictions of approaching and prepared rebellion, formed the staple of the harangues. The great object was to make as imposing as possible a display of numbers and physical strength, and certainly the multitudes assembled did give fearful evidence of the extent to which the passions of the people had at length come to be stirred. At Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Leeds, Paisley, Sheffield, and all the great

towns, meetings attended by thirty thousand or forty thousand persons were held, at which the most violent language was used, and the most revolutionary ensigns were exhibited. Charles X., from his windows in Holyrood, gazed on a scene in the King's Park of Edinburgh which recalled the opening events of the French Revolution; and a speaker at Newcastle reminded the Sovereign that a "fairer head than that of Adelaide had ere this rolled on the scaffold." The object of all these petitions and speeches was the same—to induce the Lords, by threats of revolution, to pass the bill, and the King by similar threats to create peers sufficient to coerce them if they refused to do so. The National Union, on 3d May, spoke the voice of all the unions when it said that there was reason to expect that, if the Lords denied or impaired the bill, "the payment of taxes would cease, the other obligations of society would be disregarded, and the ultimate consequence might be the extinction of the privileged orders."¹

Amidst this tumult and anarchy the second reading of the bill came on in the House of Peers. The debate commenced on the 9th, and was not concluded till seven o'clock on the morning of the 13th, when it was carried by a majority of NINE. The solicitations of the King, the threats of the people, had not been without their effects. Seventeen peers had changed their vote; twelve, who had formerly been absent, now appeared, and voted for the bill; ten, who had voted against it, were now absent. Among the twelve were the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London, St. David's, Worcester, and Chester. "It was the bishops," says the Liberal historian, "who saved the bill this time, but this deed did not restore the credit they had lost in October."² It never does so: concession to democracy never either satisfies its desires or commands its esteem. It is ascribed to fear, and that generates nothing but contempt.³

It soon appeared, however, that the object of this defection had been to meet the wishes of the Sovereign, or avert the wrath of the people, but by no means to pass the bill entire in obedience to the mandates of either. On May 7, when Parliament met after the recess, and when a meeting of not less than one hundred thousand persons was held in Birmingham, Lord Lyndhurst proposed in committee to defer the consideration of the disfranchising clauses in the bill till the enfranchising clauses had been considered. "Begin," said he, "by enfranchising, by conferring rights and privileges, by granting boons and favors, and not by depriving a portion of the community of the privileges which they at present enjoy." "Should this amendment be carried," said Earl Grey, in reply, "it may be necessary for me to consider what course I shall take. I dread the effect of the House of Lords opposing itself as an insurmountable barrier to what the people think necessary for the good government of the country."⁴ The House being in committee, proxies

^{104.} Revolutionary meetings to coerce the Peers.

¹ Martineau, ii. 56, 57; Ann. Reg. 1832, 170, 171; Personal knowledge.

^{105.} Second reading of the bill carried by a majority of nine. April 13.

² Martineau, ii. 57.

³ Parl. Deb. xii. 454.

^{106.} Lord Lyndhurst's amendment carried by thirty-five.

⁴ Parl. Deb. xii. 717.

could not be taken, and, after an angry debate, the amendment was carried by a majority of 35—the numbers being 151 to 116.

Ministers next day held a cabinet council, at which it was resolved to resign unless the King would give them power to create a number of peers sufficient to give them such a working majority as might be necessary to carry the bill unimpaired in its leading provisions. The King refused to do so, and the Ministers immediately tendered their resignations, which were accepted. Lord Althorpe made this announcement in the House of Commons on the 9th, and Lord Grey did the same in the House of Lords. Matters had now come to the crisis which had long been foreseen on both sides. The Crown and the House of Lords had taken their stand to resist the bill, the Commons to force it upon them. When Charles I. planted his standard at Nottingham the crisis was scarcely more violent, nor the dreadful alternative of civil war to all appearance more imminent.¹

In this extremity the King applied to his former Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, who advised his Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington. The old soldier at once obeyed the perilous summons. "I should have been ashamed," said he, "to show my face in the streets, if I had refused to assist my Sovereign in the distressing circumstances in which he was placed." The King frankly stated to the Duke of Wellington that, in his opinion, a large measure of reform was necessary; and the Duke, though strongly of opinion that such a measure was unnecessary, consented to assist the King in forming an administration on this basis; but he declined the situation of Premier, or indeed any situation in the Cabinet, for himself. Sir R. Peel, to whom the premiership was offered, at once refused it, saying, that "no authority nor example of any man or number of men could shake his determination not to accept office upon such conditions." Upon this determination being reported to the King, the Duke, at his request, immediately agreed to accept the perilous post of prime-minister. Mr. Manners Sutton was to be leader of the House of Commons; Mr. Baring, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Lyndhurst, Chancellor; and for the next five days the Duke was busily engaged in endeavoring to form an administration.²

No sooner was the resignation of the Ministry known, and that the King had sent for Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington, than a storm arose in the country more violent than any which had been yet experienced, and which demonstrated how well founded was the opinion of the King that an extensive measure of reform had now become necessary. Meetings were called in all the great towns, at which the most violent language was used; and insurrection was openly threatened if the bill was not instantly carried, and the late Ministry restored to office. Non-payment of taxes was universally recommended, and this not merely by

the leaders of political unions, but by some of the greatest and proudest magnates of the land. Lord Milton, now Earl Fitzwilliam, desired the tax-gatherer who called upon him at this time, to call again a week after, as "he was not certain that circumstances might not arise which would oblige him to resist the payment." The Sovereign, so recently the object of the most fulsome flattery, could no longer show himself in public without being insulted.^{1*} The Queen, to whose influence the Parliament, change was generally ascribed, was the victim of general abuse, and the public meetings often ended with "three groans for the Queen."† Then were seen the infernal placards in the streets of London, "To stop the Duke, go for gold;" and with such success was the suggestion adopted, that in three days no less than £1,800,000 was drawn out of the Bank of England in specie. In Manchester, placards appeared in the windows, "Notice—No taxes paid till the Reform Bill is passed;" and a petition, signed by 25,000 persons, was speedily got up, calling on the Commons to stop the supplies till this was done. The Common Council of London petitioned the House of Commons to the same effect. Attempts were made to seduce some privates of the Scots Greys, then stationed at Birmingham. In a word, Great Britain was on the verge of a civil war; the leaders of the political unions were quite prepared to embark in it; and although it is not yet known how far these frantic designs were countenanced by persons in authority, it was proved at the trial of Smith O'Brien, in 1848, that, at this period, questions of a very sinister kind were put to a distinguished officer at Manchester by a person in the confidence of a late cabinet minister.^{2†}

* "At a quarter past twelve the royal carriage reached Hounslow, where a strong guard of honor of the 9th Lancers joined the royal carriage, in which were the King and Queen. The postillions passed on at a rapid rate, and on entering the town of Brentford, the people, who had assembled in great numbers, began to groan, hiss, and make the most tremendous noises that can be imagined. The escort kept behind and close to the carriage-windows, or in all probability mischief would have ensued, as we were told a number of clots of dirt were hurled at the carriage. Along the road to London the people expressed their feelings in a similar manner; and when the carriage entered the Park, the mob saluted their Majesties with yells and execrations of every description, which we refrain from publishing."—*Sun*, May 12, 1832.

† "Mr. Hume told the multitude, 'that there were 150 peers against them, but he did not know how many women, though he had heard there were some'—an allusion which was immediately followed by 'three groans for the Queen;' and her Majesty shortly after, while taking an airing, was grossly insulted by the populace."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1832, p. 172.

‡ The petition from Birmingham bore: "Your petitioners find it declared, 'that the people of England may have arms for their defense suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law; and your petitioners apprehend that this right will be put in force generally, and that the whole of the people of England will think it necessary to have arms for their defense, in order that they may be prepared for any circumstances which may arise. Your petitioners, therefore, pray your honorable House forthwith to present a petition to his Majesty not to allow the resignation of his Ministers, but instantly to create a sufficient number of peers to insure the carrying of the bill of reform unimpaired into a law; and that your honorable House will instantly withhold all supplies, and adopt any other measures whatever which may be necessary to carry the bill of reform, and to insure the safety and liberty of the country.'"—*Birmingham Petition*, May 12, 1832; *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, p. 172.

"The political unions every where began to organize

107. Ministers resign, and their resignation is accepted. May 9.

¹ *Parl. Deb.* xii. 787; *Roebuck*, ii. 281, 282; *Martineau*, ii. 59, 60.

108. The King sends for the Duke of Wellington to form a ministry.

² *Mirror of Parliament*, 1832, 2074; *Roebuck*, ii. 265, 266; *Parl. Deb.* xii. 997, 107.

109. Vehement excitement in the country.

Great as were the difficulties in the way of the formation of a new administration, from this vehement excitement of the public mind, it was not these which caused the attempt to fail. The insurmountable obstacles were found in the division of opinion which prevailed among those who would necessarily form the new Cabinet, on the subject of reform. The courage of the Duke was equal to the emergency, and he showed that he was willing to brave all the dangers, and incur all the obloquy consequent on accepting office, on condition of carrying through an extensive measure of reform, rather than desert his Sovereign on this crisis. Sir R. Peel, on the other hand, who was sensitively alive to the danger of change of conduct, felt "that, if he was now to carry a measure to which he had on principle given a most decided opposition, and which he had declared to be dangerous to the existence of our monarchical institutions and to the peace of the country, he might obtain power at the moment, but he would ruin himself in the estimation of the judicious, the honest, and the instructed portion of his countrymen. He saw clearly, from the excitement which the retirement of Lord Grey created, that the Reform Bill must be carried; and he was desirous, for many reasons, that it should become law under the auspices of its authors and original proposers." These were the sentiments of the great majority of his followers, and the consequence was that the negotiation failed; and on the 17th it was announced in the House of Commons that the commission granted to the Duke of Wellington had failed.¹

Meanwhile the Commons had not been idle. On the very night when Lord Althorpe announced Earl Grey's resignation, Lord Ebrington moved for a call of the House, and an address to his Majesty on the present state of public affairs. The motion was resisted by the whole strength of the Tories, and carried by a majority of 80 only—the numbers being 288 to 208. This majority, though sufficiently large to insure the creation of peers and the forcing through of the bill, was a considerable falling off from that which formerly supported Ministers, for on the third reading of the last Reform Bill the majority had been 139. This change, though mainly owing to their own violence and threats of revolution, excited no small indignation and some alarm in the minds of the Reformers, and a rigid inquiry was instituted into the conduct of every defaulter, with a view to excluding him from the next Parliament. The debate was characterized by extreme violence rather than great ability, and the passions on both sides were so strongly roused as to exclude the reason. Among the rest, Mr. Macaulay said, "The new Ministry will go forth to the contest without arms, either offensive or defensive. If they have recourse to force, they will find it vain; if they attempt gagging bills,

they will be divided: in short, in taking office they will present a most miserable example of impotent ambition, and appear as if they wished to show to the world a melancholy example of *little men* bringing a great empire to destruction." A curious proof of excitement, as Mr. Roebuck remarks, when we recollect that among these little men "the Duke of Wellington was numbered."^{1*}

All was now accomplished. The King, at the eleventh hour, had made an effort to assert the independence of the Crown, and avert the degradation of the House of Peers, but without success. A large majority of the House of Commons had supported the Whigs in their attempt to force the two other branches of the Legislature, and nothing remained to the Sovereign but submission. The only resource competent to a constitutional monarch in such a crisis—that of appealing to the people—was sure to fail in this instance. In the excited state of the public mind, a still larger majority in favor of the bill would inevitably be returned. The King saw the necessity of his situation, and yielded, as by the spirit of the constitution he was bound to do. Earl Grey and his Cabinet were reinstated in office, on a permission given in writing that they might create as many peers as might be necessary to secure a majority in the House of Lords. The reluctance of the King was painfully manifest, but he had no alternative, and the decisive paper was given to the Lord-Chancellor, who, with Earl Grey† and Sir Herbert Taylor, were alone present at this memorable interview. All stood but the Sovereign the whole time—a thing unprecedented with that courteous monarch.^{2‡}

* The violence of the public press at this period was such as, in more calm and happier times, appears scarcely credible. Take, for example, the *Times* of May 14, 1832: "But of the multitudinous feelings produced by this temporary overthrow of a nation's confidence, there is none so active or so general as that of astonishment at the individual who it is now notorious has tripped up the heels of Lord Grey. What, the Duke of Wellington! The commander-in-chief of all the ultra anti-reformers in the kingdom now offers himself as Minister—nay, has for some months been making fierce love to the office, with a full and undisguised resolution to bring in with his own hands a 'strong and satisfactory' reform bill! There may be dexterity in such conduct—there may be generalship—there may be food for incontinent exultation and chuckling at Apsley House; but it affords evidence also of more ignoble faction, of a lust for office more sordid and execrable, of a meanness of inconsistency more humiliating and more shameful, than we had even suspected the Duke of Wellington of being capable of affixing to his own political character. As for success in such a course of imposture, it is, let us once for all warn his Grace, hopeless." It is curious to contrast this passage with the just and splendid eulogium on the Duke in the columns of the same journal twenty years afterward, on occasion of his death.

† It was in these terms: "The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling up peers' eldest sons. WILLIAM R. Windsor, May 17, 1832."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 331, note.

‡ "The excitement, anger, and hurt pride of the King at this memorable interview were very evident, and marked by unusual circumstances. The one was, that he kept Lord Grey and the Chancellor both standing the whole time; the other, that Sir Herbert Taylor was kept in the room. The Chancellor's asking for a written promise Earl Grey deemed harsh and uncalled for: 'I wonder,' said he, as soon as they left the presence, 'how

their members for actual insurrection. Meetings in London were held by day and by night, at which the most violent language was employed, not by unknown or inferior persons, but by men of rank and substance."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 291; and *Mirror of Parl.*, 1832, p. 245.

Still solicitous to avert, if possible, the dire alternative of a creation of peers, the King, as a last resource, requested his private secretary to write a circular letter to the leading peers, requesting them to stay away from the House of Peers and allow the bill to pass.* This expedient had the desired effect. It could not throw a veil over the coercion of the Upper House, but it prevented the evil of that coercion being rendered permanent by the introduction of a permanent body of men, who might keep on the fetters in all future time. The practical good sense of the Duke of Wellington at once saw that matters had come to such a crisis that one or other of these evils must be incurred, and he wisely adopted the least of the two. Though feeling, as he himself said, that yielding to a threat to create peers was as much a

violation of the constitution as such a creation itself, he bowed to necessity, and rose and left the House, followed by above a hundred peers, none of whom appeared there again till after the bill was carried.¹

Lord Grey and Lord Brougham are said to have afterward declared that, if the Opposition peers had stood firm, the Reform Bill and their Administration would have both been defeated, as they would probably not have exacted from the King his promise to create peers.²

If they have really said so, it only proves how ignorant they both were of the force of the current which they themselves had put in motion. It was impossible to prevent the bill then being carried; the excitement of the nation was such, that victory to the Reform party, or a bloody civil war, in the course of which, whatever side ultimately prevailed, the constitution would have perished, were the only alternatives left. The Whig annalist has, with more truth and justice, described the state of the country at this crisis in the following words, which all who recollect the period must feel to be just: "The violence of the language employed by persons intimately connected with the Whig chiefs, the furious proposals of the newspapers known to speak the sentiments and wishes of the Cabinet, all conspired to make the country believe that, if an insurrection were to break out, it would be headed by the Whig leaders, and sanctioned by the general acquiescence of the immense majority of the Whig party. The consequence was, that a very large proportion of the more ardent Reformers throughout the country were prepared to resist, and civil war was, in fact, thus rendered far more probable than was ever really intended by those who were using the popular excitement as a means

you could have the heart to press it, when you saw the state he was in.' The Chancellor replied, 'You will see reason to think I was right.'—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 333.

* "ST. JAMES'S PALACE, May 17, 1832.

"MY DEAR LORD.—I am honored with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship that all difficulties in the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration to-night from a sufficient number of peers, that in consequence of the present state of affairs they have come to the resolution of dropping their farther opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present state.—I have the honor to be, yours sincerely, HERBERT TAYLOR."

whereby they were to be reinstated in office.* Had the Opposition peers stood firm, and had Lord Grey retired without having exercised the power confided to him by the King, the Whig party would at once and forever have been set aside; a bolder race of politicians would have taken the lead of the people, civil war would have been dared, and the House of Lords, possibly the throne itself, would have been swept away in the tempest that would thus have been raised. Fortunately for the fame of Lord Grey and the Chancellor, fortunately for the happiness of England, the practical good sense of the Duke of Wellington extricated the nation from the terrible difficulty.¹ Roebuck, into which the Administration and ii. 311, 335, the House of Lords had brought it."¹ 336.

The resistance of the House of Peers being thus overcome, the bill proceeded at a rapid rate through its remaining stages in both Houses. Its passage through the Peers was not in form mere dumb show, but in effect it was so. A trifling minority, reduced now to twenty or thirty members, suggested a few inconsiderable amendments of no consequence, which were adopted by the Peers. The third reading in that House was carried by a majority of 84; the numbers being 106 to 22. Persevering to the last in his amiable illusion as to the real tendency of the measure, Earl Grey's last words on the subject were, "I trust that those who augured unfavorably of the bill will live to see all their ominous forebodings falsified, and that, after the angry feelings of the day have passed away, the measure will be found to be, in the best sense of the word, *conservative of the constitution*." Next day the Commons agreed to the amendments of the Lords, and the day after, June 7, the bill became law, and the British constitution was essentially and permanently changed. From being a mixed constitution, in which all classes were directly or indirectly represented, it became what may be called a *Poligarchy*, in which supreme power was lodged in a section of the community, numerous, indeed, but belonging only to one class in the state. The royal assent was given by commission; the commissioners being, the Lord-Chancellor, Lord Wellesley, Lord Lansdowne, Earl Grey, and Lords Holland and Durham. The King was vehemently urged by his Ministers to give his assent in person, the well-known sign of the measure having met with the royal approbation; but he positively refused. "The question," said he, "was one of feeling, not of duty; and as a sovereign and a gentleman he was bound to refuse."²

As the English Reform Bill was the trial of strength between the two great parties into which the State was divided, so its passing was the turning-point between the old and the new constitution. But it was immediately followed by two other measures which, in their ultimate

* "That the chief members of the Whig administration ever intended to proceed to illegal extremities no one can for a moment imagine; but that the conduct of their friends led the reforming world to think of, and prepare for armed resistance, is beyond a doubt."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 311, note.

113.
The King's
circular to
the Opposi-
tion peers
to leave the
House of
Peers.
May 17.

¹ Parl. Deb.
xii. 1012,
1015; Ann.
Reg. 1832,
188; Roebuck, ii. 136.

114.
Reflections
on this
event, and
on the act.

² Roebuck,
ii. 335, 336.

115.
The bill
passes both
Houses, and
receives the
royal assent.
June 7.

² Parl. Deb.
xiii. 374;
Ann. Reg.
1832, 194;
Roebuck,
ii. 337, 355;
Martineau,
ii. 67.

116.
The Scotch
and Irish
bills passed.

result, was still more decisive of the future policy and social condition of Great Britain. These were the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills. They were quickly brought forward, and carried by large majorities in both Houses. The Scotch bill increased the members for that portion of the empire from forty-five to fifty-three, and gave two members to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and one to Paisley, Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee. But the great change made was in the class of electors both in burghs and counties; and this was so great as to amount to a total revolution. The number of members for Ireland was increased to a hundred and five; but the constituency, both in boroughs and counties, was entirely altered, and placed in harmony with the English Reform Bill. Mr. O'Connell made great efforts to get the 40s. freeholders, disfranchised by the Relief Bill, restored to their electoral privileges; alleging, with great plausibility, that the object of the Reform Bill being to give the same political rights to the two islands, there was no reason why the 40s.

¹ Mirror of Parliament, 1832, iii. 2537; Roebuck, ii. 357, 365; Ann. Reg. 1832, 204, 206.

freeholders of Ireland should be denied a privilege which those of England enjoyed. But the proposal was resisted by Government; and the bill, making the county franchise a £10 interest in a freehold, or a £50 rent, passed both Houses by large majorities.¹

The change thus introduced into the Scotch and Irish representation has proved more important in its ultimate effects than even that made in England. In the latter country the alteration was great, but not entire; a large number of the old boroughs remained, the existing free-men and freeholders were preserved, and though many new and important interests were let in to the representation, the old ones were not extirpated. But in Scotland and Ireland the case has been far otherwise; in them the revolution has been complete. Not only have new interests and classes of society been let in to the constituency, but the old ones, in whom the power was formerly vested, have been practically disfranchised. There has been no amalgamation of constituencies, but an entire substitution of one for another. The old town-councils in Scotland, in great part self-elected, have been succeeded by a host of ten-pound shop-keepers and householders, actuated by different interests, and swayed by different influences.

The old parchment freeholders, who followed their directing magnate to the poll in Scotland, have been succeeded by a multitude of independent feuars in villages and tenants in rural districts, influenced in many cases by entirely different interests and views. The boroughs in Ireland, which James I. planted in the soil to be a barrier against the Roman Catholics, have been turned, by the change of the constituency, into so many strong-holds of Romish influence; the ten-pound freeholders, whom the Protestant landlords multiplied in such numbers to give them the command of the county elections, have become a vast army, officered by Romish priests, and guided by Romish influence. The consequences have been great, lasting, and decisive.

So strong are old interests and traditionary influences in England, and so comparatively small the change in the representation there made, that within five years of the passing of the Reform Bill the Conservatives had recovered their majority in the English members. But they never have been able to shake the steady Liberal majority against them in Scotland and Ireland; and in the decisive divisions in November, 1852, which turned out Lord Derby's Administration, of the English members a majority of fourteen were on the Conservative side; of the English and Irish, taken together, a majority of five on the same side; but of English, Irish, and Scotch, a majority of twenty-one on the Liberal.

In its final and general result the Reform Bill has thus arranged the imperial Legislature. In England, the county constituencies, which formerly had been 52, returning 94 members, were increased to 82, returning 159 members. In Ireland, five members were added; there was no change in the constituencies, but a great one in the voters composing them. In Scotland, the number of burgh members was raised from 15 to 23; the county members remain at their original level of 30. Every one of these burgh members, till within the last three years, when Airdrie, from powerful local influence, became an exception, has been in the Liberal interest—a vast change, for formerly the whole fifteen Scotch burgh members were on the Tory side. Thus in the imperial Legislature, as it now stands, there are 253 county members, and 405 for boroughs; an immense disproportion, when it is recollected that they are nearly in the *inverse ratio of the population and wealth* raised by these different classes of society, three-fifths of both of which are drawn from, or dependent on, the rural inhabitants.* Earl Grey and the authors of the Reform Bill were perfectly aware of this disproportion; but what they trusted to to correct it was the belief, which they maintained to the very last, that the great majority of the borough members would be in the landed interest, and, in fact, returned by the adjacent territorial magnates.† The subsequent division on the Corn Laws affords a curious commentary on this prediction; a memorable instance of the revolutionizing of a state by persons in entire ignorance of the practical effect of their own measures.

Such was the termination of the old Constitution of England. Thus did the great Revolution of the eighteenth century reach and triumph over “even the greatest, the most pow-

*	County.	Borough.	Total.
Viz.: England...	159	341	500
Scotland...	30	23	53
Ireland....	64	41	105
	253	405	658

—Political Dictionary, i. 585.
† “How stands the argument with respect to the agricultural interest? I am prepared to contend that the 144 county members of England will belong to that interest, and that of the 264 old borough members, there will be as large a proportion as ever in favor of the landed proprietors. There only remain, then, the sixty-four new members, and even should the whole of these fall to the lot of the manufacturing and commercial interests, it will be a share to which those interests will be justly entitled.”—Lord Grey's words, April 9, 1832; *Parl. Deb.*, vol. xii. p. 23.

erful, and the most persevering of its enemies.”

120. As such, the change of 1832 is an event of paramount importance in English, second only to that of 1789 in France, in European history. More even than the revolt of Siéyes and Mirabeau has it modified the external relations and changed the foreign policy of the European states, for France always was a great military power, passionately bent on foreign aggrandizement, and the conquests of the Revolution were only the realization, by the aid of popular strength, of what had been the dream of the Gauls since the days of Brennus. But the Reform Bill has entirely altered the foreign policy and position in the European balance of Great Britain. It has converted the chief Conservative into the leader of the Liberal powers, and brought the strength of England, not into the career of military conquest, but into that of social change and democratic ascendancy. And of the magnitude of the change which this Revolution has made in European relations, no stronger proof can be given than is afforded by the fact that England and France are now united in a cordial alliance against Russia, the former enemy of the one and ally of the other; that their standards, for the first time since the Crusades, have appeared at Constantinople, not to overthrow, but to uphold the religion of Mohammed; that they have waved in triumph over the fields of the Alma and Inkermann in the scenes immortalized by the genius of ancient Greece, and repelled the hordes of the modern Scythians in the regions where the victorious Goths poured into the decaying provinces of the Roman empire.

The influence of the English revolution appears still more conspicuously in the social state, colonial growth, and what may be called pacific conquests of the Anglo-Saxon race. Whatever difference of opinion may exist in other respects, one thing will admit of no doubt, that it has immensely extended the outward tendency of the British people. As such it will be forever memorable, and should be particularly noticed as marking the turning-point in English annals, when a series of causes and effects came into operation, destined ere long to arrest the multiplication of the Anglo-Saxon race in these islands, and effect a mighty transposition of it to the Southern and Western hemispheres. When we recollect that the annual emigration from the British Islands, for seven years prior to 1832, was from twenty to forty thousand a year, and that it is now not less, on an average of years, than 350,000,* it is evident that a vast heave of the human race has taken place, and is now going forward, and that few causes are so important upon the destinies of mankind as those which have brought about this marvel-

* EMIGRATION FROM BRITISH ISLES.

1825	14,891	1846	129,851
1826	20,900	1847	258,279
1827	28,003	1848	248,089
1828	26,092	1849	299,498
1829	31,198	1850	280,849
1830	56,997	1851	335,966
1831	83,160	1852	368,764
1832	103,140	1853	328,817

—CHESNEY'S *Results of the Census*, 1854, p. 56. and *Parl. Papers*, May 16, 1854.

ous change. It has doubled the already fabulous rate of Transatlantic increase—a million of souls, between natural increase and immigration, are now annually added to the inhabitants of America; and it has caused a new world to spring up in Australia, which already numbers nearly a million of souls among its members, and last year consumed £14,000,000 worth of British manufactures, being four times as much as the empires of France and Russia put together, with their hundred millions of inhabitants.*

It must be obvious to every partial observer that this prodigious change, with all its incalculable effects upon the world in general, and this country in particular, is mainly to be ascribed to the alteration in the dominant class in the British Islands by the effects of the Reform Bill.

The immense emigration, which constitutes so remarkable a feature in these times, and has now reached such a point as considerably to overbalance the annual increase of our population, can be distinctly traced to this cause. Out of the 368,000 persons who emigrated in the year 1852, only 87,000 were bound for Australia; 280,000 went to America. They were impelled, not by the attraction of foreign riches, but by the necessities of home situations—they went not to the land of gold, but to the land of labor. Two hundred and fifty thousand of this immense multitude came from Ireland, and we are not in the dark as to the cause which sent them forth.† The famine of 1846, indeed, shook their confidence in the potato, the staple food of the country; but it was not then, or from that cause, that the great emigration commenced. It was in 1849, after two fine harvests—for the first of which a thanksgiving was returned—that it became so great, and in 1851 that it reached its highest point. The reason was, that the fall of prices, produced by the combined influence of a contracted and fettered currency and free trade in grain, had rendered it impossible to cultivate the land with cereal crops to a profit. The exportation of wheat to England had fallen off by 1,500,000 quarters; and Ireland, the great agricultural state, found its occupation gone, and its children sought employment in Transatlantic wilds. There can be no doubt that this emigration was, in the first instance at least, a very great advantage, though, if it continues, it may come to impair the strength and drain away the resources of

* EXPORTS (1853) OF GREAT BRITAIN TO AUSTRALIA, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA.

Australia.....	£14,506,532
France.....	2,731,286
Russia.....	1,099,917

—*Parl. Returns of Trade and Navigation*, 1854.

† EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND FROM 1849 TO 1853.

Years.	Number of Emigrants.	Average price of Wheat per Quarter.
1819	218,842	51s. 2d.
1850	213,649	47 3
1851	254,537	39 4
1852	224,997	37 8
1853	199,392	41 5

In 1852 the remittances from America to bring out emigrants from Ireland were £1,404,000; in 1853, £1,439,000, through public channels alone, besides what was remitted through private channels.—*14th Report Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, p. 56, 71.

the State. But be it for good or for evil, one thing is perfectly clear, that this great change is mainly to be ascribed to the Reform Bill; and that it is the magnitude of the effects with which it has thus come to be attended which renders its passing so vital an era in English history.

To understand how this came about, and perceive how these immense consequences are distinctly to be traced to the principle of revolution effected in the English constitution. 123. constitution by that great change, we have only to recollect that the old constitution, which had grown up, like a code of customary law, with the wants and requirements of six centuries, was based upon the representation of classes, not numbers, and had come in the progress of time to admit all the great interests of the State to a share, and nearly an equal share, of the Legislature. The House of Peers represented, or rather was composed entirely of, the landed aristocracy, spiritual and temporal. The county members were returned by the inferior landholders, tenantry, and freeholders; the universities had their members; the boroughs afforded an ample field to the various commercial and manufacturing interests; and though the colonies were not directly represented, yet the great amount of wealth which their prosperity remitted to the mother country had enabled persons who had made their fortunes there, and whose interests and feelings were identified with those of their inhabitants, to obtain seats in the House of Commons for the rotten boroughs in great numbers. Thus the House of Commons had come to be an assembly, not of the representatives of any one class or section of society, *but of all sections and classes*; and though the influence of wealth, landed or commercial, was mainly influential in procuring the returns, yet those of labor were by no means disregarded, for the potwallopers in many large boroughs returned members of their own choice, whose influence, from the noisy character of themselves and their constituents, was much greater than would at first sight have been supposed from their limited number.

That this was the true character of the House of Commons, and the secret of its long-continued influence and popularity, is decisively proved by its legislative acts. Every interest in society was protected by the laws or fiscal regulations which it passed, and none in such a degree as to beget the suspicion that any one interest had acquired a disproportioned sway in the Legislature. It is often said that the landed interest was the preponderating one in the Chapel of St. Stephens; and certainly, if we consider only the heavy fiscal duties which protected its produce, we should be inclined to suppose that the opinion was well founded. But a closer examination will show that the Corn Laws were only a branch, though doubtless a most important branch, of the general system of protection established through the country, and for every branch of industry. The West Indies were equally protected. The heavy duties on foreign sugar, and the rapid growth of those then magnificent settlements, prove that they shared to the very full in the general pro-

tection policy which prevailed. Canada was equally secured by the duties which were so heavy a burden on Baltic timber. The manufacturing interest shared to the very full in the benefits of the same system. There was not a branch of manufactures which was not fenced in by heavy protective duties. The shipping interest was protected by the Navigation Laws; and though the direct representation of labor was inconsiderable in the Legislature, yet experience had proved that its interests were not forgotten, for a noble fund of above six millions a year was voluntarily imposed on themselves by the landed interest for the relief of the poor, and had been maintained inviolate during a desperate contest of twenty years' duration, which had added six hundred millions to the national debt.

What was equally significant of the effective representation of all classes of society under the old constitution, was the equitable manner in which the public burdens were distributed over the various classes of society. 125. Equal distribution of the public burdens. Universally it will be found that the first result of class government, whether of an oligarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, is to establish an exemption from direct taxation in favor of the dominant class. The exemption, so much and justly the subject of complaint, in favor of the Nobles in France prior to the Revolution, was but an example of what all other notables, aristocratic or democratic, will do when they get the power. But in Great Britain, anterior to 1832, the burden of taxation was so equally diffused that no one could discover from that test in whose hands the government of the State was really vested. The income-tax, which during the war produced fifteen millions sterling, was paid by less than three hundred thousand of the most affluent of the community. Poor-rates, assessed taxes, and local burdens, to the amount of thirteen millions more, were exclusively paid by the landed interest, who, in consideration of that immense burden, were relieved of the succession tax, which was felt as very oppressive by the middle classes. That tax, however, has now, by the act of 1853, been laid on the land, while not one of the exclusive burdens borne by it have been shared with the rest of the community.* The working classes paid no direct taxes to Government whatever; but they contributed largely to the necessities of the State in the shape of indirect duties, which produced about half of the public revenue, and from their great number were chiefly paid by that rank of society. Thus, whatever objections there might be to many parts of the old mixed constitution of the country in practice, it had long worked well, both for the protection of the industry and the equitable adjustment of the burdens of all classes of society;

* BURDENS EXCLUSIVELY AFFECTING LAND IN 1847.

I. Poor-rate in 1845, a very prosperous year.....	£6,847,205
II. Land-tax.....	1,164,042
III. Highway Rates.....	1,169,891
IV. Church Rates.....	506,812
V. Police, Lunatic, and Bridge Rates, estimated.....	500,000
VI. Excess of assessed taxes falling on land above personal estates, estimated....	1,500,000
VII. Stamp-duties peculiar to land.....	1,200,000
	£12,887,950

and the most odious feature of class government—unjust exemption from taxation—was unknown.

The representative system may work very well in a country where the interests of the different classes of society are identical or nearly so, and no one has an interest to endeavor to enrich itself at the expense of its neighbors; but it necessarily becomes exposed to great hazard when these interests become separate, and each class looks to its own advantage, without regard to the other ones, in the legislative measures which it advocates. A community is like a private family: all is in general harmony in childhood and early youth, when none have a wish but that of their parents; but wait till separate interests arise, till the daughters are to get marriage-portions, and the younger sons be fitted out in the world at the expense of the elder, and the harmony is often found to cease. During the long growth of the British empire, the interests of all classes were the same, for they were all engaged in or dependent on the *creation* of wealth, either agricultural or commercial. Thence the unanimity which so long prevailed in the country and the House of Commons, and the long continuance, with universal concurrence, of a protective policy by the Government. But this auspicious state of things was not destined for permanent endurance; and, what is very remarkable, it was at length terminated from the consequences of the very benefits which its former existence had brought about. The mixed constitution, the representation of interests, perished from the effect of its own blessings, which had become changed into curses.

The long enjoyment of peace in the British Islands, and the unexampled successes and triumphs of the war, had gradually raised up a class in Great Britain whose interests were not identical with those of production, but adverse to it. The riches made during the war, when the merchants and manufacturers of England enjoyed the practical monopoly of the commerce of the world, had been so immense that the holders of realized wealth came to overbalance those engaged in its creation. The interests of the *consumer* began to be spoken of—a topic never broached in former days, when the powers of consumption were mainly dependent upon those of production. The cessation of the property tax and the long duration of peace augmented immensely the number and influence of those who, enjoying a fixed money income from the industry and accumulation of former days, found their fortunes and consideration in society augmented by every diminution that could be effected in the cost of the principal articles of consumption. Thence the introduction of the *cheapening system*, and of a ceaseless effort on the part of the persons enjoying a fixed income to beat down the remuneration of all those engaged in the work of production. The strife, as might have been anticipated when two such powerful interests were brought into collision, was violent and long-continued; and the contraction of the currency, which lowered prices 50 per cent. was of course the object of strenuous support from the partisans of the

cheapening system. At length the producers were overthrown, and thence the decay of domestic agriculture, the vast increase of foreign importation of food, and the prodigious emigration of agricultural laborers from the British Islands in the middle of the nineteenth century. So naturally did this change in the policy of Government arise from the altered position of the different classes of society, in consequence of the increase of realized wealth during and after the war, that it may fairly be considered as unavoidable; and one of the means by which Providence, at the appointed time, checks the growth of aged societies, occasions the downfall of worn-out empires, and provides in fresh situations for the farther dispersion of mankind.

The great means by which this consummation was effected was the Reform Bill; but that organic change, important as it was, is itself to be regarded as an effect rather than a cause, although, like other effects in the ceaseless chain of human events, it became a cause, and a most material one, in its turn. The more the important years which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill are studied, the more clearly does it appear that it was the discontent of the producing classes, occasioned by the immense fall in the price of their produce, which induced the cry for a change. They had petitioned Parliament over and over again for relief, but in vain; the Legislature, intrenched in the close boroughs, the citadels of realized wealth, turned a deaf ear to their complaints. Instead of expanding the currency, so as to increase the remuneration of industry, they contracted it still farther with every successive catastrophe produced by that contraction itself. The consequence was, that the producing classes, both in town and country, irritated beyond endurance by the long-continued suffering and the disregard of their well-founded complaints, combined together to effect a total change in the constitution, and the excitement consequent on the French Revolution enabled them to carry their intentions into effect. No common man, William Cobbett said that the moment he heard in America of the passing of the bill compelling the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England in 1819, he took shipping to return to this country, convinced that parliamentary reform could not much longer be delayed; and the result has proved that he was right in his anticipations.

These considerations explain how it came to pass that the passion for reform, unfelt as a national feeling prior to 1820, became gradually stronger and stronger, until, in 1832, it was altogether irresistible. The feeling which produced it was the most powerful which can agitate an intelligent community, and which, when it pervades all ranks in the state, ere long acquires such force that it must obtain its entire direction. "*Deliverance from evil!*" was the universal cry. This desire, which had acquired such force and intensity as to have become a perfect passion with nearly all classes, and especially the agricultural, is easily explained, when we recollect how deeply all interests, and especially those of labor and pro-

126.
Causes of the difficulties of the representative system.

127.
What first broke up the old constitution.

128.
The Reform Bill was an effect, in the first instance, of the increase of realized wealth.

129.
And of the fall of prices occasioned by the contraction of the currency.

duction, had been affected by the prodigious change of prices of commodities of all sorts, from grain to cotton, which had been effected by the successive contractions of the currency in 1819 and 1826. With each of these contractions the cry for reform was revived; with the last it became so powerful as in six years wrought an entire change in the feelings, desires, and interests of all classes. It is in this reduction of prices that the explanation of the English revolution, with all its mighty effects, foreign and domestic, is to be found.

We have only to cast our eyes on the table below, exhibiting the change in the price of the principal articles of commerce from 1824 to 1832, to see how this was brought about.* Every article of production or exchange fell gradually in price after the suppression of small notes in 1826, till it settled at about two-thirds of its former amount. There was no class of society, save the holders of realized wealth, which was not affected or ruined by the change. The capitalists and fund-holders alone were benefited: thence the cry, that the rich were every day getting richer, and the poor poorer. Under the constant decline of prices produced by the contraction of the currency, this was no senseless popular outcry; it was the simple statement of an acknowledged and undoubted fact. The organs of the moneyed interest made a boast of it, when, after the contraction of the currency had worked out its full effects, they said their measures had "made the sovereign worth two sovereigns." They had done so; and not less certainly had they made the laborer's shilling only a sixpence. They had halved the remuneration of industry when they had doubled the value of money—they had made the laborer's wage a shilling a day instead of two shillings. The two effects were consistent, for they both sprang from the same cause. This constant decline of fortunes and diminution of income in the largest, most industrious, and most important class of the community, was felt as the more galling, from the contrast exhibited at the same time by the situation of the holders of realized wealth, who were every day becoming richer, not from an addition to their incomes, but an addition to its exchangeable value. Every holder of commodities felt them every day getting cheaper: the longer he retained them, the worse was his sale, the greater his loss on his transactions. Manufacturers and farmers found that they could not, with markets constantly falling, work to a profit except by saving every shilling in the

cost of production, and lowering to the uttermost the wages of their workmen. Thence a steady fall at once in the profits of stock and the wages of labor, and the distressing recurrence of strikes and organization of trades-unions to arrest the decline. Thence, too, the origin of the sore and angry feeling between the employers and employed, which has never since been allayed, and has so much aggravated, in periods of distress, the dangers of our social position. All classes, save the moneyed, were suffering from the long continuance of a fall of prices; and this general suffering produced the ill-humors which, skillfully directed by the popular leaders against the nomination boroughs, produced the change of the constitution.

It is seldom that a universal passion, which seizes a particular age or country in this manner, is entirely erroneous in its direction. The boroughmongers and venal boroughs were the object of general obloquy for some years preceding the passage of the Reform Bill; and it is no wonder that they were so, for it was in these seats that the power was entrenched which had produced the general suffering. The holders of realized capital had purchased them, or acquired their direction, and they formed a majority of the House of Commons, which not only had introduced all the new measures, but turned a deaf ear to all the suffering they had occasioned. In this way the virtual representation of interests through these boroughs, which had worked so well down to the close of the war, had not only ceased to be beneficial, but it had become injurious. That representation answers very well, and is the subject of no serious complaint, as long as the interests of all classes are identical; but it turns into a serious social evil when those interests are divided, and one has acquired the power to enrich itself, by legislative measures, at the expense of the others. From that moment the representation becomes the object of general hostility; and it is no wonder it is so, for it is the cause of general suffering. When all are *making money*, their interests are the same, and the government of the many by the few is quietly acquiesced in, because measures conducive to the general benefit are alone adopted. But when one class *has made money*, and begins to forward its separate interests by forcing through measures conducive to its own advantage, by cheapening every thing, and so ruining the others, nothing but the most rancorous hostility between them can be anticipated. This change took place in Great Britain between 1815 and 1830, in consequence of the immense additions made to the realized wealth of the community during those years of pacific accumulation, and thence the triumph of the Reform Bill and all its incalculable consequences.

The large amount of talent which found its way into the House of Commons through the nomination or venal boroughs, after this change was fully established, so far from being an alleviation of these evils, became the greatest possible aggravation of them, because it tended only to augment the phalanx of ability by which interests adverse to those of

130.
How this fall engendered the passion for reform.

131.
Which explains the universal hostility to the close boroughs.

132.
And which was only rendered worse by the talent which got in by the close boroughs.

* PRICES OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF COMMERCE FROM 1824 TO 1832.

Years.	Wheat per Quarter.		Cotton per lb.		Indigo per lb.		Iron per Ton.		Silk per lb.		Sugar per cwt.		Tea per lb.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	£	s.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1824	64	3	1	0	9	0	6	0	14	3	36	0	2	7
1825	63	0	1	0½	15	0	11	10	20	7	37	0	2	6
1826	55	8	1	0	15	0	10	0	13	1	44	0	2	6
1827	50	2	0	10½	15	0	7	0	13	3	41	0	2	2
1828	71	8	0	8½	13	0	6	10	15	6	44	0	2	1
1829	55	4	0	8½	10	0	5	10	11	4	43	0	2	2
1830	61	10	0	8	8	0	5	0	10	6	30	0	2	0
1831	58	3	0	9	7	8	4	15	12	11	28	0	2	1
1832	52	1	0	9	6	3	4	0	11	0	30	0	2	0

—TOOKE, *On Prices*, vol. ii. p. 390, 416.

the majority were advocated. Talent at the bar is a very good thing as long as it is exerted on our side, or equally divided between us and our opponents; but when it is *wholly enlisted against us*, we are much better without it. This was exactly what took place in Great Britain during the latter years of the war, and the first fifteen years of the peace. Ability in plenty came into the House of Commons, and nearly all through the avenue of the nomination boroughs; but when it arrived there, it was all found enrolled in the ranks of capital, and pursuing measures adverse to the interests of industry. All the able young men of the time were supporters of the contraction of the currency, the cheapening system, and free trade. It could not be otherwise, for they were all brought into the House by the interest of the *millionnaires* either in land or money. The producing classes—the millions dependent on industry, all who were making money—found themselves not only outvoted by those who had made it, but silenced by the eloquence which they had enlisted on their side. This was the unkindest cut of all, for it deprived suffering industry even of the last consolation of the unfortunate—that of being heard in their defense.

These considerations at once explain the changes in general opinion, and even, as it at first sight appears, in the national mind, during the progress of the reform movement, and the entire transposition of classes which had taken place at its conclusion. Every successive election

which took place from 1826 to 1832 exhibited an additional number of *counties* won over to the reform interest, and of boroughs thrown open. These were considered, and celebrated at the time, as so many triumphs over the dominant oligarchy who had so long oppressed the nation: in reality, they were so many triumphs of the interests of production over those of realized wealth. The impulse given to the popular party by the success of the French Revolution of 1830 brought the two interests, now in open hostility, to an equality, as appeared in the majority of 1 in a House of 605 for leave to bring in the Reform Bill; and the rapid growth of the popular influence, during the two years of general suffering and ceaseless agitation which succeeded, gave the popular party so great a majority in the Parliament elected in April, 1831, as enabled it to coerce both the Crown and the House of Peers, and effect by forcible means an entire change in the constitution. The *counties* were nearly unanimous in favor of reform, and against the old constitution—a marvelous change from the time when they uniformly returned members who were its staunchest supporters, but easily explained when it is recollected that they depended on the interests of agriculture, the greatest branch of production, which, with the exception of three years, from 1822 to 1825, had been in a constant state of suffering since the contraction of the currency in 1819.

When the victory was gained, and the lower class of shop-keepers and householders within boroughs were invested with the absolute government of the empire, it was not at first that they either felt their strength or became sensible of the power with which they had been

invested. The change effected by the admission of the newly enfranchised classes was so immense, that men at first could not believe in its reality. The nobleman in the vicinity of the borough, the capitalist within its bounds, was still the object of antiquated reverence and respect, after all real power had slipped from their hands.

The new voters were a heterogeneous body, who had never before been united by any common bond, and many of whom were still subject to the old influences. Several elections required to intervene before they discovered their real strength, or were so united as to be able to exercise it with effect. But when questions affecting the pecuniary interests of the new electors were brought forward, their preponderance became manifest, and a sense of their strength made them ready to exercise it. Leaders were soon found, who, discarding and even opposing the aristocratic influences which had so long been all-powerful in the boroughs, boldly cultivated the affections and stood on the support of the class to whom the Reform Bill had given a majority. At length it was discovered where the real power lay, and the aristocratic leaders who had aided the people in forcing through the Reform Bill found to their dismay that they had cut away the branch on which they themselves sat, and put themselves into Schedule A as effectually as they had done their most obnoxious opponents.

The producing classes both in town and country thought their ascendancy would be secured by the Reform Bill, and especially the £10 clause, which accordingly became the object of the most enthusiastic and general support by all the middle and working classes in the State. It was mainly by their exertions that the bill, with that vital clause unchanged, was carried. The cry of "The bill, *the whole bill*, and nothing but the bill!" proved, by their aid, victorious. Above ninety out of the hundred and one county members were by their aid carried in the decisive election of April, 1831, in the reform interest; and it was they, and the Scotch and Irish members, who formed the majority which outvoted the borough members and carried the bill. But never were expectations more fallacious than those which, from this great triumph, anticipated an addition to the legislative strength of the producing classes. It is true, the ascendancy of realized capital, which had gained possession of the majority of the close boroughs, was destroyed; but, on the other hand, a new interest, still more inimical to the interests of production, was installed in power, of which it has ever since retained possession. This was the *buying and selling class*—the interest of shop-keepers, to whom the £10 clause gave the entire command of the majority of the House of Commons, and with it of the whole empire.

To understand how this came about, it is only necessary to recollect that by the Reform Bill nearly *two-thirds* of the House of Commons was composed of members for boroughs. Experience has now ascertained what at the time was far from being anti-

134.
The new constituencies were some time of discovering their own power.

135.
Great mistake in the estimate of the effect of the Reform Bill.

136.
Command of the House of Commons gained by the shop-keepers.

pated—that two-thirds of the constituents of this majority were persons occupying premises, for the most part shops, rented from £10 to £20 a year.* Here, then, is the governing class of the British empire under the new constitution, and in their ascendancy is to be found the real spring which has ever since directed the whole policy of Great Britain, both external and internal. The injustice of giving this class the command of the State is obvious, from the consideration that it is a minority both in number and value. The classes in the United Empire dependent on agriculture, according to the last census, were just equal to the manufacturing, each being ten and a half millions; and the land pays £3,500,000 out of the £5,300,000 of the income-tax, yet its representatives in England are only 159 to 341 for boroughs, and in the whole empire 253 to 405. This effect was not generally anticipated at the time, the attention of men being mainly directed to the democratic tendency of the much-agitated change. But even at the outset there were not awaiting those who prognosticated this result from the bill, and predicted the virtual disfranchisement of all other classes, and effective establishment of the class government of the shop-keeping interest, from the alteration; and the prediction has been so completely verified to the letter that all other consequences of the Reform Bill sink into insignificance in comparison. All the subsequent changes in the legislation, commercial policy, and foreign measures of the British government since that time, which have given rise to such vehement feuds among ourselves, and such unbounded astonishment in foreign countries, have arisen from this change in the dominant class in the House of Commons. The proof of this is decisive. The leaders of the Conservatives—that is, the party of Protection—have been twice since in possession of power, once in 1841 and once in 1852; but on both occasions they have been forced to

abandon what they formerly maintained: on the first, from an alleged change of opinion on the part of Sir Robert Peel; on the last, from no similar change, but the ascertained strength of their opponents, elected by the trading constituencies.

It will belong to the future volumes of this history to trace the consequences of the entire transference of power in the British Islands from the producing to the buying and selling class, upon the whole policy of the empire—domestic, colonial, and foreign—and its effects upon the destinies of the empire and of the world. In the mean time, it is material to signalize the faults on both sides committed during the course of the contest, and the errors in the formation of the constitution which were acted upon, and have produced effects now irremediable. Such a survey will give much occasion for regret in public measures, and much ground for forgiveness to individual men. The more that the operation of general causes is unfolded, the less ground does there appear for censure of particular persons; and of many who have stood forth as leaders in the strife shall we be led to say, in the words of the philosopher, “He has dashed with his oar to hasten the cataract; he has waved with his fan to give speed to the winds.”¹

137.
Errors on
both sides
during the
contest.

1 Ferguson,
Essay on
Civil Society.

The Conservatives, or Protectionists as they were afterward called, committed a grievous mistake, and they were guilty, politically speaking, of a great sin, in exerting their influence to prevent the extension of the right of returning members to the great manufacturing towns and districts. The demand for them on the part of the inhabitants of these great hives of industry and workshops of wealth was just and reasonable; its concession would have been equally gracious and expedient, and in perfect accordance with the ruling principle of the constitution, which was the representation of ALL classes. So strongly were the interests of realized wealth then intrenched in the Legislature, that a very small concession would have been gratefully received by the advocates of industry, then practically unrepresented, and it might possibly have postponed for a very long period, if not altogether averted, the entire transference of power to the buying and selling class, which by its refusal was so soon after effected. The division on the East Retford question was the first, and perhaps the most important, in the many causes which conspired to overturn the existing frame of government. The argument then so generally used and relied upon, that the constitution, with all its theoretical imperfections, had worked well, and therefore should be continued, was a palpable sophism decisively disproved by the clamor raised for its abolition. A whole nation never concurs in demanding a change in institutions which have proved universally beneficial. As long as the nomination boroughs had proved protective of all interests, they were the objects of no obloquy; it was when they fell into the hands of those who were actuated by an adverse interest, and pursued measures destructive of the prosperity of the working classes, that the cry for their abolition

138.
Great
early fault
of the Con-
servatives.

* The author is enabled to speak with confidence on this point, from having presided for twenty years in the Registration Court of Lanarkshire, which includes Glasgow, and where there have never been less than two thousand, sometimes as many as six thousand, claims for enrollment in each year. From his own observation, as well as the opinion of the most experienced agents whom he consulted on the point, he arrived at the conclusion that the majority of every urban constituency is to be found among persons paying a rent for houses or shops, or the two together, between £10 and £20, and a decided majority below £25. But in order to make sure of the point, he has examined his note-book of cases enrolled this year (1834), and he finds that they stood thus for the burgh of Glasgow:

Total claims.....	1530
Enrolled on rents between £10 and £20 ..	757
Above £20, and all other classes	614
Rejected	129

— 1530

As Glasgow contains within itself a larger number of warehouses, manufactories, and shops at very high rents—varying from £5 to £1500 a year—than any other town, except the metropolis, in the empire, this may be considered as proof positive that over the whole country the majority enrolled on rents below £20 is still more decided. There is no other record but the revising barrister's or registering sheriff's notes of cases which will show where the real majority of the voters is to be found. The returns of houses paying the tax beginning at £20 will throw no light on the subject, for the great majority of voters in towns are enrolled on shops which pay no tax; and even the rating to poor-rates is not a test to be relied on, as it is often made under the real value, and in many boroughs there are no police or other local burdens at all.

arose. In resisting the demand for representation on the part of the manufacturing districts, the Conservatives fell into the usual error of judging of things as they had been, not as they are. They applied the same measure to a grown man which they had found answered a boy; they kept looking for the sun in the east, because it had once risen there. Worse than this, they forgot the duties of power in the enjoyment of its sweets, and defended the nomination boroughs as if they had been their private property, not a trust for the public good.

What they should have done at this crisis is now sufficiently apparent. They should have acquiesced in the demand for representatives on the part of the great manufacturing towns and districts, and striven only to fix the constituency in them on such a basis as would have secured an adequate attention to their interests, and not endangered the constitution. Neglect of those interests, measures subversive of them, had occasioned the demand for reform; attention to those interests, steps calculated to promote them, were the appropriate remedy. By transferring the franchise of every borough convicted of bribery to a great manufacturing town, a mode of solving the difficulty was presented, so just as to disarm complaint, so gradual as to remove apprehension, so frequent of recurrence as to inspire hope. No political party ever committed a greater mistake than the Conservatives did, in declining to avail themselves of this just and safe mode of adjusting an important and delicate political question, and missing the opportunity of accommodating the constitution without risk to the varying circumstances of society in the British Islands.

The next great mistake committed, not by the whole, but by a considerable section of the Conservative party, was in coalescing with the Radicals in November, 1830, to throw out the Duke of Wellington's Administration. There might have been steps taken by that Administration of which they did not approve: the mode of carrying through Catholic emancipation might have been violent and unconstitutional; the men who did it might have been worthy, at the proper time, of parliamentary censure; but was it a fitting time to inflict such a chastisement, when the nation was convulsed by the reform movement, and the recent overthrow of the monarchy in France had roused in the very highest degree the revolutionary passions over the whole country? What was this but to expose the nation to the risk of great social and organic change, at the very time when it was most violently excited, and the example of successful revolution in the neighboring kingdom had roused the revolutionary passions to the very highest pitch? To drive the Duke of Wellington from the helm at that juncture, was not to punish him or his Ministry, but themselves and their children.

The Duke of Wellington's famous declaration against reform, to which the Liberal party ascribe the subsequent irresistible strength of the democratic passion, was in one respect wise, in another unwise. It was unquestionably wise

to declare against any change in the constitution, at a time when the nation was so violently excited, and when opening the door to innovation might induce revolution; and the Duke did right to say that the King's government would not at that time be a party to any such proceeding. But the result has proved that he did wrong in declaring against reform at *all times* and under all circumstances, and making the nation believe that, unless they forced it at that moment, they would never gain it at another. The necessary effect of this belief was to double the strength of the movement party at that time, by uniting to their ranks all who thought that the changes in society, which the last thirty years had induced, required an admission, as beyond all doubt they did, of the representatives of the new interests in the State into the constitution. The Duke of Wellington spoke of land being the only sure foundation of government, and of the popular party already enjoying as large a share of it as was consistent with the well-being of society and security of the nation; forgetting, or rather never having been sensible of, the vast increase of the commercial classes which had arisen from the peace purchased by his own victories, and the duplication of their strength owing to the effect of the monetary measures to which he himself had been a party. It is in vain to expect that men, having attained to majority, will be satisfied with the parental rule which was cheerfully submitted to during the helplessness of infancy or the docility of youth. The cry of nature is, "Give us self-government, though it be to our own ruin." What Wellington should have said was, "This is not the time or the mode for bringing on the great question of organic change in the constitution; but when the excitement of the moment has subsided, Government will be prepared to bring forward measures which will satisfy all the reasonable wishes of the people." Whether such a promise would have satisfied the majority of Reformers may well indeed be doubted; but at least it would have thrown the responsibility of ulterior and perilous changes on them alone, and relieved Government of the reproach of having, by an ill-timed declaration of implacable hostility, rendered the movement party unmanageable in the hands of their opponents.

The faults committed by the Liberal party during the progress of this great contest were still more glaring, and they may be pronounced upon with more confidence than those of their opponents, because, as they were victorious in the strife, their measures were carried into execution, and have thus been brought to the test of experience. The first wrong step which they took, and which perhaps drew after it all the rest, was bringing forward the reform question at all, at a time when the nation was convulsed with the triumph of the Barricades, and all calm discussion of the proposed change, vital as it was, had become out of the question. Considered as a party advantage indeed, and as a stepping-stone by which they themselves might ascend to power, and terminate the long and hated

141.
The Duke of Wellington's declaration against Reform.

142.
Faults of the Liberals, first in forcing on reform at all at this time.

dominion of the Tories, it was natural that the Whigs should make the most of the French Revolution; and no one can with reason blame them for having done all they could, by ordinary means, to turn it to the best advantage. They were fully entitled to do so: they did so: they supplanted the Duke of Wellington's Administration, and seated themselves in power. But having done this, they went a step further, and resolved upon a change in the constitution so vast as should forever prevent the return of their opponents to power. What was this but setting fire to the house in which they both dwelt, in order to drive their rivals out of the wing which they still occupied? The danger was imminent that the whole edifice, as had occurred in France, would be involved in the conflagration. Mr. Pitt had, at no distant period, given a memorable example of what they should have done on occasion of their triumph. In 1784, when he defeated the coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox, he terminated the reign of the Whigs, which had lasted almost without interruption for a century, and the majority which he gained in the Commons (136) was just the same as Lord Grey acquired by his dissolution of Parliament in April, 1831. But Mr. Pitt made no change in the constitution, when the enthusiasm in his favor, and the majority he had acquired, enabled him to have done so with a certainty of success: he made no attempt to extinguish the Whig boroughs, numerous and corrupt as they were: though a reformer at that time, he abstained from reform when it might have imperiled the State. He had the strength of a giant, but he did not use it like a giant. Thence half a century of power to his party, and the glories of the Revolutionary war, and unexampled extension and prosperity to his country.

The next, and by far the most serious fault which the Whigs committed at this time, was in the structure of the Reform Bill itself, which was of such a kind as rendered the existence of the British empire, as it then stood, for any considerable time a matter of impossibility. The great, the irremediable error committed in this point of view, was that which, at first sight, seems its great recommendation, and what from its simplicity had, through life, recommended it to Lord Grey, viz., the *uniformity* of the borough representation. As three-fifths of the House of Commons was composed of the members for boroughs, and three-fifths of the constituents of the boroughs were persons renting tenements rented at from £10 to £20, the entire command of the country was vested in that class, a decided majority of which were shop-keepers, or persons whom they influenced. The land, the colonies, the shipping interest, were, to all practical purposes, disfranchised; because, though in part still represented in Parliament, they were in a decided minority, and consequently their complaints and their votes were alike powerless and disregarded. The ruling class thus vested with supreme and uncontrolled dominion of the vast and varied British empire dependent on such various interests, was actuated by *one only interest, that of buying cheap and selling dear*. This thenceforward became the ruling princi-

ple of British legislation, to which every statesman of whatever party, and whatever his principles had been, or still were, was compelled to give in his adhesion. Every one soon discovered, from the temper of the House of Commons elected by the new constituencies, that he could carry on the government in no other way. This affords the key to the whole subsequent changes in the commercial policy of the British empire, and goes far to exculpate many who have stood foremost, and been most exposed to obloquy, in bringing them about. Ever since the Reform Bill became the law of the land, if not, as Napoleon said we were, a nation of shop-keepers, we have at least been a nation governed by shop-keepers.

Earl Grey was not ignorant of the preponderating strength of the boroughs in the reformed House of Commons; but he was deluded in regard to the influence which would direct these boroughs, by the same general delusion which was then so general, and in truth was the foundation of the whole subsequent changes of the British empire. This was the blindness of an entire generation to the effects on the relative position of the different classes of society produced by the monetary bills of 1819 and 1826. As these bills added fifty per cent. to the value of realized capital, and took as much from the remuneration of industry, they in effect withdrew the greater part of the boroughs from territorial, and brought them under moneyed or trading interests. They halved the income and doubled the debts of the landed proprietors, while they doubled the exchangeable value of the income of the inhabitants of towns. Thence an entire change in the ruling influences in the great majority of the boroughs. They rapidly slipped out of the hands of the burdened and impoverished landlords who had hitherto held them, and fell under the direction of the moneyed or trading classes, whose fortunes had been practically doubled by legislative measures. What was called the opening of these boroughs, which occurred so often before and after the Reform Bill, and was so much boasted of at the time, was in truth not an opening, but a transference of it to a different interest in the State. The borough was still governed as much as ever it was by a clique, but it was a clique of different persons, and actuated by different interests. It was no longer composed of the squire, his factor, the parson, and attorney, in the borough, but the manufacturer, the warehouseman, and two or three of the chief tradesmen in it; it no longer met in the back parlor, but the back shop.

This general transference of the boroughs from the producing to the buying and selling interest, from the operation of the new monetary system, was for the first time brought into active operation when the Reform Bill gave them a real representation. When they were notoriously and avowedly venal, they did not, in reality, represent the inhabitants who dwelt in them, but the merchants, capitalists, or colonial interests by whom they were purchased. Gatton, with its ruined church, might represent Ja-

144.
Mistake of the Whigs as to the influence in the boroughs.

145.

Which led to the practical disfranchisement of the colonies and shipping interests.

maica; Old Sarum, with its green mound, millions of our sable subjects in Hindostan. It was the effective nature of the representation, which the colonies and shipping interests thus acquired, which rendered the British constitution of such long endurance, and so generally popular, notwithstanding its obvious deviation from theoretical perfection. The colonies and shipping interest were really, though not in form, represented under the old constitution; and this was done so effectually that the West Indian was for long the strongest single interest in the House of Commons; it could, during the war, command eighty votes. But when the representation of the British boroughs was rendered not nominal, but real, this state of things was entirely altered. Not only was the door, which had so long let in the real representatives of the colonial and shipping interests, closed to them, but it was opened to their opponents.

The shop-keepers in the small towns, generally from three to five hundred in number, turned a deaf ear to any candidate who talked to them of colonial or maritime interests, of which they knew little, and for which they cared less; but they received with open arms any candidate who promised them cheap sugar, diminished cost of wood and freights, cheapened corn, tea, and coffee. Thus not only was the virtual representation of the colonies and shipping interest cut off by the Reform Bill, but the numerous seats they had formerly held, if not extinguished, were *transferred to an adverse interest*—a change which explains the whole subsequent alteration in the commercial and colonial policy of the British empire. It must therefore be regarded as the next, and perhaps the greatest error in the Reform Bill, that, while it cut off the indirect representation of the colonies and ship-owners, it *did not give them a direct one*, and left them entirely at the mercy of a majority in the British Islands, composed, for the most part, of persons of limited and local information, and governed entirely by adverse interests. To produce cheap and sell dear was for their interest; to buy their produce cheap and sell it dear was for the interest of their new governors.

Two facts, of general notoriety and decisive importance, demonstrate the reality of these vast changes, and the unbounded influence which they must have on the future fate of the British empire. The first of these is, that, in less than a quarter of a century after the Reform Bill had given them the government of the country, the urban shop-keepers had obtained for themselves an *entire exemption from every species of direct taxation*, and laid it with increased severity upon the disfranchised classes in the State; while, at the same time, they contrived to shake off all the indirect taxes by which they were more immediately affected. They have got the window-tax taken off, and the house-tax from all houses below £20, the line *where the ruling class begins*; and when Lord Derby's Ministry brought forward the proposal, obviously just, to lower the duty to £10 houses, they instantly

expelled them from office by a vote of the House of Commons. They kept the income-tax for long at incomes above £150, and now they have only brought it down, under the pressure of war, to £100—a line which practically insures an exemption from that burden to nearly the whole of the ruling occupants of houses below £20; while a tax producing now above £10,000,000 a year is saddled exclusively upon less than 250,000 persons in the empire.* They have got quit entirely of the tax on grain, lowered almost to nothing those on wood and meat, and signally reduced those on tea, and sugar, and coffee, in which so large a part of their consumption lies; while the direct taxes on the land and higher classes, not embracing above 250,000 persons, have been increased so as now to yield above £20,000,000 a year, or £80 BY EACH PERSON on an average, in income-tax, assessed taxes, and stamps! In a word, since they got the power, the notables of England have established a much more entire and unjust exemption, in their own favor, from taxation than the notables in France did before the Revolution—a curious and instructive circumstance, indicating how identical men are in all ranks when their interests are concerned, and they obtain power, and the futility of the idea that the extension of the number of the governors is any security whatever against the establishment of an arbitrary or unjust system of administration over the governed.

The next circumstance which has demonstrated the reality of the changes now described is the ruin which has, since the Reform Bill, been brought on some of our greatest colonies, and the steps evidently taking, both by Government and in the colonies themselves, to sever the connection with the rest. It is needless to say any thing of the West Indies; it is universally known that, within the last twenty-five years, and from the effect of the Reform Bill, and the measures to which it led, they have been all but ruined, and that cultivation in them is only carried on at a loss by the proprietors, to avoid the desperate measure of entire abandonment of the estates. The other colonies of Great Britain, Canada, the Cape, and Australia, have either revolted, or become so discontented that they had to be disarmed, or given such unequivocal symptoms of alienation from the parent state that Government at home, foreseeing a severance which they can no longer prevent, is already giving them the constitutions which are to prepare them for independence, and withdrawing the troops that might maintain the authority of the centre of the empire.

As usual in such cases, the authors of a change, which they see has become inevitable, maintain that it is a benefit, and have long been preparing the country for a break-up of our transmarine empire, by diffusing the doctrine that it is only a burden, and that, by making the colonies independent, we might retain the benefits of their connection

* The persons assessed for the income-tax, under Schedule D (Trades and Professions), are only 146,000! The holders of land and funds can not be above 100,000 more.

without the weight of their defense. Time will show whether this opinion is well founded or not; but, in the mean time, one thing is clear, that, for good or for evil, this great change in the policy of the empire is the result of the Reform Bill; because it took away the indirect representation of the colonies, without giving them a direct one, and delivered over their government to the rule of urban constituencies in the dominant island, which not only had no interest in common with them, but were actuated by an adverse one. Under the rule of a popular Assembly, thus constituted, a *new empire*, maintaining itself, like Holland or Venice, by an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, without external possessions, may possibly arise; but the preservation of the *old empire*, extending its offshoots into all the quarters of the globe, and retaining them all in willing subjection to the heart of the State, from the experienced benefits of the connection, is impossible.

Another great error committed in the construction of the new constitution was that, in the majority at least of the House of Commons, *labor* was wholly unrepresented. This can not be disputed, when it is recollected that in the urban constituencies the franchise is fixed at payment of a £10, in the rural of a £50 rent, or a 40s. *freehold* in England, either of which is exclusive of the great body of laborers both in town and country. The retention of the freemen in a few great cities can not be called a representation of labor; it is rather a representation of venality and corruption. Without doubt, a uniform representation, founded on a low suffrage, as household or £5 rent, is the worst of all foundations for government, because it is a *class government of laborers*—that is, of the most ignorant and irresponsible class in the community. But it is one thing to give the operatives, whether in town or country, the entire command of the State; it is another, and a very different thing, to exclude them entirely from its government, and expose them, without the means of legal resistance, to the rule of an assembly almost entirely elected by persons having an adverse interest. To beat down the remuneration of labor, both in the fields and the work-shops, is the obvious interest of the employers, either in town or country, and the persons who deal in their produce, because it diminishes the cost of production or purchase; and it is soon discovered that this is most effectually done, because in the way least likely to attract attention, by a contraction of the currency, and the application of the principles of free trade to every branch of commerce. The frequency and alarming character of the strikes which have prevailed in every part of the empire since these principles were carried into practice, and the steady emigration of above 250,000 agricultural laborers for the last eight years, even in times of greatest prosperity, from the British Islands, prove that the effects of this class legislation have been fully felt by the working classes, and that they have sought to escape from them, either by illegal combination against the laws, or by withdrawing entirely from the sphere of their influence.

The last obvious defect of the new constitu-

tion was, that it as completely disfranchised intellect and education as it did labor and production. It is not meant to be asserted, in making this remark, that the reformed House of Commons has been by any means destitute of talent. Beyond all doubt, the new constituencies have sent forward many men of robust intellect and great business information, skilled in the art of guiding the multitude, and who have left indelible marks of their ability in the legislation and fortunes of the country; but still they were not the representatives of intellect and education—they are the representatives of a class interest, that of cheap production and cheap buying. All their talents and energies—and both have often been great indeed—have been directed to advance those interests for the benefit of their constituents, without any regard to the effect of the measures they advocated upon the general or unrepresented interests of the empire. Schedules A and B closed the door as effectually upon the high education and intelligence, as they did upon the colonies or shipping interest of the empire, because they barred the entrance by which alone they had hitherto obtained admission into the Legislature. The young men of talent and eloquence who had distinguished themselves at college, and got in by a nomination borough—the race of Pitt and Fox, of Burke and Sheridan, of Wyndham and Romilly, of Mackintosh and Brougham—has become extinct in the House of Commons since 1832. Such as are still there of the former race, had all found an entrance under the old system by the nomination boroughs. No man who knows any thing of human affairs, indeed, will assert that a Legislature, the majority of which consisted of such men, would be a good frame of government. There is probably more truth than the learned professors are willing to admit in the celebrated saying of Frederick the Great, that “if he wished utterly to ruin a province, he would put it into the hands of the philosophers;” or of Napoleon, that “if an empire were made of granite, it would soon be reduced to powder by the political economists.” But admitting all this, it is equally obvious that to give the learned professions only five seats out of six hundred and sixty-eight to themselves, and send them every where else to be swamped by a majority of farmers, provision-dealers, or publicans, was a very great evil, which may come eventually to affect in a most serious manner the fortunes of the empire.

No body of men, and least of all the Legislature intrusted with the government of the country, can emancipate itself without risk from the influence of intelligence and genius, and surrender itself without reserve to the guidance of material interests. The necessary effect of such exclusion is to produce an absence of enlarged views on general welfare, and to restrict every one to the selfish dictates of interested constituents. Independence of character, intrepidity of thought, wide views for the universal good, can hardly now obtain admission into the House of Commons. Large constituencies have an instinctive dread of such characters; they are either jealous of or hate

150.
Labor was
unrepresented.

Want of
the representation
of intelligence
and education

152.
Dangers
arising from
this circumstance.

them. Ability and eloquence, indeed, they all desire, but it is ability devoted to their interests, eloquence governed by their will. Their wish is to have, not representatives, but delegates, and no man worthy of ruling an empire will become such. Hence the House of Commons, since the passing of the Reform Bill, has been nearly deserted, so far as new members are concerned, by men of brilliant talents; and they have sought to influence public affairs by writing in the periodical or daily press, the talent in which has as much increased since the change, as that of the *new* entrants into the Legislature has diminished.

But the great and growing influence of the press is itself fraught with still greater danger, for it is necessarily one-sided. Every one reads what suits his own views, and in general little else; and thus the ability of the press tends rather to confirm preconceived opinions, and widen the breaches which divide society, than to heal divisions or produce rectitude of judgment. The nomination boroughs let in independent talent, because they were either purchased or acquired by the influence of one, always less jealous than a multitude of masters. They were felt as an evil, however, because they produced a Legislature at variance, on essential points, with the wishes and interests of the great urban hives of industry. What should have been done, and was not done, was to have given as many seats as were taken away, not to *one class*, the £10 householders, but to *various classes*, which might have afforded an inlet into the Legislature at once to manufacturing and commercial wealth, colonial industry, shipping interests, and general intelligence and superior education.

Perhaps the evil consequence which has been most forcibly brought before the eyes of the public by the working of the Reform Bill, is the vast *increase of corruption* which it has induced in the borough electors. This has become so obvious that it has attracted universal observation; and if any proof of it were requisite, it would be proved in the fact that fifty-two petitions against returns, on the ground of bribery, were presented in the Parliament elected in 1852. Nothing approaching to this was ever heard of in the worst days of the old House of Commons; and the Legislature has been actively engaged in devising various remedies for so great an evil—a sure proof that none of them have had any sensible effect. It is not difficult to see that the evil is irremediable under our present institutions; for it arises from a permanent cause of irresistible force, viz., that supreme power is vested in a class accessible to bribes. As long as this continues, bribes will be expected, given, and taken. The decisive proof of this is to be found in the fact, that though petitions against borough returns have been so frequent since the Reform Bill passed, there have been none against those for counties. The reason of this is, not that the forty-shilling freeholder is inaccessible to bribes—probably he would often as willingly take them as the freeman or ten-pounder in towns—but that that class have *not the majority* in counties, and they are not

bribed because it is no man's interest to corrupt them.

The Liberals do not attempt to deny the existence of this great and crying evil in the new borough constituencies, but they affirm that it would be removed by enlarging the constituencies so as to make bribery impossible, and introducing the ballot so as to render it useless. It may with confidence be predicted that the evil, so far from being diminished, would, as in the Roman Republic,* be decidedly and greatly increased by either or both of these changes. Experience has proved in America, that neither universal suffrage nor the ballot either prevent bribery, when it is for the interest of the candidate to give it, or conceal votes. It may lower the sum required to sway the electors, but that is all. Bribery will not be lessened because £5000 is divided among 10,000 electors instead of 1000; it will only be spread over a wider surface, and extend farther its demoralizing influence. The transference of seats in the Legislature to a more needy class will still less obviate the evil; it will only induce the giving of bribes to those who have recourse to it, in order to open the career of fortune or avert impending insolvency. Even if the constituencies were made so large that no fortune could corrupt them, the evil would not be removed, it would only assume another and a still more dangerous form. The worst and most dangerous species of bribery is that which is practiced by holding out prospects of legislative injustice and spoliation; and the nation will have little cause to congratulate itself if it escapes slipping sovereigns into electors' pockets, but induces the putting the sponge to the national debt into their hands, and untaxed spirits into their mouths.

These were the great errors committed by both parties in the course of this great debate. The faults were the greater on the part of the Conservatives at its commencement, of the Liberals at its close. This was the natural result of the alternate possession of power by those two great parties; each used it while they had it, not for the general interests of the empire, but for the maintenance or acquisition of government to themselves. But

* "The Decemvirs had been named, and their tables were approved by an assembly of the *centuries*, in which riches preponderated against numbers. But the tribunes soon established a more specious and popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws he is bound to obey. Instead of the centuries they convened the *tribes*; and the Patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the devices of an assembly in which they were confounded with the meanest plebeian. Yet as long as the tribes passed over narrow bridges, and gave their voices aloud, the conduct of each citizen was exposed to the eyes and the ears of his friends and countrymen. The insolvent debtor consulted the wishes of his creditor, the client would have blushed to oppose the views of his patron, the general was followed by his veterans, and the aspect of a grave magistrate was a living lesson to the multitude. A new method of *secret ballot* abolished the influence of fear and shame, of honor and interest, and the abuse of freedom accelerated the progress of anarchy and despotism. The Romans had aspired to be equal—they were leveled by the equality of servitude, and the dictates of Augustus were patiently ratified by the formal consent of the tribes or centuries."—GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xlv.

there is one step on the part of the Liberals, of a different character, and to which, now that strife is over, and all thoughts of a return to the old system are out of the question, it is the duty of the historian to give the most unqualified condemnation; this is, the way in which the Reform Bill was carried. The excitement of the people by the Liberal leaders, during the continuance of the contest, was so violent and incessant that at last they became altogether unmanageable, and they were driven by their own followers to coerce the Crown, and threaten to violate the constitution, as the only means of avoiding civil war and revolution. The English revolution was effected by means as violent, though happily bloodless, as the French; the threat of marching sixty peers into the House of Lords, to overthrow that assembly, was a measure, in substance, if not in form, as violent as the marching sixty grenadiers, on the 18th Brumaire, into the Legislative Assembly by Napoleon.

It is remarkable that on the only occasions in English history when such an extreme measure was thought of, it was to overthrow the greatest benefactors of their country—once in the reign of Queen Anne, when twelve peers were created to destroy the Duke of Marlborough; and once in that of William IV., when sixty were threatened, to subvert the Duke of Wellington. Such precedents, if again followed by either party, will speedily destroy the British constitution, and not leave a vestige of real freedom in the land. Let them forever, and by all parties, be considered as beacons to be avoided, not precedents to be followed. It is with pain that the Author feels himself compelled to pronounce this severe condemnation of a party at that time containing so many able and estimable men, and which, in the commencement of the strife, was clearly in the right. But the cause of truth is paramount to every other consideration. It will appear in the sequel whether the Whig party gained any lasting advantage, even to themselves, from this violent stretch; and it will be the more pleasing duty of the historian to award a corresponding meed of praise to their leaders, for the wisdom and moderation with which they exercised the power when they had once acquired it.

For a similar reason, the highest praise must be bestowed on the Duke of Wellington for the advice he gave the majority of the Peers, when a creation could not otherwise be averted, to withdraw, and allow the bill to pass. The Liberal historians, with praiseworthy candor, admit that, if he did wrong in his declaration against reform, he atoned for that error by the advice he gave the Peers at the close of the contest.* Great as must, by all candid men of either party, be admitted to be the evil of forcing an independent branch of the Legislature, and compelling, by the threat of an unconstitutional measure, an organic change in the constitution,

it is not so great as fixing a majority in the hereditary branch of the Legislature by a great creation of peers, and thus rendering one House, by an act done in a moment of excitement, and in the heat of contest, permanently at variance with what may come to be the prevailing opinion of the other branch of the Legislature and of the country. The lesser evil was wisely accepted, to avoid the greater. If the precedent is once established of overcoming a hostile majority in the House of Peers by a great creation, it may and probably would come to be repeated, as it has been in France, on every entire change of administration, until all respect for, or consistency in, the hereditary branch of the Legislature is lost, and it becomes alternately a titled crowd of court favorites, or an obsequious mob of popular flatterers.

In a word, the fault of the Tories in this great debate, and it was no light one, was, that they used the political power which had grown up in their hands, as a property, not a trust, and resisted to the last those changes in the representation of the Commons which time had rendered necessary, and which were essential either to insure beneficial legislation, or to diffuse contentment and satisfaction among the people. The fault of the Liberals, which was still greater, consisted in this, that when they got the power, they introduced a reform in Parliament based on erroneous principles, which destroyed one system of class legislation only to introduce another still more at variance with the interests of the majority; and, having brought it forward, forced it through by violent excitement of the people, and unconstitutional coercion of the Sovereign. The Tories, in the last extremity, in a great measure expiated their fault by the praiseworthy self-sacrifice which they made at the call of patriotic duty. The Whigs, in the moment of triumph, in some degree redeemed theirs, by the moderation with which they used the unlimited powers acquired by victory.

If the buying and selling class had constituted in Great Britain, as they did in Athens, Holland, or Venice, the majority in number or importance of the entire empire, no one could have blamed the Liberals for framing a constitution which gave them the command of the country; for it is the fundamental principle of all popular governments that the majority in number and value must rule the minority. But what rendered the new constitution peculiarly unsuited to the British empire, and aggravated the fault of the Whigs in forcing it through, was, that the class in whom it vested supreme power was *very far indeed from being a majority either in number or wealth of the whole inhabitants*, and owed its ascendancy entirely to the command it had accidentally got of the boroughs. Out of the 27,000,000 who now inhabit the British Islands, 18,000,000 are directly or indirectly dependent on land for their support, and only 9,000,000 on all the branches of commerce and manufactures put together. Of the income-tax, £2,700,000 is paid by the land, and not £1,700,000 by trades and professions. Two-thirds of the inhabitants are dependent on the producing interests; two-

* "If the Duke committed a blunder on the 4th November, when he declared against all reform, he nobly redeemed his error on the 17th May, by yielding to the popular demand."—ROEBUCK, vol. ii. p. 336, note.

thirds of the direct revenue is paid by them; but nevertheless they are deprived of all real influence in the Legislature; and the minority, intrenched in the boroughs, have been enabled to carry through a series of measures destructive of their best interests. If the colonies, wholly unrepresented by the Reform Bill, are considered as distant provinces of the empire, this disproportion will appear still greater; and less than a half in number, and a third in wealth, actuated by an adverse interest, have got the command of both.

It must be considered as a decided set-off to these manifold evils that the Reform Bill has obviously and greatly strengthened Government as a government, irrespective of the divisions of party. So nearly balanced, indeed, are the two parties into which the country is divided, that great weakness of *administration* in the House of Commons has in general been the characteristic of the times since it became law; but this is quite a different thing from any weakness of the Government itself. It has afforded rather a proof of the truth of De Tocqueville's observation, that the danger of democracy is not its weakness, but its tremendous strength. The frequent conspiracies which took place between 1815 and 1830, and which had for their object to overturn the Government by violence, have been almost unknown since the Reform Bill passed. Even the terrible storm of 1848 failed to shake the steady fabric of the British monarchy. Queen Victoria put down the efforts of factions in 1848 without firing a shot, when all the Continental monarchies were falling around her. No man can affirm with confidence that this auspicious result would have taken place had the old government of the nomination boroughs been still in force. It is one thing to weaken the rule of two or three hundred holders of seats in the House of Commons; it is another, and a very different thing, to overthrow nine hundred thousand electors, practically and really wielding the powers of government. Their number renders the attempt hopeless; their ranks embrace those who would have been the most formidable leaders of revolution. The forces of democracy are turned over to the other side.

The risk, however, has been changed rather than wholly removed by this alteration. There is little danger now, comparatively speaking, that our monarchical frame of government, resting on the basis of so numerous and influential a mass of electors, will be overthrown by a violent convulsion; but great, that one portion of these electors, having the majority, may use their power to advance their own interests, without any regard to the effect their measures may have upon those of the minority of the electors, or the immense majority of the unrepresented portion of the community. This, accordingly, is what has taken place since the Reform Bill became the law of the land. The middle classes have made no movement to advance farther in the career of reform since they obtained it; they are satisfied with the power they have got, as well they may, since it has enabled them to rule the State. But they have set themselves

sedulously and energetically to improve their victory to their own advantage by fiscal exemptions and legislative measures, and they have done this so effectually as to have created a sullen state of hostility between the employers and the employed, which breaks out at times, like the flames of a volcano, in ruinous strikes, and annually drives above three hundred thousand laborers, chiefly rural, into exile. The danger is no longer to the Government, but to a large portion of the governed; it is to be found, not in the streets, but the senate-house; not in insurrections, but in the ruin of entire classes, by laws passed with the concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons. But great as this danger is, and clearly as its reality has been demonstrated by the history of the last twenty years, it is much less than that arising from a successful revolution, which at once destroys all liberty, and establishes the reign of unbridled violence; and, at all events, it is the state of things suitable for an advanced state of society. It is the price which civilized man pays for the incalculable blessings of general freedom and internal peace.

It appears, at first sight, not a little surprising how a change of this sort could by possibility have been brought about in a free country, in opposition to influences formerly so strongly seated as those of production were in the old constitution. But a little consideration must show how it was that this came to pass. In the first place, the monetary system and free-trade measures, in which the persons depending on that interest had so cordially concurred, had halved their own fortunes and doubled those of their opponents; had rendered labor worth a shilling a day instead of two shillings, and one sovereign worth two sovereigns. This had both entirely altered the relative strength of the two parties, and induced such discontent among those interested in production, as rendered them in their desperation ready for any change. In the next place, the best informed statistical¹ has shown that, since the peace, the savings of the nation have been on an average £50,000,000 a year, by far the greater part of which accumulated in the hands of the trading and middle class in town, who lent great part of it out in mortgages to the declining landlords, who could not otherwise maintain their former establishments, and would not reduce them. The strength and importance of the moneyed class was thus as much increased as that of the producing was diminished.

In the third place, the same respectable authority has shown that the sum annually spent by the working classes in Great Britain in beer and spirits is £50,000,000 a year—a state of things which keeps them in a condition of constant practical vassalage to their employers, and deprives them of all influence in the State, excepting that arising in periods of excitement from the terror of their aggregate numbers. These facts at once explain how political power and the rule of the State has slipped from the hands of both these classes. It is not upon the amount of revenue enjoyed

161.
The Reform Bill has strengthened Government by enlarging its basis.

163.
Way in which the moneyed classes had got the command of the producing.

162.
Where the risk now lies.

1 Mr. Porteus, Secretary to Board of Trade.

164.
Enormous sums spent by working classes in Great Britain on drink.

or produce created by a class that its political importance in the long run depends, but upon the proportions of the income enjoyed by it which is clear of debt, and of realized capital, which can at once be rendered available in a contest, either by swaying seats in Parliament or influencing the press.

As this ascendancy of the moneyed class in Great Britain is obviously the result of the magnitude of our realized wealth, and that again has arisen from the liberty and prosperity we have so long enjoyed, and the unexampled success with which the war was attended, a very curious and in some respect melancholy consideration presents itself. Is this change, and the check to the interests of industry thence arising, the effect of a general and irresistible law of nature, applicable to all times when similar circumstances arise, or is it the result of a casual combination of events in the British Islands during the last half century? Is the transference of power from the land to the boroughs in England analogous to and produced by the same causes as that which removed power from the Roman senate, the strong-hold of the patricians, to the Dictator, the representative and idol of the urban multitude? and is the clamor for cheap bread, which in our times has changed the whole policy of the empire at bottom, the same as the cry, "*Panem et Circenses!*" which ruled the whole policy of the Cæsars, and in the end, by destroying the rural population in its heart, subverted the Roman Empire? If so, are we to rest in the mournful conclusion that the seeds of mortality are indelibly implanted in nations as well as individuals; that these seeds are quickened into life equally by victory and defeat, and that to both the lines of the poet are precisely applicable:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that virtue, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave?"

Without pronouncing decidedly on this deeply interesting question, upon which the world is as yet too young to form a conclusion that can be relied on, there is one truth which has been completely demonstrated by the constitutional experience in the last times, both of France and England, of permanent importance to mankind, and which will largely benefit the future generations of men. This is, that a *uniform representation is but another name for class government, and that the governing class will always be found in that which is immediately above the lowest line of the suffrage.* In France, when the line, under the Restoration, was drawn by the payment of £12 a year of direct taxes, that ruling class was found in sixty thousand of the richest proprietors in the country, but the poorest in the enfranchised class—those paying from £12 to £20 direct taxes, who were two-thirds of the ninety thousand electors. In England, by the Reform Bill, supreme power was vested in persons in boroughs paying from £10 to £20 rent; that is, the buying and selling class, interested chiefly in beating down the cost of production.

Thence a rigid system of protection in the former country, which produced such discontent

among the urban consumers as overturned the governments both of the elder and younger branch of the house of Bourbon; thence an amount of suffering in the producing classes in the latter, that has sent above three hundred thousand of the working class, for a course of years, annually out of the country, stopped the growth of its population, and caused its colonial provinces to take open steps to effect their independence. These events will not be lost upon posterity. The ruin of constitutional freedom in France, the dissolution of the colonial empire of Great Britain, will be cheaply purchased if they impress upon mankind the eternal truths, that a real representation in government is the essential need of civilized man, and can never be refused without imminent danger; that uniformity in the suffrage inevitably induces class government; that the ruinous nature of such government is in the direct proportion of the number admitted into the class; and that *the only way to avoid these evils is CLASS REPRESENTATION.* The Roman system of giving every citizen a vote, but a vote only in his own century, and ruling the state by the votes of the centuries, not the citizens, was the nearest approach to perfection in popular government ever yet made by man, and, beyond all doubt, gave them the empire of the world.

The true cause of the difficulties which have been felt as so embarrassing, both in the British and French empires, in the late stage of their political life, when the formation of a new constitution in both was set about, is the operation of a great law of nature, intended to limit the growth of empires, and promote the dispersion of mankind. This law is the simple fact, that whatever is plentiful becomes cheap, and money the very first of all things. The necessary effect of this is, that labor becomes dear in the rich and old state, and the necessities of life are raised at a more costly rate than in poor countries, where money is more scarce, and labor is cheap. The reciprocity system, the contraction of the currency, the free trade, were all efforts on the part of the moneyed classes to elude the operation of this law of nature; to render production cheap, when the circumstances of society had rendered it dear. The effect of this difference of price between the cost of raising provisions in the old and young state is, that if the country has the majority, a strict system of protection is established, to keep out the cheap food; if the towns, free trade and the cheapening system is introduced, to let it in.

In either case a limit is imposed, when this difference of price has become considerable, to the growth of the state and the extension of its population: in the one case by the check given to the industry of towns by dear corn, in the other to the inhabitants of the country by cheap; in the former case by the rivalry of foreign manufacturers, in the latter by that of foreign cultivators. France has recently exhibited an example of the former; Rome in ancient, and Great Britain in modern times, are instances of the latter: and the prodigious transference now going on of the An-

165.
Is this the
result of a
general law
of nature?

167.
Its exempli-
fication in
France and
England.

168.
Great law
of nature on
the subject.

166.
Great polit-
ical truth
evolved by
the Reform
Bill.

169.
Which is
intended to
limit popu-
lation in the
later stages
of society.

glo-Saxon race to America, attended by such vast effects to both hemispheres, is an illustration of the all-powerful agency of this cause upon the fortunes of mankind. However much we may be disposed to regret this when our own country alone is considered, we shall regard it in a very different light when the general progress of the species is taken into view, and look upon it as the great means by which Providence, at the appointed season, arrests the growth of aged communities, transfers the seeds of prosperity to distant lands, provides an outlet to over-peopled communities, and lays the foundations in present suffering of the general dispersion and happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FRANCE AND EUROPE FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN 1830, TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS IN THE SAME YEAR.

As great popular movements, such as the first French Revolution, or the Reform passion in England, never arise but from the experience of serious public evils, so they never fail to terminate, when successful, in the removal of what appeared to have been the cause, and generally was so, of the public suffering. The insurrection of 1789 was occasioned by the pride of the noblesse, and directed against the distinctions of rank; and it terminated in their abolition. The reform movement of England was induced by the selfish policy of the holders of realized wealth, and it was directed against the borough proprietors, through whom their power had been exercised; and it led to their abolition. The Revolution of 1830 was occasioned by the dread of Jesuitical usurpation, and was meant to assert the freedom of thought; and it was directed against Charles X. and Prince Polignae, who were conceived to be the instruments in the hands of that party. They accordingly were overthrown, and the throne of France remained open, exposed to become the prize of some fortunate soldier, some audacious demagogue.

But it is by no means equally certain that a successful revolution will remove the real evils which afflict society, or that, even if it does really eradicate those which have previously been experienced, it may not induce others still more wide spread and irremediable. The remedy is sometimes worse than the disease. The warmest partisans of the Revolution now admit that it has done little for the real causes of human distress, and that under another name, and belonging to a different class, the oppressors of mankind have reappeared with undiminished power on the theatre of human events. The guillotine of the Committee of Public Salvation, the confiscations of the Convention, the revolutionary law of succession, had destroyed the great proprietors, and rendered impossible the reconstruction of their estates; but they had done nothing for the condition of the workmen, or the interests of the twenty-five millions of rural cultivators. On the contrary, their condition had become greatly worse than it was before the convulsions began; for the destruction of capital had deprived industry of support, the division of income had halved its market. Nothing remained to the poor but the cultivation of their little bits of land, for the most part unequal to the support of a family, and the fruits of which were wrenched from them by the ruinous land-tax, often amounting to 20 per cent., but which was altogether irremovable, for it had become the main stay of the revenue of the state.

In the general confusion produced by the

destruction of mercantile and the confiscation of landed property, one class only had prospered, and exhibited the signs of general prosperity, amidst the penury with which it was surrounded. All the little wealth that remained in the provinces had been amassed in the hands of the merchants and shop-keepers; and in Paris the bankers and bourgeois class had been immensely enriched by the effects of the very pacification which to the nation generally had been the occasion of such bitter mortification. The bankers of the Chaussée d'Antin, the jewelers of the Palais Royal, the dress-makers of the Rue St. Honoré, had for the most part made large fortunes from the expenditure of foreigners, chiefly English and Russians, who had flocked to Paris during the Restoration. Nor was this prosperity in that class confined to the metropolis; it had extended also to the principal commercial and manufacturing towns. The silk manufacturers of Lyons, the wine-merchants of Epernay and Bordeaux, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, had been enriched by the increasing demand for their various productions springing from the long peace of the Continent, and the growth of wealth which had in consequence taken place both in France and the adjoining states. In a word, the bourgeoisie of France had risen into wealth and importance during the peace; an importance arising not less from its own prosperity, than from the contrast afforded by the general penury with which it was surrounded.

But from this very prosperity had arisen another evil, which shook the very foundations of society, and induced a series of causes and effects that imbittered and at length terminated the reign of the succeeding sovereign. The bourgeois in towns, thus powerful by means of their wealth, their sway in elections, and their influence with the press, of which they were the chief, often the sole readers, had no interests in common with labor; on the contrary, their interests were adverse to it. Living by trade in goods or money, their interest was to buy cheap and sell dear; the very reverse of the workman, whose interest was to produce dear and buy cheap. Their chief, often their only purchasers, were found among the dwellers in towns: the six millions of peasants, living on freeholds which yielded them from £2 to £10 each, took little or nothing off their hands in the way of purchases. Hence the policy which the Government pursued to please the one, necessarily gave dissatisfaction to the other. The working classes trusted to the promises of the popular leaders, and the representations of the press generally supported the movement which overthrew Charles X. and acquiesced in the installation

1. Objects to which great popular movements have been directed.

2. The real evils of society are not so certainly removed by these convulsions.

3. Prosperity of the bourgeois class.

4. The interests of the bourgeoisie were adverse to those of labor.

of the Citizen King. But they soon discovered their mistake, and long and bitter were the regrets which the discovery occasioned. The reign of Louis Philippe was nothing but a long contest between labor and capital—between the interests of production and those of consumption; and the animosity between these different classes in the end became so great that it overturned his throne, and for a brief season established that of “*Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité*” in its stead.

This direful social contest, the most widespread which can agitate any community, was rendered the more violent in France at this period from the effect of the immense discoveries which they were compelled to adopt from their industrious neighbors.

5. Effect of the spread of machinery, steam, and railways. Steam was then altering the face of the world; the discovery of Watt was changing the destinies of mankind. However much the powers of that mighty agent and the multiplication of machinery may augment the industrial capabilities of a nation, and add to the sum total of its wealth, it is in vain to assert that in the first instance at least it is not a very great drawback to the interests of labor. If one man or woman can be brought by the aid of machinery to do the work of fifty men, what is to become of the remaining forty-nine, especially in a country which has no colonies or external outlets for its industry? The entire produce may be greatly increased by such application, but it never can be so in any thing like the proportion in which the demand for labor is diminished. The common sense and experience of mankind have every where taught them the sophistry of the hackneyed arguments put forth on this subject by the economical writers on the side of the capitalists, whose interest is cheap production; and thence the constant hostility of the working classes in every country to the introduction of the machinery by which their labor is to be supplanted. Perhaps in the end the rival interests of capital and labor may be adjusted, and the workmen thrown out by machinery in one line may find employment in another; but this can only be the work of time, and of a very gradual absorption of industry under the most favorable circumstances. And in France the circumstances, so far from being favorable, were just the reverse; for the Revolution had at once destroyed the capital, swept away the colonies, and all but ruined the commerce of the country; and the various vents which might take off the displaced labor of the nation were wholly wanting. Hence the eighteen years from 1830 to 1848 were a period of almost ceaseless industrial distress in France, and the animosity of the working classes against the government of Louis Philippe was, almost from its very commencement, far greater than it had been against that of Charles X.

6. Increased strength of the Government. The same circumstances, however, which so fearfully augmented this general discontent among the working classes, increased in a still greater degree the strength of the Government to resist it. As long as the monarchy stood on the remnant of the nobility and the increasing *Parti-prêtre*, as it did during the reign of Charles X., it rested on a flimsy foundation;

the pyramid of society was based on its head. But when the numerous and opulent ranks of the bourgeoisie were admitted into the administration, and interested in its preservation, a very different state of things presented itself. Government now stood upon a much wider basis, and could calculate on the support of a more numerous and energetic body of men. The dense and thriving ranks of the bourgeoisie, interested in power because they shared its spoils, gave it their cordial support; their wealth was poured into its coffers; their youth filled the ranks of its National Guard; their influence gave it the command of the Legislature.

But this very circumstance, while for long it secured their ascendancy, in the end exposed it to ruin. A class of society which had come to monopolize, in re- 7. Dangers to which this led. turn for its support, the whole patronage of Government, ere long became the object of envy. Louis Philippe experienced the truth of the old saying, that every place given away made three discontented and one ungrateful. Even the commissions in an army soon raised to 400,000 men, an expenditure increased from 900,000,000 francs (£36,000,000) to 1,500,000,000 (£60,000,000), and the 130,000 civil offices in the gift of the Tuileries, could not suffice for the wants of a nation in which Government employment had become, from the effects of the Revolution, the sole means of advancement. The rule of the bourgeoisie was overthrown in the end in France, from the same jealousy of those excluded from its emoluments which had proved fatal to that of the borough-holders in England. Influence—in other words, corruption—became the great engine of administration; M. Guizot avowed and vindicated it upon the ground that, as all other influences were gone, that of selfish motives alone remained to uphold the Government. But their mode of proceeding, however effective for a time, could not durably continue; for no system can be permanent which is founded on class influence or interest.

When the government of Charles X. was overthrown, and he himself driven 8. The Republicans: their chances of success. into exile, three parties remained in France, and divided society between them. So equally were they balanced, and so narrowly were the chances of each poised, that it was hard to say with whom, in the scramble for power, the supreme authority would ultimately rest. Most formidable from their resolution, and the command which physical strength gave them of the metropolis, the REPUBLICANS stood foremost on the stage, and, to all appearance, were destined to carry off the prize. They had made the Revolution; it was their spirit which had animated the masses, and thrown a hundred thousand armed workmen on the streets of Paris; to all appearance, the crown and the government were at their disposal. Perhaps, if they had possessed a leader of greater ambition or resolution, they might have secured it, and a new republic have restored, for a brief season, the reign of anarchy in France, to be speedily supplanted by the vigor of despotism. But great as the chances of this party were, it had to contend with as great difficulties. The recollection of the Convention, the Reign of Terror, weighed like an incubus on its energies. The work-

ing classes, especially in the great towns, were nearly unanimous in its favor; but it is not by that class alone that a change of government ever has been or ever can be effected. Leaders are required to direct its strength, capital to support its efforts, general concurrence to sanction its undertakings. These were all wanting to the Republicans of 1830. The bankers had not risked their capital to let the fruits of the struggle be reaped by the *prolétaires*; the journalists were not disposed to cede their places in the cabinet to the workmen; the shop-keepers dreaded a stoppage of their sales, and the termination of the lucrative purchases of the English, from the establishment of a republic. All these classes were extremely willing to use the workmen as auxiliaries, and to take advantage of their courage and numbers to overthrow the Bourbons; and they lauded, on every occasion, their valor and patriotism to the skies; but they had no intention of sharing the fruits of victory with them.

The next party which stood prepared to dispute the palm with the Republicans was the NAPOLEONISTS; but their chances at that period were decidedly inferior. They had, indeed, in their favor the mighty name of the Emperor, and the magic of his glorious exploits; but though they spoke powerfully to the imagination of the young and ardent part of the people, their influence generally was by no means so great as it has since become. The reason was, these events were too near; distance had not "lent enchantment to the view." All men of middle age could recollect the double capture of Paris; a third visit of the Cossacks was present to every full-grown imagination. Add to this, that the King of Rome, sunk down into the modest title of Duke of Leuchtenberg, was absent, under Austrian influence, in whose service he held a regiment, and no visible member of the Imperial family was at hand to direct or encourage its partisans. The party of the Republicans was based on a principle, but that of Napoleon II. was rested on a man; and without the man a personal party can seldom make any successful effort.

If the Napoleonists wanted a head and wealth to sustain their exertions, this could not be said of the ORLEANISTS, who had both the one and the other. The Duke of Orleans had obtained, from the generous munificence of Charles X., the entire restoration of the immense estates of the family, and his expenditure, though great, was still within his ample income. Throughout all the phases of the Revolution, a considerable party had adhered to this family, and it had been much increased on the Restoration, from the apparent stability of the throne, and the obvious chances of succession which they enjoyed from the precarious life of the infant Duke of Bordeaux, who alone stood between them and its acquisition. To this party the unwise proceedings of Charles X. and the *Parli-prêtre* had long been the subject of close observation and intense interest, and his fall seemed, as the death of the Duke of Bordeaux would have done, at once to open the crown to their ambition. The Duke himself was irresolute, and undecided between the attractions of a di-

adem and the perils with which it was environed. But no similar terrors or qualms of conscience paralyzed his adherents, who, relieved of all responsibility consequent on the change of government, expected only to enjoy its rewards. M. Lafitte, and the chief bankers and capitalists of Paris, belonged to this party, from the very obvious reason, that, by placing the Duke of Orleans on the throne, they would be placing themselves in the administration. They had powerful support from M. Guizot, M. Thiers, and other able journalists, who also hoped to share in the spoils of victory, and, in truth, saw no other mode of escape from the distracted state of the country. The example of England spoke powerfully to the historic intellects of this influential class of politicians; and it seemed to them almost an indication of providential will, that, when the elder branch of the Bourbons, like the Stuarts, had lost the throne by the ambition of the Romish party, a younger branch should remain to open to France a future of freedom and prosperity.

During these anxious days, big with the fate of France and of Europe, the Duke of Orleans remained in privacy and obscurity in the neighborhood of Paris. He was neither at the Tuileries, where honor and duty called him to stand by his sovereign and benefactor in the hour of danger, nor at the Hôtel de Ville, where ambition and selfishness might possibly open to him the path to a throne by the overthrow of that benefactor. Accurately informed by M. Lafitte and his other partisans of every thing that was going forward in the capital, he yet kept aloof from its stirring scenes, and seemed anxious only, in his elegant retirement of Neuilly, to detach himself from the political struggles in which, more than any human being in existence, he was himself interested. In this there was no affectation; he really felt the wish to abstain from the strife which his conduct indicated. He was consumed with anxiety, fearful to take any decided step, and desirous to receive the impress of events rather than impress his signet-mark upon them.

On the morning of the 30th July, when the contest was obviously decided, and it was necessary to fix upon a government, M. Glandevès, the Governor of the Tuileries, waited on M. Lafitte, when the following conversation took place between them. "Sir," said the baron to the banker, "you have now been master of Paris for twenty-four hours—do you wish to save the monarchy?" "Which monarchy, sir—that of 1789 or 1814?" "The constitutional monarchy." "To save it, only one way remains, which is to crown the Duke of Orleans." "The Duke of Orleans! The Duke of Orleans—but do you know him?" "For fifteen years." "Well, but what are his titles to the crown? That boy whom Vienna has educated can at least invoke the memory of his father's glory; and it must be admitted the passage of Napoleon has written his annals in characters of fire upon the minds of men. But what prestige surrounds the Duke of Orleans? do the people even know his history? How many of them have heard his name?" "I see in that a recommendation, and not a disadvant-

9.
The Napo-
leonists: their
chances.

11.
The Duke
of Orleans
remains in
retirement.

10.
The Orlean-
ists: their
chances.

12.
Important
conversa-
tion be-
tween the
Baron de
Glandevès
and Lafitte.

age. Destitute of all influence over the imagination, he will be the less able to emancipate himself from the limits within which a constitutional monarch must confine himself. His private life is free from the scandalous immoralities which have disgraced so many other princes. He has respected himself in his wife; he has made himself respected and loved by his children."

"These are mere domestic virtues, which are not to be recompensed by a crown.

13. Arguments for and against the Duke's being called to the crown. Are you ignorant that he is openly accused of having approved the homicidal votes of his father, and associated himself, in the evil days of our history, with projects calculated to exclude forever from the throne the direct heirs of the unfortunate Louis, and of having preserved a mysterious attitude in London during the Hundred Days, which has given rise to strange suspicions? Since 1815 he has alternately caressed all parties, been at once the humble servant of the court and the secret fomenter of all intrigues. Louis XVIII. restored to him his vast estates; Charles X. made it a personal request to the Chambers to secure them to him by a legal and irrefragable right; he conferred upon him the title of 'Royal Highness,' so long coveted. Overwhelmed by gifts and kindnesses from the elder branch, how can he seize upon their inheritance? and could he even permit others to light the conflagration which must in the end consume his own family?" "It is not in the personal interest of the Duke, baron, but in that of the country threatened with anarchy, that I speak. I do not ask if the situation of the Duke of Orleans is painful to his own feelings, but whether his accession to the throne is desirable for France. What prince is more free from the prejudices which have

occasioned the ruin of Charles X.? What prince has more openly professed liberal sentiments? and to the combination which would crown him, what other is preferable?"¹

Such, put in a dramatic form, after the manner of the ancient historians, were the ideas which at this crisis were fermenting in the minds of the most influential men in France. M. de Talleyrand inclined to the opinion of M. de Chateaubriand, which was, that the only way to reconcile the conflicting interests of order and democracy in France, would be to

respect the right of the Duke of Bordeaux, who was entirely free from his grandfather's fault, and to intrust his education, with the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to the experienced wisdom and popular sentiments of the Duke of Orleans. But this arrangement, which was that which honor and ultimate interest prescribed, was far from meeting the views of the journalists and literary men, who looked to the triumph of a public party as the means of gratifying private ambition, and the fall of a dynasty as the elevation of a fortune.² M. Bé-

ranger, despite his strong prepossessions in favor of the Napoleonists, and his indignant acerbities against the Bourbons, became the decided partisan of the Orleans par-

ty, and promised them the aid of his heart-stirring songs and immense popularity; while M. Thiers, Mignet, and Lareguy, put at their disposal the equally important contribution of their business talent and statesmanlike experience.

By these three journalists a proclamation in favor of the Duke of Orleans was

drawn up, which was published in the *National*, *Courrier Français*, and *Commerce*. When placarded, and distributed in and around the *Bourse*, it excited no enthusiasm, and was very coldly received. Meanwhile M. de Lafayette, seated on a huge arm-chair at the Hôtel de Ville, was a prey to the most cruel anxieties. The Duke de Chartres, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, had been arrested at Montrouge, and the old general hardly knew whether to maintain his arrest or order his liberation, and after much hesitation he was prevailed on to do the latter. But meanwhile the Orleanists, presided over by M. Lafitte, were rapidly proceeding to action; they had the immense advantage over their adversaries of order, arrangement, and decision. At ten o'clock a meeting of the Orleanists took place at the hotel of M. Lafitte, when a proclamation, skillfully drawn, was agreed to, recommending the Duke of Orleans to the vacant throne, and M. Carrel was dispatched to Rouen to gain over that important city to the same interest.* Shortly after, General Dubourg, on the part of the Republicans at the Hôtel de Ville, presented himself to the meeting: they refused to receive or even to see

him, so rapidly had the pretensions and ideas of government advanced since the resolution to establish a republic had been taken!¹

While matters were advancing so rapidly in his favor in Paris, the Duke of Orleans remained at Neuilly with his whole family. In his immediate vicinity, at Puteaux, was a body of troops, a squadron of which could with ease have made them all prisoners. But so little suspicion was entertained at that period of their fidelity, that no precaution against them was taken by the royal family, nor did a feeling of anxiety on this subject ever cross their minds. M. Lafitte, the evening before, wrote a letter mentioning that the crown was to be offered to him, and that, in case of refusal, it would be represented that it was essential to the tranquillity of the capital and the country that he should be conveyed to a place of safety† in the

1 Louis Blanc, i. 305, 306; Ann. Hist. 1830, 74, 75; Cap. ii. 36, 37.

* "Charles X. can never again enter France; he has caused the blood of the people to flow.

† "The Republic would expose us to frightful divisions, and embroil us with all Europe.

"The Duke of Orleans is a prince devoted to the cause of the Revolution.

"The Duke of Orleans has never fought against us; he was at Jemappes.

"The Duke of Orleans is a citizen-king.

"The Duke of Orleans carried in fire the tricolor flag; no other can carry it. We will have no other.

"The Duke of Orleans has not yet pronounced himself. He awaits the expression of our wishes. Let us proclaim them, and he will accept the Charter, as we have always expected and wished. It is from the French people that he will receive his crown."—LOUIS BLANC, vol. i. p. 305, 306.

† "Le Duc d'Orléans est à Neuilly avec toute sa famille. Prés de lui à Puteaux sont les troupes royales, et il suffirait d'un ordre émané de la cour pour l'enlever à la nation, qui peut trouver en lui un gage puissant de sa sécu-

metropolis. This note instructed his partisans in Paris in the course which they should pursue; and accordingly, soon after, M. Thiers and M. Scheffer, preceded by M. Sébastiani, arrived at Neuilly to offer the Duke the crown. He himself was absent, but they were received by

the Duchess of Orleans, and history may well record the conversation which took place between them.¹

"Sir," said the Duchess, in a voice trembling with emotion, after the purpose of his mission had been explained by M. Sheffer, "how could you undertake such a mission? That M. Thiers should have charged himself with it, I can understand. He little knew us; but you, who have been admitted to our intimacy, who knew us so well—ah! we can never forgive it." Stupefied by a reception they had so little anticipated, the two envoys remained silent, and a pause ensued, during which Madame Adélaïde, the Duke's sister, entered the apartment, followed by Madame de Montjoie. Penetrated with the dangers which surrounded them on all sides, and appreciating with masculine intelligence their extent, she immediately said, "Let them make my brother a president, a commander of the National Guard—any thing, so as they do not make him a proscribed." "Madame," rejoined M. Thiers, "it is a throne which we come to offer him." "But what will Europe think?" rejoined the Princess. "Shall he seat himself on the throne from which Louis XVI. descended to mount the scaffold? What a panic will it strike into all royal houses! The peace of the world will be endangered." "These apprehensions, Madame," replied M. Thiers, "are natural, but they are not well founded. England, full of the recollection of the banished Stuarts, will applaud a *dénouement* of which her history furnished the example and the model. And as to the absolute monarchies, far from reproaching the Duke of Orleans for fixing on his head a crown floating on the storm, they will approve a step which will render his elevation a barrier against the unchained passions of the multitude. There is something great and worth saving in France; and if it is too late for legitimacy, it is not so for a constitutional throne. After all, there remains to the Duke of Orleans only a choice of danger; and, in the existing state of affairs, to fly the possible dangers of royalty is to face a republic and its inevitable tempests."²

These energetic words made no impression on the Duchess of Orleans, in whose elevated mind the chivalrous sentiments were paramount to all considerations of ambition or expedience. But Madame Adélaïde, vividly impressed with her brother's danger, was more accessible to them. "A child of Paris," she exclaimed, "I will intrust myself to the Parisians!" It

rite future. On propose de se rendre chez lui au nom des autorités constituées convenablement accompagnées, et de lui offrir la couronne. S'il oppose des scrupules de famille ou de délicatesse, on lui dira que son séjour à Paris importe à la tranquillité de la capitale et de la France, et qu'on est obligé de l'y mettre en sûreté. On peut compter sur l'infailibilité de cette mesure. On peut être certain en outre que le Duc d'Orléans ne tardera pas à s'associer pleinement aux vœux de la nation."—LOUIS BLANC, 307, 308.

was agreed to send for the Duke, who had fled to Raincy; and he soon after set out, preceded by M. de Montesquiou, for Paris. Before they reached the capital, however, the Duke turned about and returned to Raincy as fast as his horses could carry him. Irresolute and timid, he had neither courage enough to seize the crown which was offered to him, nor virtue sufficient to refuse it. His life, for many years, had been passed in meditating on the crisis which had now arrived, and when it came he proved unequal to it. Temporization was his entire policy—to escape danger, by flying from it, his great object. His system was, never to appear to court popularity, but to preserve such a demeanor as might compel others to seek him, not bring him forward as seeking them. He would gladly have declined the crown, if he had been sure of retaining his estates. The most powerful argument for accepting it was, that only by doing so could he save his property. The decisive moment did not appear to him to have yet arrived, and his old irresolution continued.¹

Meanwhile every thing had been prepared at Paris by his partisans for the expected arrival of the Duke, and M. La- Meetings of the Deputies and Peers. 19. fitte had already spread the report that every thing was ready for his installation; that he was the man of the age, and could alone prevent the return of despotism, and put a bridle on the passions of democracy. A meeting of the deputies took place at the Hôtel Bourbon, at which he was chosen president by acclamation. M. Hyde de Neuville was alone seen on the benches reserved for the Royalists—so completely had terror mastered all minds, and banished the most resolute courage. The Peers, on their side, met in the Luxembourg, and their benches exhibited a fuller attendance. While the deputies were still assembled, news arrived that fifteen hundred troops from Rouen were marching on Paris, and had already reached the heights of Montmartre, which they had occupied with several pieces of cannon. Terror immediately seized every breast; and at this very moment M. de Sussy entered, bearing in his hand the last ordinances of Charles X., which recalled the former one that had excited so much animosity, and dismissed the Polignac Ministry. The alarm of M. Lafitte was evident. If read, they would have been hailed with acclamation, and at once destroyed the hopes of the Orleanists. Anxiety and irresolution were general, when the deputies sent to Neuilly returned with the account of their gracious reception by the princess. They then adopted the following resolution, which, with some difficulty, was adopted, and sent off to the Duke: "The deputies at present at Paris conceive that it is essential to pray his royal highness the Duke of Orleans to come immediately to Paris, to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and to express the universal wish that the tricolor flag should be resumed. They feel also the necessity of assuring France, without delay, in the approaching session of the Chambers, of the adoption of such measures as may afford the 2 Louis Blanc, 313, 314; and entire execution of the charter."²

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 310, 311.

² Louis Blanc, i. 313, 314; and entire execution of the charter."²

Meanwhile, at the Luxembourg, more elevated sentiments were uttered by the
 20. Meeting at few peers who in that crisis were
 the Cham- worthy of their dignity. Chateaubriand arrived there surrounded by
 ber of Peers. an enthusiastic crowd, and carried aloft by ardent youths, who expected to see in the intrepid defender of the freedom of the press the vehement assailant of the monarchy. They little knew the intrepidity and fidelity of his character. Seated apart from his colleagues, silent and contemplative, he seemed a prey to the melancholy thoughts which oppressed him. Suddenly he rose up, and said, in an animated voice, "Let us protest in favor of the ancient monarchy. If needs be, let us leave Paris; but wherever we may be driven, let us save the King, and surrender ourselves to the trust of a courageous fidelity. Let us reflect on the liberty of the press. If the question comes to be the salvation of legitimacy, give me a pen and two months; I will restore the throne." Vain illusion! In a few minutes the deputies of the bourgeois entered and demanded the crown for Louis Philippe, and few voices were raised among the peers of France in behalf of their ancient monarchs! In a corrupted age, decay first appears
 1 Louis Blanc, i. 313, 314; Cap. ii. 122, 124. in the most elevated stations; if fidelity is to be looked for, it is among those who have not been exposed to their temptations.¹

But while the peers and deputies were in this manner disposing of the crown of
 21. Reunion of France, a formidable opposition was
 the Republics arising among the Republicans, and
 Lointier's. the chances of success were almost equally balanced on both sides. A meeting of ardent Jacobins sat in permanence at the Restaurateur Lointier's in the Rue St. Honoré, and they were prepared to adopt the most audacious resolutions. Knowledge, fortune, reputation, resources, all were awaiting them, but that was the very thing which constituted their strength. They had arms in their hands and courage in their hearts: prepared for death, they were not less so for command. In vain Béranger and the Orleans agents strove to win them over to their side. They steadily resisted the seduction, and a ferocious debate ensued, in the course of which a pistol was discharged at an Orleanist orator, which wounded him in the cheek. At length the following address was agreed to, and sent by a deputation to the provisional government at the Hôtel de Ville: "The people yesterday have reconquered their rights at the price of their blood. The most precious of these rights is that of choosing their form of government. It is necessary to take care that no proclamation should be issued which designs the form even of the government which may be chosen. A provisional representation of the nation exists;
 2 Moniteur, Aug. 31, 1830; Louis Blanc, i. 317, 318. let it continue till the wishes of the majority of Frenchmen are known."²

The deputies, after making their way through
 22. the crowd which filled the Place de Grève, were admitted to General Lafayette. The veteran general, who was himself undecided what course to pursue, received them with a long and studied harangue, in which he spoke, with the garrulous

vanity of an old man, of America, the National Guard of 1789, and the part he had borne in the first Revolution. He was still descending on his former services to the cause of freedom, when M. de Sussy was introduced with the new ordinances of Charles X., which had been refused admittance at the Chamber of Deputies. No sooner was their import disclosed by the veteran general, than a cry arose, "We are betrayed! What! new ministers named by Charles X.! No, no; we are done with the Bourbons." Such was their fury, that one of the Republicans, M. Bastide, flew at M. de Sussy, and tried to throw him out of the window. "What are you doing?" cried M. Trélat, holding him back—"a negotiator!" Trembling for the consequences, M. de Lafayette invited M. de Sussy to withdraw and go to the Municipal Council in the same edifice, which he accordingly did. A frightful tumult arose as he withdrew, and the last words which reached his ears were, "Carry back your ordinances: we are done with Charles X." A proclamation was soon after read, amidst general applause, which had been proposed at the Municipal Council, and expressed in clear terms the wishes of the extreme Republican party.^{1*}

But while these measures were adopted by the most violent of their partisans, M. de Lafayette was still a prey to anxiety and indecision, and he addressed a letter to M. de Mortemart, the courtesy and diplomatic ambiguity of which strangely contrasted with the precision and courage of the Republican Address.²³ Meanwhile, the alarm having spread among the Republicans, deputations rapidly succeeded each other at the Hôtel de Ville, whose vehemence and audacity differed widely from the irresolution of the chief. Among the rest there arrived one from the scholars of the Ecole Polytechnique, who had distinguished themselves

* "France is free: it will have a constitution. It awards to the provisional government only the right of consulting it. In the mean time, until its will is expressed, the following principles must be recognized:

"No more royalty.

"Government exercised solely by the representatives of the nation.

"The executive government confided to a temporary president.

"The concourse, mediate or immediate, of all the citizens in the election of deputies.

"The liberty of worship: no national religion.

"The forces by sea and land secured against arbitrary dismissal.

"The establishment of national guards over all France, and the preservation of the constitution intrusted to their arms.

"The principles for which we have shed our blood we are willing, if necessary, to support by legal insurrection." —LOUIS BLANC, vol. i. p. 322.

† "I have received the letter which you did me the honor to send me, with all the sentiments which your personal character has long inspired. M. de Sussy will give you an account of the visit which he has paid to me. I have fulfilled your intention in reading what you addressed to me to the persons by whom I was surrounded. I asked M. de Sussy to withdraw to the Municipal Council, then thinly attended, which was sitting in the Hôtel de Ville. He has seen M. Lafitte, who was there with several of his colleagues, and I will give to General Gérard the papers which you have intrusted to me, but the duties which remain me here render it impossible for me to wait on you. If you come to the Hôtel de Ville, I will have the honor of receiving you, but without advantage as to the object of this conversation, since your communications have been made to my colleagues." —LAFAYETTE to M. DE MORTEMART; LOUIS BLANC, vol. i. p. 323.

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 319, 321; Cap. ii. 139, 144; Ann. Hist. 1830, 74, 79.

²³ Continued indecision at the Hôtel de Ville.

so much during the insurrection; and at their instigation a proclamation was prepared, to be addressed to a regiment stationed at La Fère. M. Mauguin began to write it, when he was interrupted by M. Odillon Barrot, who said, "Let them do it; they understand it better than you." When the proclamation was written, it was presented to General Lobau to sign, but he refused. "He will sign nothing," said M. Mauguin; "he has just refused to sign an order for the seizure of a dépôt of powder." "He recoils, then!" exclaimed one of the deputation. "Nothing is so dangerous in revolution as those who recoil; I will have him shot." "Shot!" said M. Mauguin—"shoot a member of the provisional government!" "Sir," said the young man, leading him to the window, and pointing to a hundred men who had fought the preceding day at the Caserne de Babylone, "there are men who, if ordered by me to shoot God Almighty, would do it!" M. Mauguin signed the proclamation in silence.¹

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 324; Sarrans, i. 124, 127.

While the scales of fortune thus hung equally poised at the Hôtel de Ville, the able men who directed the affairs of the Orleanists, at Lafitte's, were improving the time to the uttermost in furthering the interests of their chief. Two young men, MM. Ladvocat and Dumoulin, thought at first of proclaiming the Empire; but Thiers and Mignet persuaded the first to desist from the attempt, and the latter, having gone in uniform to the great hall in the Hôtel de Ville, was invited to walk for consultation into an adjoining apartment, where he was disarmed and made prisoner. The great name of Napoleon—that name which had so lately resounded through the world, and was still worshiped in secret by so many hearts—was scarcely heard in those eventful days, when the crown he had worn seemed offered as the prize of the first audacious enterprise. Singular revolution in the wheel of fortune, to have occurred in so short a time, and rendered still more remarkable by what took place in after days, on a similar scramble for the crown in the same city!²

² Louis Blanc, i. 325, 326; Sarrans, i. 129, 132.

But while so many circumstances conspired to facilitate the ascent of the throne by the Duke of Orleans, it was all but lost by his own timidity and irresolution. Anxiously expected at the Hôtel Lafitte, where the crown was to be tendered to him, he did not make his appearance. Hour after hour elapsed after that at which the deputies had promised his arrival, and still he was not visible. Anxiety first, then alarm, was painted on every visage. Had he declined the crown? Did he want courage to seize it? These questions were present to every mind, and as evening approached, and he still did not arrive, began to be cautiously whispered in Lafitte's crowded ante-chamber. Messengers were sent to the Palais Royal, to inquire if any tidings had been received of his royal highness. They returned with intelligence that nothing was known, that he had not been heard of, and that a few domestics, in evident alarm, alone occupied the sumptuous residence. It was soon whispered that they were removing the most valuable effects from the Palais Royal, and that

Béranger had been very ill received by the assembly at Lointier's. The word REPUBLIC was heard in the saloons of the great banker. Instantly a universal panic took place. Every one found some pretext for leaving the hotel. In a few minutes the rooms were empty; it was the counterpart of the desertion of Napoleon at Fontainebleau. By eleven o'clock no one remained with Lafitte but M. Adolphe Thibaudau and M. Benjamin Constant. When they were about to separate, the Duke de Broglie entered, followed by M. Maurice Duval, but still they could give no intelligence of the Duke. "What will become of us to-morrow?" said Lafitte. "We shall be hanged," replied Benjamin Constant, with the look and ¹ Louis Blanc, i. 332, 333. accent of despair.¹

This alternative, which at that juncture was more than probable, however, was prevented by what soon after occurred. At one in the morning, Col. Heymès came and announced the arrival of the Duke of Orleans at Paris. In effect, he had set out at eleven at night, on foot, from Neuilly, disguised in a bourgeois dress, accompanied only by three persons similarly equipped. Worn out with anxiety and fatigue, he passed the barrier a little after midnight, and traversed the streets, amidst the cries of the Republicans, to which he was obliged to respond in order to make his way through the throng. M. de Mortemart was introduced soon after his arrival. He found the Prince stretched on a mattress in one of the apartments, bathed in sweat, undressed, and covered only with an old coverlid. He began immediately to protest, with the utmost volubility, his strong attachment and unalienable fidelity to the elder branch of his family. While he was still doing so, cries of "Vive le Duc d'Orleans!" were heard in the streets. "You hear that?" said M. de Mortemart; "it is you that they design." "No, no," replied the Duke with energy; "*I would die rather than accept the crown!*" Yesterday evening a crowd invaded Neuilly, and asked to see me in the name of the deputies. On being informed by the Duchess that I was abroad, they declared that they would take her to Paris with all her children, and keep them there prisoners till the Duke of Orleans made his appearance. The Duchess, terrified at her position, and trembling for her children, wrote me an urgent note to return as soon as possible. That letter was brought me by a faithful servant. Upon receiving it, I no longer hesitated to return to save my family, and they brought me here far on in the evening." And seizing a pen, he wrote a letter, full of protestations of fidelity, to Charles X., which M. de Mortemart inclosed in his neckcloth, and set off. It was that letter which inspired such cruel confidence in the falling monarch, and caused him to repose with fatal security on the fidelity of his insidious and vacillating kinsman. While this was passing at Paris, in the palace of the Duke of Orleans, Charles X., the Duchess de Berri, and the royal infants were on their way, at midnight, from St. Cloud to Trianon, bathed in tears, and under the escort of a slender detachment of the body-guard.²

^{26.} Arrival of the Duke of Orleans at Paris, and his interview with M. de Mortemart.

² Cap. ii. 164; Louis Blanc, i. 334, 335; Sarrans, i. 134, 137.

At eight on the following morning, M. Sébas-

tiani, with a deputation, arrived at the Palais Royal. They entered the Duke's apartment, contrary to all custom, without being announced, and stated the object of their visit, which was to pray the Duke to accept the lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The moment was solemn; a crown or a scaffold were the alternatives which were presented. A stronger mind than that of the Duke of Orleans might have quailed under the responsibility of decision under such circumstances; and his indecision was increased by the knowledge that Charles X., at the head of twelve thousand men, was only a few leagues from Paris, and by the efforts which the loyal spirit of the Duchess had made to retain him in the path of honor and duty. His embarrassment was visible on his countenance, scarcely disguised by a forced smile on his lips. For some time his indecision continued; he still strove to await the course of events, and to gain time for them to declare themselves: the usual resource of feeble minds in presence of danger. Seeing him thus irresolute, and divining, perhaps, through all his studied evasions, the secret wishes of the Duke, the deputies assumed higher language, and pointed out the dangers which threatened the country and himself if a decision was any longer delayed. The Duke prayed for a few minutes longer, and retired to his cabinet, followed by General Sébastiani, who was immediately dispatched to M. de Talleyrand's, in the Rue Saint Florentin. Sébastiani found the "putter down and setter up of kings" dressing, and soon returned with a sealed letter, in which were written the words "Qu'il accepte." The Duke hesitated no longer, but re-entered the large saloon, and announced his acceptance of the Lieutenant-Générale, which was immediately announced in a skillful proclamation to the inhabitants of the capital.¹*

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 337, 338; Cap. ii. 181, 184; Sarrans, i. 90, 92.

The address was received with loud acclamations by the Chamber; but it was felt to be indispensable to publish an exposition of the principles on which the government was to be conducted, and the form which it was to assume. The duty of framing it was intrusted to the skillful hands of M. Guizot, and it was signed by ninety-one deputies. In it are to be found the leading principles of constitutional government, indeed, but enveloped in generalities very different from the clearness and precision of the Republicans at the Hôtel de Ville, and on that account more likely to occasion heats and animosity in the capital.† Nothing

* "Inhabitants of Paris!—The Deputies of France, at this moment assembled at Paris, have expressed a wish that I should repair to that capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. I have not hesitated to share your danger, to place myself in the midst of that heroic population, and to make every effort to preserve you from civil war and anarchy. On entering the city of Paris, I bore with pride those glorious colors which you have resumed, and which I myself have long borne. The Chambers are about to assemble; they will consider the means of assuring the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation. A charter shall henceforth be a reality."

"LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

—*Moniteur*, Aug. 1, 1830.

† "Français, la France est libre. Le pouvoir absolu levait son drapeau. L'héroïque population de Paris l'a

was to be found in it of a lowering of the qualification of electors, of a republic, or of universal suffrage, but much of the development of institutions and progressive improvement, which they well knew in reality meant nothing. Accordingly, the address was extremely ill received at the Hôtel de Ville, and in all the crowded parts of the city; and one of the agents, who was distributing it in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, owed his life only to the intervention of an armed body of the Ecole Polytechnique. "Where was the Duke of Orleans when we were fighting in the streets? When did he enter Paris? On the 30th, when the victory was gained, and it remained only to bury the dead! A friend of the court, his place was beside the King—a supporter of the people, why was he not at our head in the Hôtel de Ville, in the Marché des Innocents, at the Porte St. Denis, at the façade of the Louvre? What guarantee does his address or that of the Chambers hold out? None but a few vague phrases which in reality mean nothing, and are consistent with the most complete despotism that ever disgraced humanity." Words such as these were in every mouth among the working classes of the citizens, and it was evident to all ¹ Louis Blanc, i. 341, 344; Cap. ii. 180, 182; Ann. Hist. 1830, 128, 130.

These considerations led the Orleanists to accelerate the visit of the Prince to the Hôtel de Ville, where he would meet his most formidable antagonists face to face, and an end might be put to the state of uncertainty which prevailed concerning the government. Already they had been preparing for his reception there; night and day Lafayette was besieged with representations from the Duke's partisans, that

abattu. Paris attaque a fait triompher, par les armes, la cause sacrée qui venait de triompher en vain dans les élections. Un pouvoir usurpateur de nos droits, perturbateur de notre repos, menaçait, à la fois, l'liberté et l'ordre. Nous rentrons en possession de l'ordre et de la liberté. Plus de crainte pour les droits acquis, plus de barrière entre nous et les droits qui nous manquent encore!

"Un gouvernement qui, sans délai, nous garantisse ces biens, est aujourd'hui le premier besoin de la Patrie. Français! Ceux de vos députés qui se trouvent déjà à Paris, se sont réunis, et, en attendant l'intervention régulière des Chambres, ils ont invité un Français qui n'a jamais combattu pour la France, M. le Duc d'Orleans, à exercer les fonctions de Lieutenant-Général du royaume. C'est à leurs yeux le moyen d'accomplir promptement, par la paix, le succès de la plus légitime des forces."

"Le Duc d'Orleans est dévoué à la cause nationale et constitutionnelle. Il en a toujours défendu les intérêts et professé les principes. Il respectera nos droits; car il tiendra de nous les siens. Nous nous assurons, par des lois, toutes les garanties nécessaires pour rendre la liberté forte et durable."

"Le rétablissement de la Garde Nationale, avec l'intervention des Gardes Nationaux dans le choix des officiers."

"L'intervention des citoyens dans la formation des administrations municipale et départementale."

"Le Jury pour les délits de la presse."

"La responsabilité légalement organisée des ministres, et des agents secondaires de l'administration."

"L'état des militaires légalement assuré."

"La réélection des députés promus à des fonctions publiques."

"Nous donnerons à nos institutions, de concert avec le chef de l'état, les développements dont elles ont besoin."

"Français! Le Duc d'Orleans lui-même a parlé, et son langage est celui qui convient à un pays libre. Les Chambres vont se réunir pour les détails. Elles aviseront aux moyens d'assurer le règne des lois et le maintien des droits de la nation. La charte sera désormais une vérité."

—*Moniteur*, Aug. 1, 1830; *Ann. Hist.*, 1830, p. 174.

the recognition of him as sovereign was the only possible way of avoiding the dangers which threatened the country. He was still a prey to indecision, when it was announced that the Duke of Orleans, with such of the Chamber as had signed the address to him, were coming to visit him in the Hôtel de Ville. The deputies, in coming to the Palais Royal, had been so ill received by the crowds which filled the streets that they trembled for their lives. The procession set out amidst loud acclamations, however, from the Palais Royal: the Duke on horseback; M. Lafitte, who had been hurt on the leg, carried by Savoyards in a litter. The acclamations continued as they passed the Carrousel, but they sensibly lessened as they went along the quays; and when they approached the Place de Grève, appearances were quite threatening. An immense crowd filled the square, the grave and menacing aspect of which augured ill to the new reign which was about to commence. Every thing was prepared to give him a hostile reception by the Republicans who crowded the Place, and assassins were even prepared with loaded fire-arms to kill him on the spot. Hardly were Benjamin Constant and Béranger able to restrain them. Nor were these sentiments shared only by the humbler classes. "He is a Bourbon!" cried General Lobau; "I am not for him more than the rest." The crowd was anxious and agitated, and the swell and fall were visible among them which betokened an approaching storm.¹

At length the Duke approached, grave and anxious, but without any visible perturbation. When he alighted from his horse and ascended the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, a loud rolling of drums was heard in the interior of the building, and Lafayette came to the top of the stair to receive him. The Duke of Orleans was deadly pale. Lafayette advanced to him with the studied politeness of the old school. The ceremony commenced with the reading the declaration of the Chambers. When they came to the words, "Jury trial for the offenses of the press," the Duke leant forward to Lafitte and said, loud enough to be overheard, "There will be no longer any offenses of the press." When the reading was finished, the Duke rose up, and said with a loud voice, "As a Frenchman, I deplore the evils inflicted on the country; as a prince, I am happy to contribute to the happiness of the nation." The deputies loudly applauded these words; the Republicans gnashed their teeth with indignation. General Dubourg then advanced, and, pointing to the square filled with armed men, said, "You know our rights; should you forget them, we will remind you of them." General Lafayette then led the Prince out on the balcony of the window, and as the tricolor flag waved over their heads, embraced the Prince in the presence of the people. Loud applause followed the dramatic scene. "Vive Lafayette! Vive le 1830, 78, 86; Duc d'Orleans!" was heard on all sides. "The part of the people," says the Republican historian, "was 87, 92; Cap. played out; the reign of the bourgeois commenced."²

After the Duke had retired, a programme

was written out, which contained, as it were, the "social contract" between the king and people. It was then the famous expression was used, "What France requires is a throne surrounded with republican institutions." M. Lafayette brought it to the Palais Royal for the Duke's signature, but, with the trust of a man of honor, he was satisfied with the Duke's words, and did not require his signature. Lafayette was afterward warmly reproached for his negligence on this occasion; but he partook the illusion, at that period common among all the philosophic Liberals, as to the possibility of uniting the reality of a republic with the forms of a monarchy. "Good God! is it then true," said the old Abbé Grégoire, "we are thus to have both a Republic and a King!"¹

The Government of the Bourgeoisie was now constituted; but there remained the difficult task of reconciling the people to any government in which a Bourbon bore a part. To obviate the unfavorable impression thus produced, the Orleans committee prepared and placarded over all Paris a proclamation—not a little surprising, considering that M. Mignet and M. Thiers were members of it—"Le Duc d'Orleans n'est pas un Bourbon; c'est un Valois." A memorable assertion to be made by historians of a lineal descendant of Henry IV., and of the brother of Louis XIV.! At the same time, the utmost pains were taken to discredit the Republicans in every possible way, and represent their ascendancy as the immediate precursor of pillage, violence, and a second reign of blood. These efforts were eminently successful; the recollection of the former revolution was too recent not to speak powerfully to every rational mind. M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Mignet, and the other able writers who at that period directed the Liberal press, did their utmost to encourage these views, and as they coincided with the ideas of the great majority of the citizens, and of nearly all possessed of property, the Republicans were soon reduced to a small fraction of society, guided, however, by the most ardent and intrepid men. To win over these leaders was the great object, and to bring it about, a meeting was arranged between them and the Duke of Orleans.²

"To-morrow," said M. Boinvilliers, the spokesman on the occasion—"to-morrow you will be King." At these words the Duke shook his head and said, "I have never aspired to the crown, though many persons have pressed me with ardor to accept it." "But," resumed M. Boinvilliers, "if you should become King, what are your ideas upon the treaties of 1815? Observe, it is not a liberal revolution, it is a national one, which has taken place in the streets. It is the sight of the tricolor flag which has raised the people, and it would be more easy to drive Paris to the Rhine than St. Cloud." "I am no partisan of the treaties of 1815, but we must avoid irritating foreign powers." "What is your opinion on the peerage? It has no longer any roots in society; the new law, by dividing properties, has stifled it in its cradle, and the aristocracy

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 347, 348; Cap. ii. 183, 184; Ann. Hist. 1831, 76, 77.

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 353, 354.

² Efforts of the Orleansists to popularize the new dynasty.

² Louis Blanc, i. 355, 356; Cap. ii. 88, 92.

³ Conversation between the Duke of Orleans and the Republicans.

has lived out its day." "In hereditary aristocracy," replied the Duke, "is the best basis of society; but it is an open question; and if the hereditary peerage can not maintain itself, I am not the man who will endow it. I was once a Republican, but I have lived to be convinced it is inapplicable to such a country as France." "In the interest of the crown," interrupted M. Bastide, "you should convoke the primary assemblies." To this the Duke made no other answer, but pointed to paintings of the battles of Valmy and Jemappes, at which he had assisted. He then condemned in violent terms the proceedings of the Convention. "You forget," said Cavaignac, "that my father was a member of the Convention." "And mine also!" cried the Duke; "and I never knew a more respectable man." Finding they could make nothing of him, the Republicans retired. "You will return to-morrow?" said the Duke, in a flattering voice. "Never," replied one of their number. "Never! that is a word which should never be uttered," said the Duke; and they parted.

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 359, 360.

"He is nothing but one of the two hundred and twenty-one," said M. Bastide, as they regained the street.¹

While the Chamber of Deputies was thus substantially disposing of the crown, by conferring on the Duke of Orleans the Lieutenancy-General of the kingdom, the Chamber of Peers was also assembled; and the last days of the monarchy were illustrated by one of those dignified scenes, that heroic sentiment, which, like the last rays of the sun, sometimes illuminate, ere it sets in darkness, the declining day. "A king," said Chateaubriand, "named by the Chambers or elected by the people, will ever be, whatever pains may be taken to disguise it, a novelty in France. I suppose that they wish liberty—above all, the liberty of the press, by which, and for which, they have gained so astonishing a victory. Well, every new monarchy, sooner or later, will be obliged to gag that liberty. Was Napoleon himself able to admit it? Daughter of our misfortunes and slave of our glory, the liberty of the press can not live in safety but under a government which has struck its roots deep into the hearts of men. Will a monarchy, the bastard child of a bloody night, have nothing to fear from the independence of opinion? If one party preaches up a republic, the other a more modified system, will you not be speedily driven to have recourse to laws of exception, against which no charter can afford any guarantee? What, then, friends of regulated liberty, will you gain by the change which is proposed? Of necessity you will fall into a republic, or a system of legal servitude. The monarchy will be inundated and carried away by the torrent of democratic laws, or the monarch by the movement of faction. In the first moment of success, you imagine that all is easy—that you can satisfy all exigencies, all humors—that every one will put aside his separate interests for the general good—that the superiority of intelligence, and the wisdom of government, will surmount all difficulties; but before a few months have elapsed, experience will demonstrate the futility of such expectations.

"A republic is still more impracticable. In Vol. II.—C c

the existing state of our morals, and in our relations with the adjoining states, such a government is out of the question. ^{35.} Continued.

The first difficulty would be to bring the French to any unanimous opinion on the subject. What right has the people of Paris to impose a government by its vote on the people of Marseilles? What right have they to constrain any other town to receive the rulers whom they have chosen, or the form of government which they have adopted? Shall we have one republic or twenty republics? a federal union, or a commonwealth, one and indivisible? Do you really suppose that, with your manners and ideas, any president, let him be as grave or authoritative as can be figured, will be able, for any length of time, to maintain his authority, except by force? Must he not soon be reduced to the necessity of making himself a despot or resigning? He will neither inspire the confidence which is necessary to the security and the prosperity of commerce, nor possess the power requisite for the maintenance of domestic tranquillity, nor the dignity essential in intercourse with foreign states. If he has recourse to coercive measures, the republic will become odious at home; if he gives it full license abroad, it will become the object of terror, and bring Europe to our gates. A representative republic may perhaps be the destined future of the world, but its time has not yet arrived.

"Iniquitous ministers have sullied the Crown: they have supported the violation of the law by murder; they have made ^{36.} a laughing-stock of oaths, and of all Continued. that is sacred upon earth. Strangers! you who have twice entered Paris, learn the secret of your success. You presented yourselves in the name of legal power. If you now hastened to the support of illegal usurpation, do you suppose that the gates of the capital of the civilized world would so speedily be opened to you? The French nation has grown major since the departure of your armies, under the reign of constitutional laws: our children of fourteen are giants to what they were; our conscripts of Algiers, our scholars of Paris, have revealed to us the sons of the conquerors of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, but the sons fortified by all that liberty adds to glory. Never was cause more sacred than that of the people of Paris. They have risen, not against the law, but for the law. So long as their rights were respected, they remained quiet; neither insults, provocations, menaces, nor bribes, have been able to shake their loyalty. But when, after having kept up the system of deceit to the last moment, the signal of slavery was suddenly sounded, they became prodigal of their blood. When a terror of the palaces, organized by eunuchs, pretended to replace the terror of the Republic founded in blood, or the terror of the Empire radiant with glory, then the people stood forth armed with their intelligence and their courage; then they showed that the shopkeepers were not afraid of the smell of powder, and that it required more than a corporal and a few soldiers to subdue them. A great crime has been committed; it has produced a mighty explosion; but what we have now to consider is, whether we are constrained by this crime

and its moral expiation to violate the established order of things.

“Charles X. and his son are dethroned, or have abdicated, as you have heard; but the throne is not thereby vacant.

37. Continued. After them a child is called to the succession, and who will venture to condemn his innocence? What blood cries for justice? No one ventures to say *his* father has shed it. Alas! it was shed by an assassin, in the name, though against the wishes, of the people. The orphan he has left, educated in the schools of the country, in the ideas of the constitution, and abreast of his age, might become a king with all the requirements of the future. It is to the guardian of his youth that you may commit the oath by which he is to reign: arrived at majority, he will renew that oath in his own person. That combination removes every obstacle, reconciles every advantage, and perhaps may save France from the convulsions which attend too frequently violent changes in the state. I know that in removing that child it is said you establish the principle of the sovereignty of the people: the new sovereign or president can hold only of the people. Vain illusion, the offspring of the old school, which proves that in the march of intellect our old democrats have not made greater advances than the partisans of royalty. Absolute government is nowhere to be found: liberty does not flow from political right, as was supposed in the eighteenth century; it flows from natural right, which is the same under all forms of government. It were easy to show that men may be as free, and freer, under a monarchy than a republic, were this the time or the place to deliver a lecture on political philosophy.

“All Europe has for ages recognized the superiority of a hereditary to an elective monarchy. The reason is obvious; it stands in need of no development. You choose a king to-day; who is to prevent you from choosing another to-morrow? The law will do so. You have made the law; you can unmake it. You have conquered and dethroned the Bourbons, and you will maintain what you have gained. It is well. You proclaim the sovereignty of force: be sure you keep it well; for if in a few months it escapes you, you will have no title to complain of your own overthrow. At the moment when the abominable abuse of power has broken the sceptre in the hand of him who wielded it, are you prepared to seize the fragments and do the same with them? Dangerous fragments! they will wound the arm which has seized them even before those against whom they are directed. The idolatry of a name is ended. Monarchy is no longer a worship; it is a simple form of government, preferable at this crisis to any other, because it can alone reconcile order with liberty.

39. Concluded. “A disregarded Cassandra, I have fatigued the throne and the peerage enough with my prophecies; it remains for me only to seat myself on the ruins of a shipwreck which I have so often predicted. I recognize in misfortune every power except that of liberating us from our oaths of fidelity. I am bound to render my life consistent. After all I have said, done, and written for the Bour-

bons, I should be the basest of the human race if I denied them when, for the *third and last time*, they are directing their steps toward exile. I leave fear to those generous Royalists who have never sacrificed a penny or a place to their fidelity, who formerly reproached me with being a renegade, an apostate, a revolutionist. Instigators of the *coup d'état*, where are you now? The noble colors which decorated your bosoms could not conceal their baseness. In speaking thus openly, I am not doing an act of heroism; these are not the times when an opinion costs a life; if it were so, I should speak a hundred times more openly. We have no reason to fear a people whose moderation is equal to their courage, or that generous youth whom I admire, and for whom, as for my country, I wish honor, liberty, and glory. Far be it from me to wish to sow divisions in my country; it is for that that I have stilled in my speech the voice of the passions. If I had the right to dispose of the crown, I would willingly place it at the feet of the Duke of Orleans; but I see vacant only a tomb at St. Denis, and not a throne. Whatever may be the destinies of the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, I shall never be his enemy, if he contributes to the happiness of the country; for myself I ask only liberty of conscience, and the right to die where I shall find independence and repose.”¹

This noble conduct was too elevated for the French peers of the nineteenth century, or perhaps for any but a few lofty minds in any age. A few peers adhered to M. de Chateaubriand, but the great majority went with the tide, and the Chamber, by a majority of 89 to 10, voted the address to the Duke of Orleans to accept the throne. All had not the magnanimity of that chivalrous relic of the olden time, and his disinterestedness will not be duly appreciated unless it is known what, at the very moment when he made this declaration, he had been refusing. The Duke of Orleans, who was extremely apprehensive of the effect likely to be produced by the indignant speech of the poetic orator, had recently before sent for him, and offered him the situation of minister of foreign affairs if he would send in his adhesion to his government. The request was supported by the tears of the Duchess of Orleans and the masculine eloquence of Madame Adelaide—but in vain. Chateaubriand resisted alike their offers and their solicitations: he preferred rather poverty, exile, and honor. He re-
signed all his situations under Government, sold off his whole effects, and withdrew from France with 700 francs (£28), the sole residue of all his fortune.* “*Semper bonæ mentis soror est paupertas.*”²

* Chateaubriand has left, in his *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, an extremely interesting account of his conversation with the Duchess of Orleans, the Princess Adélaïde, and Louis Philippe, on this decisive occasion: “Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans me fit asseoir auprès d'elle, et sur-le-champ elle me dit,—‘Ah! Monsieur de Chateaubriand, nous sommes bien malheureux. Si tous les partis voulaient se réunir, peut-être pourrait-on encore se sauver. Que pensez-vous de tout cela?’ ‘Madame,’ répondis-je, ‘rien n'est si aisé. Charles X. et Monsieur le Dauphin ont abdicqué. Henri est maintenant roi. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans est Lieutenant-Général du royaume. Qu'il

¹ *Moniteur*, August 3, 1830; *Ann. Hist.* 1830, 240, 242.

² Chateaubriand refuses the portfolio of foreign affairs.

² Chateaub. *Mem. d'Outre Tombe*, ix. 390, 393, 351, 355; *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 243, 245; Louis Blanc, i. 438.

At length this well-got-up dramatic scene, on the part of the Duke of Orleans, drew to a close. The Republicans made immense efforts for some days, after the display at the Hôtel de Ville on the 31st August, to get up a democratic agitation, and bands of young men, with whom the police and military did not venture to interfere, paraded the streets, incessantly calling on the people to assert their rights, and not suffer the crown to be disposed of by a clique at Lafitte's, without their knowledge or consent. The club at Lointier's even went so far as to prepare and placard a proclamation, in which they refused to recognize the Lieutenant-General of the Duke of Orleans, and insisted that the provisional government, with Lafayette at its head, should remain in possession of power at the Hôtel de Ville till the sense of the nation had been taken upon the form of government to which it was inclined. But it was all in vain. Leaders, organ-

ization, money, were all wanting on their side, as much as they were in affluence in the ante-chambers of Louis Philippe; and these in the long run, and after the first burst of popular enthusiasm is over, are all-powerful in civil as well as in all other conflicts. From the 1st to the 6th August, the Chambers were occupied with the preparation of the constitution; and on the 9th, a deputation from the ¹ Moniteur, two Chambers waited on the Duke Aug. 10, 1830; An. Hist. xiii. 245; Louis Blanc, i. 429, 431; Sarrans, i. 34, 35.

The ceremony of accepting the constitution took place with great pomp in the Chamber of Deputies. "Gentlemen, Peers and Deputies," said the Duke, after the reading of the constitution had terminated, "I have read with great attention the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies and the adhesion of the Peers, and I have weighed and meditated upon all its expressions. I accept, without restriction or reserve, the clauses and engagements which that declaration contains, and the title of KING OF THE FRENCH which it confers upon me, and I am ready to swear to observe them." He then took the oath, which was in these terms: "In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications contained in the declaration; to govern only by the laws, and according to the laws; to render fair and equal justice to every one, according to his right, and to act in every thing in no other view but that of the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." He then ascended the throne amidst cries of "Vive le Roi! Vive Philippe VII.!" but he finally took the title of LOUIS PHILIPPE, and the cortège returned in the same pomp with the new King to the Palais Royal. Thus was the Revolution of 1830 consummated, and thus did a small minority, not exceeding a third of either Chamber, at the dictation of a clique in the ante-chambers of the Duke of Orleans, dispose of the crown to a stranger to the legitimate line, without either consulting the nation, or knowing what form of government it desired! In revolutions, as in all other matters, the many are in reality governed by the few, on one side or another; and victory remains with those few who can most skillfully arrange the passions and efforts of the many in support of their separate interests. ² Moniteur, Aug. 10, 1830; An. Hist. xiii. 246, 248; Cap. ii. 355, 360.

Considering the extreme violence with which, by a well-concerted urban tumult, the throne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon had been overturned, the changes made in the constitution were by no means so considerable as might have been expected, and they went far to vindicate Louis Philippe's assertion, that his acceptance of the crown was a conservative act in the interest of order in every European state. The leading articles of the charter of Louis XVIII. were agreed to, with the exception of the famous 14th clause, conferring a dictatorial power in certain extreme cases on the King, which had been founded on by Charles

soit régent pendant la minorité de Henri V., et tout est fini." "Mais, M. de Chateaubriand, le peuple est très-agit; nous tomberons dans l'anarchie." "Madame, oserai-je vous demander quelle est l'intention de M. le Duc de Orleans? Acceptera-t-il la couronne si on la lui offre?" Les deux princesses hésitèrent à répondre; Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans répartit après un moment de silence: "Songez, M. de Chateaubriand, aux malheurs qui peuvent arriver. Il faut que tous les honnêtes gens s'entendent pour nous sauver de la République. A Rome, M. de Chateaubriand, vous pourriez rendre de si grands services, ou même ici, si vous ne voulez plus quitter la France." "Madame n'ignore pas mon dévouement au jeune roi, et à sa mère?" "Ah! M. de Chateaubriand, ils vous ont si bien traité." "Votre Altesse Royale ne voudrait pas que je démentisse toute ma vie." "Monsieur de Chateaubriand, vous ne connaissez pas ma nièce. Elle est si légère—Pauvre Caroline! Je vais envoyer chercher M. le Duc d'Orleans, il vous persuadera mieux que moi." La princesse donna des ordres, et Louis Philippe arriva au bout d'un demi-quart d'heure. Il était mal vêtu, et avait l'air extrêmement fatigué. . . . "Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans a dû vous dire combien nous sommes malheureux." Et sur-le-champ il fit une idylle sur le bonheur dont il jouissait à la campagne, sur la vie tranquille et selon ses goûts qu'il passait au milieu de ses enfants. Je saisis le moment d'une pose entre deux strophes pour prendre à mon tour respectueusement la parole, et pour répéter à peu près ce que j'avais dit aux princesses. "Ah!" s'écria-t-il, "c'était-là mon désir! Combien je serais satisfait d'être le tuteur et le soutien de cet enfant! Je pense tout comme vous, M. de Chateaubriand; prendre le Duc de Bordeaux serait certainement ce qu'il y aurait de mieux à faire. Je crains seulement que les événements ne soient plus forts que nous." "Plus forts que nous, Monseigneur! N'êtes-vous pas estimé de tous les pouvoirs? Allons rejoindre Henri V. Appelez auprès de vous hors de Paris les Chambres et l'armée. Sur le seul bruit de votre départ, toute cette effervescence tombera, et l'on cherchera un abri sous votre pouvoir éclairé et protecteur." Pendant que je parlais, j'observais Louis Philippe. *Mon conseil le mettait mal à l'aise. Je lus écrit sur son front le désir d'être roi.* "Monsieur de Chateaubriand," me dit-il sans me regarder, "la chose est plus difficile que vous ne le pensez; cela ne va pas comme cela. Vous ne savez pas dans quel péril nous sommes. Une bande furieuse peut se porter contre les Chambres aux derniers excès, et nous n'avons rien encore pour nous défendre. . . . Croyez-le bien c'est moi qui retiens seul une foule menaçante. Si le parti royaliste n'est pas massacré, il ne doit sa vie qu'à mes efforts." "Monseigneur," répondis-je, "j'ai vu des massacres; ceux qui ont passé à travers la Révolution sont aguerries. Les moustaches grises ne se laissent pas effrayer par les objets qui font peur aux conscrits." . . . Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans désira me voir encore une fois. . . . "Je supplie madame," dis-je, "d'excuser la vivacité de mes paroles. Je suis pénétré de ses bontés; j'en garderai un profond et reconnaissant souvenir, mais elle ne voudrait pas me déshonorer. Plaiguez-moi, madame, plaiguez-moi!" Elle se leva, et, en s'en allant, elle me dit, "Je ne vous plains pas, Monsieur de Chateaubriand, je ne vous plains pas." —CHATEAUBRIAND, *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*, vol. ix. p. 352, 362.

^{43.} Changes in the constitution of the Revolution.

X. as the authority for the ordinances of Polignac, and the *coup d'état* which accompanied them. The age of electors was fixed at twenty-five, that of deputies at thirty-one. The creations of peers made during the reign of Charles X. were all declared null; but the important question of the hereditary character of the peerage was reserved for future discussion. The duration of the Chamber of Deputies was fixed at five years, and the annual removal and renewal of a fifth abolished. No change was, in the mean time, made in the money qualification of voters, which remained at 300 francs, or £12 of direct taxes; so little were even the victorious revolutionists aware of the vital importance of any regulation on that subject. They contented themselves with declarations on the responsibility of ministers; the trial of charges for alleged crimes of the press by juries; the re-election of deputies who had accepted office; the annual vote of the expenses of the army; the establishment of a National Guard; the pay of officers by sea or land; the municipal and departmental institutions; the public education and the liberty of instruction. These were all-important objects in the formation

¹ *Moniteur*, of the details of a free constitution; Aug. 4 and 5, 1830; but even taken together, they yielded in importance to the vital point of the qualification of electors, a change in which, two years afterward, changed the destinies of the British people.¹

A few peers of the Royalist party, who preferred poverty to dishonor, gave in the resignation of their seats in the House of Peers. Their disinterestedness in doing so will not be duly appreciated, unless it is recollected that many of them, like Chateaubriand, had no other means of existence but the pension allotted to peers, which was 10,000 francs, or £400 a year. The names were—the Duke de Montmorency, the Vicomte Dambray, the Marquis Latour-Maubourg, Latour-Dupin, the Dukes d'Avray and de Croi, the Vicomte de Chateaubriand, the Marquis de Pérignon, the Duke de Damas-Caux, Auguste de Talleyrand, and the Marquis de Saint-Romans. History may well preserve their names; her pages will not be overcharged with similar lists of disinterested fidelity. Some honorable Royalists, as the Duke de Noailles, M. de Mortemart, and M. de Martignac, took the oaths without reservation, as the only means, in existing circumstances, of saving the country; a few, as M. de Fitzjames, with the addition of a few unmeaning words of qualification. On the other hand, there was not wanting a phalanx of rising talent, partly aristocratic, partly plebeian, which clustered round the throne of Louis Philippe. It was chiefly found among the editors or contributors to newspapers, who had been so instrumental in contributing to his elevation. By an ordinance of 11th August, M. Dupont

Aug. 11. de l'Eure was made Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice; Count Gérard, Secretary at War; Count Molé, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Count Sébastiani for the Marine; the Duke de Broglie for Public Instruction, and President of the Council (Premier); Baron Louis, Secretary for the Finances; M. Guizot, Sec-

retary for the Interior; M. Lafitte, M. Casimir Périer, M. Dupin aîné, and Baron Bignon, were ministers without any fixed appointments. This list was a great change upon the aristocratic cabinet of Charles X., but still it was not nearly so popular as the democratic retainers of the Duke of Orleans desired; and thence the commencement of a feeling of jealousy fraught with numberless difficulties to the government of Louis Philippe, and which in the end proved fatal to his throne.¹

But while every thing at Paris, so far as the Government was concerned, was proceeding smoothly, distress, the invariable attendant on social convulsions, was spreading rapidly among the people; and the working classes were taught by bitter experience the eternal truth, that whoever gains by revolutions, they, in the first instance at least, are sure to lose. Before the songs of triumph were silent, or the discharges of musketry had ceased in the streets, a frightful amount of distress had spread among the people. In vain the Government placarded a proclamation through the capital: "Brave workmen! return to your workshops." They did so; but they found no work there. As a natural consequence of successful revolution, capital disappeared, and capitalists, the most timid of created beings, concealed instead of bringing forth their wealth. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme. "All the connections of industry," says the Republican analyst, "were interrupted; every musket-shot during the three days produced a bankruptcy. The Bank of France, though instituted expressly to ward off great crises, diminished its discounts with a cruel prudence, and sentinels watched over the doors of its treasures in a city filled with poor. Every day added to the distress of the people, attested by innumerable facts. The greatest of the printing-offices in the capital employed, when the Revolution broke out, two hundred workmen, who earned each from four to six francs a day; after the Revolution the premises were entirely closed during eight or ten days, at the end of which only ten or twelve workmen were re-employed. Even after the lapse of six months, not more than twenty or twenty-five were employed by any office, and they earned, not five francs a day, but twenty-five or thirty sous. Yet was the trade of printing less depressed than others. This may give an idea of the immensity of the disasters which were universally experienced. To give one example among many others which might be cited: In the quarter of Gravilliers, a lodging-house, let to two hundred workmen for 17,000 francs, suddenly fell to 10,000, and ten years afterward it had only risen to 14,000 francs." When such were the reality of the evils which the working classes endured, it was little consolation to them to be told they were the most brave and heroic of men, and that their praises were celebrated in a new *Marseillaise*, which was sung at all the theatres.²

So completely, by the results of the first Revolution, had the yoke of Paris been affixed round the neck of all France, that, after the capital had fairly declared itself, all resistance

44. Peers who resigned, and ministers who were appointed.

Aug. 11.

¹ Cap. ii. 405, 406, 418; *Moniteur*, Aug. 12. 1830.

45. Grievous distress in Paris.

² Louis Blanc, i. 445, 446.

ceased in the provinces. But before the revolution was known, or the telegraph had announced to the obedient departments who was to be their master, very serious disturbances took place, and the great manufacturing towns exhibited on a smaller scale the conflicts in the streets of Paris. The explosion was electrical and unanimous in all the great towns of France, and, as in the capital, it was mainly determined by the defection of the military. Lyons, in particular, was immediately convulsed upon the receipt of the intelligence from Paris of the publication of the ordonnances. The news arrived there on the 29th July, and instantly all business was suspended, groups were formed in the streets, and crowds assembled, in which resistance, or at least protestation, was openly discussed. No sooner, however, did intelligence arrive of the fighting in the streets of Paris, than an insurrection began under the command of Lieutenant Zindel and M. Prévost. Barricades began to be thrown up, and the National Guard turned out; but bloodshed was prevented by the defection of the military, who withdrew to their barracks amidst cries of "*Vive la charte! Vive la liberté! A bas les Bourbons!*" The news from Paris speedily completed the victory of the insurgents, and Lyons received the Government of Louis Philippe without having fired a shot. It was the same at Bordeaux, Rouen, and Marseilles; and although the western departments were longer in giving in their adhesion, yet ere long they too became convinced that farther resistance was hopeless; and before a fortnight was over the dynasty every where was changed, and all France had acknowledged the sceptre of Louis Philippe.¹

^{46.} Reception of the Revolution at Lyons, Bordeaux, and in the provinces.

¹ Louis Blanc, i. 422, 425; Cap. ii. 372, 379; An. Hist. 1830, 258, 264.

But although all France had thus confirmed the Parisian change of dynasty, yet it was still a different matter how far Europe would acquiesce in it, and for a considerable time it was more than doubtful whether it would not rekindle the flames of general war. In England, indeed, it could not be doubted how the change would be received. The child of revolution, her Government could not disclaim revolution; passionately enamored of liberty, her people could never regard with indifference a people who had drawn the sword in defense of freedom. This had uniformly been her policy: she had never intervened in any instance to put down free institutions in any country in the world; happy would it have been for her if she had never intervened on the other side to lend her countenance and aid to the cause of revolution. The Duke of Wellington had very recently, in the case of Portugal, given proof at once of his determination to shield the allies of England from external aggression, and to abstain from any interference with their internal dissensions. The very first step of Louis Philippe, accordingly, was to dispatch General Baudrand on a special mission to the Court of London, in order to obtain a recognition of his crown by the King of Great Britain. He made the journey in two days, and was enthusiastic-

ally received in passing along the road to London. In a private audience of the Duke of Wellington, he was assured by that statesman, "that England had had no share in the administration of Prince Polignac; that the throne of Charles X. had fallen from his own acts; that Great Britain, without waiting the answers of the powers with whom England was allied by the treaties of 1815, would at once recognize the King of the French, and would, if necessary, explain the events of Paris to the other powers of Europe, to whom they might be an object of suspicion and alarm." A few days afterward, General Baudrand was formally admitted as the envoy of the King of the French by William IV., from whom he received the most gracious reception.¹

¹ Cap. ii. 459, 461; An. Reg. 1830, 128, 129.

But although Louis Philippe was thus early and formally recognized by the nearest neighbor and most powerful ally or enemy of France, yet a more doubtful and difficult task remained to procure a similar recognition from the Continental sovereigns. The great point was to obtain a recognition from the Emperor of Russia, as there could be little doubt that, if that was once obtained, the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin would soon follow the example of that set by the court of St. Petersburg. The King of the French, accordingly, early dispatched a long and very able letter to the Emperor Nicholas, which is a valuable historical document, as containing the most authentic and best statement of the reasons which induced him to accept the crown.* General Athalin was dispatched to St. Petersburg with it; but before he arrived the way had been prepared by the secret dispatches of Pozzo di Borgo from Paris, who gave the most favorable account of the conservative disposition and determined acts of Louis Philippe—the last barrier against the flood of democracy which threatened to deluge Europe. The French envoy accordingly met with a cordial reception at St. Petersburg; and though the Emperor avoided any express recognition of the revolutionary principle of the right of the people to change their governors, yet he accepted Louis Philippe as a necessary compromise, and the best thing which, under ex-

* "Monsieur mon Frère,—J'annonce mon avènement à la couronne à votre Majesté Impériale, par la lettre que le Général Athalin lui apportera en mon nom; mais, j'ai besoin de lui parler avec une entière confiance sur les suites d'une catastrophe que j'aurais tant voulu prévenir. Il y a longtemps que je regrettais que le roi Charles X. et son gouvernement ne suivissent pas une marche mieux faite pour répondre à l'attente et au vœu de la nation. J'étais bien loin pourtant de prévenir les suites prodigieuses des événements qui viennent de se passer; et je croyais même qu'à défaut de cette allure franche et loyale dans l'esprit de la charte et de nos institutions, qu'il était impossible d'obtenir, il aurait suffi d'un peu de prudence et de modération pour que le gouvernement pût aller longtemps comme il allait. Mais depuis le 8 Août 1829, la nouvelle composition du ministère m'avait fort alarmé. . . . C'est dans cette situation, sire, que tous les yeux se sont tournés vers moi; les vainqueurs eux-mêmes m'ont cru nécessaire à leur salut. Je l'étais plus, peut-être, pour que les vainqueurs ne laissassent pas dégénérer la victoire. J'ai donc accepté cette tâche noble et pénible, et j'ai écarté toutes les considérations personnelles qui se réunissent pour me faire désirer d'en être dispensé, parceque j'ai senti que la moindre hésitation de ma part pourrait compromettre l'avenir de la France, et le repos de tous nos voisins."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à l'Empereur NICHOLAS, Aug. 10, 1830; CAPEFIGUE, vol. ii. p. 456, 457.

^{47.} Recognition of Louis Philippe by the English Government.

isting circumstances, could be admitted. His autograph letter left no room for doubt that, as long as the French monarch persevered in a conservative course, he would meet with the support of the Continental sovereigns.^{1*}

Ere this decisive recognition had taken place at the court of St. Petersburg, General Belliard, who was dispatched to Vienna, had met with a more amicable reception than could have been anticipated from the Austrian cabinet. Prince Metternich, who ruled it, was as well aware as any man of the necessity of bending to circumstances, and not insisting for the full carrying out of a principle when a compromise had become alone practicable. He received the French envoy, accordingly, with these words: "The Emperor Francis II., so honorable a man, has already manifested his supreme disdain for the breach of faith on the part of Charles X., and he is prepared to recognize the new Government which France has adopted. What sympathy can Austria feel for that elder branch, which has thrice compromised the peace of Europe by its faults and follies? All that she desires of France is respect for existing treaties, the maintenance of engagements, and especially the suppression of that strange spirit of propagandism which the revolutionary faction may spread over Europe by the hands of M. de Lafayette."²

It was sufficiently plain, from this ready recognition at the court of Vienna, which exceeded the most sanguine hopes of Prussia, the partisans of Louis Philippe, that its cabinet was no stranger to the secret negotiations which had been going on between the ministers of Charles X. and those of the Emperor Nicholas for the resumption of the frontier of the Rhine by France, in return for its acquiescence in the designs of Russia against Constantinople. The same knowledge extended to the cabinet of Berlin, whose Rhenish provinces were more immediately threatened by these designs of Chateaubriand and the Polignac Ministry.³ The recognition of the King of the French by Frederick-William, accordingly, was more prompt and cordial than that even of the cabinet of Vienna.⁴ Count Lobau, who was sent to Berlin, met with the most cordial reception, at the very time when General Baudrand was receiving the same at

the court of London; and all that was asked in return was the faithful observance of the treaties of 1815.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, who thus, by the force of circumstances, and the influence of dissimulation and fraud, obtained possession of the throne of France, is, of all recent sovereigns, the one concerning whose character the most difference of opinion has prevailed.

By some, who were impressed with the length and general success of his reign, he was regarded as a man of the greatest capacity; and the "Napoleon of peace" was triumphantly referred to as having achieved that which the "Napoleon of war" had sought in vain to effect. The prudent and cautious statesman who, during a considerable portion of his reign, guided the affairs of England,* had, it is well known, the highest opinion of his wisdom and judgment. By others, and especially the Royalists, whom he had dispossessed, and the Republicans, whom he had disappointed, he was regarded as a mere successful tyrant, who won a crown by perfidy, and maintained it by corruption, and in whom it was hard to say whether profound powers of dissimulation, or innate selfishness of disposition, were most conspicuous. And in the close of all, his conduct belied the assertions, and disappointed the expectations of both; for, when he fell from the throne, he neither exhibited the vigor which was anticipated by his admirers, nor the selfishness which was imputed to him by his enemies.

In truth, however, he was consistent throughout; and when his character comes to be surveyed in the historic mirror, the same features are every where conspicuous. His elevation, his duration, and his fall, are seen to have been all brought about by the same qualities. He rose to greatness, and was so long maintained in it, because he was the man of the age; but that age was neither an age of heroism nor of virtue, but of selfishness. He was the Octavius of the French Revolution; and, like him, he succeeded its Cæsar by bringing into play, and himself possessing, the ruling qualities which invariably, after a long period of social convulsions, become predominant in the public mind. Those qualities are prudence and selfishness. The generous passions which commenced the conflagration have been burnt out, or become extinct by disappointment. The noble, the chivalrous, the high-minded on all sides have perished in the conflict, as the boldest knights, the bravest regiments, disappear after a protracted warfare. The multitude alone remained, and the ruling principle with the multitude always is, in the long run, selfishness. They are capable of great and heroic efforts during a period of excitement; but with the first lull the sway of the selfish feelings always recommences. This was the character of the age of Augustus; this was the character of that emperor himself: this was the character of the age of Louis Philippe; and this was the character of the Citizen King.

* "J'ai reçu, des mains du Général Athalin, la lettre dont il a été porteur. Des événemens à jamais déplorables ont placé votre Majesté dans une cruelle alternative. Elle a pris une détermination qui lui a paru la seule propre à sauver la France des plus grandes calamités, et je ne prononcerai pas sur les considérations qui ont guidé votre Majesté; mais je forme des vœux pour que la Providence divine veuille bénir les intentions et les efforts qu'elle va faire pour le bonheur du peuple Français. De concert avec mes alliés, je me plais à accueillir le désir que votre Majesté a exprimé d'entretenir des relations de paix et d'amitié avec tous les états de l'Europe, tant qu'elles seront basées sur les traités existans, et sur la ferme volonté de respecter les droits et les obligations, ainsi que l'état de possession territoriale qu'ils ont consacrés. L'Europe y trouvera une garantie de la paix si nécessaire au repos de la France elle-même. Appelé, conjointement avec mes alliés, à cultiver avec la France, sous son gouvernement, ces relations conservatrices, j'y apporterai, de ma part, toute la sollicitude qu'elles réclament."—CAPEFIGUE, vol. ii. p. 471.

* Sir R. Peel.

His leading characteristic was prudence, his ruling principle selfishness, his great power dissimulation, his chief weakness irresolution. Personally brave, and capable of heading a charge of cavalry or mounting a breach, he was, like many other men similarly endowed with physical courage, timorous in the extreme when it became necessary to take a decided line. His long-continued indecision, when the crown was tendered to him, was the exact counterpart of the timidity with which, in the end, he shrunk from an encounter for its preservation. In the interval between the two, he always exhibited firmness and consistency of government, and occasionally decided proofs of personal resolution; but that was because he was not required then to take a line; *the line was chosen, and he had only to follow it out.* Prudent and discerning in his estimate of others, he selected able men for his advisers; but, by the native powers of his understanding, he always preserved the ascendant over them, and imprinted a steady and consistent character on his government, though nominally directed by many different cabinets. His intellectual powers were his own; but the consistency and stability of his government are known to have been mainly owing to the influence and counsels of his sister, the Princess Amélie—a princess endowed with uncommon moral courage and strength of mind, to whose advice he was chiefly indebted for his elevation to the throne, and whose loss was at once discerned in the facility with which he was precipitated from it.

The vicissitudes of his life had exceeded every thing that romance had figured or imagination could have conceived. The gallery of portraits in the sumptuous halls of the Palais Royal exhibited him with truth, alternately a young prince basking in the sunshine of rank and opulence at Paris, a soldier combating under the tricolor flag at Valmy, a schoolmaster instructing his humble scholars in Switzerland, a fugitive in misery in America, a sovereign on the throne of France. These extraordinary changes had made him as thoroughly acquainted with the ruling principles of human nature in all grades, as the misfortunes of his own house, the recollection of his father guillotined, had with the perils by which, in his exalted rank, he was environed. Essentially ruled by the selfish, he was incapable of feeling the generous emotions; like all egotists, he was ungrateful. Thankfulness finds a place only in a warm heart. He was long deterred from accepting the crown by the prospect of the risk with which it would be attended to himself, but not for one moment by the reflection that, in taking it, he was becoming a traitor to his sovereign, a renegade to his order, a recreant to his benefactor. His hypocrisy, to the last moment, to Charles X., was equaled only by his stern and hard-hearted rigor to his family, when he had an opportunity of making some return for their benefactions. His government was extremely expensive; it at once added a third to the expenditure of Charles X., as the Long Parliament had done to that of Charles I.; and it was mainly based on corruption. This, however, is not to be imputed

to him as a fault, further than as being a direct consequence of the way in which he obtained the throne. When the “unbought loyalty of men” has come to an end, government has no hold but of their selfish desires, and must rule by them; and when the “cheap defense of nations” has terminated, the costly empire of force must commence. As a set-off to these dark stains upon his moral character, there are many bright spots on his political one. He stood between Europe and the plague of revolution, and, by the temperance of his language and wisdom of his measures, at once conciliated the absolute Continental sovereigns, when they might have been expected to be hostile, and overawed the discontented in his own country when they were most threatening.

But although Louis Philippe was thus universally acquiesced in in France, and received, in a manner beyond all hope, favorably by the whole sovereigns of Europe, yet was his situation at home full of danger; and he was called to a task which the greatest abilities, and the most consummate wisdom, might have despaired of accomplishing. A revolutionary monarch, he was called to coerce revolution; raised to the throne under the shadow of the tricolor flag, he was obliged to restrain the desire which the sight of it awakened; a king elevated by the bourgeoisie, he was under the necessity of greatly augmenting the national expenses, and thwarting the passion for economy which is the ruling principle of that class. Indebted for his throne to the heroes of the barricades, he could not maintain it but by continually disappointing their expectations. His whole reign, accordingly, was a constant denial of its origin; his whole efforts, and they were many and able, were directed to restrain the passions by which he had been elevated, and extinguish the party to which he owed his greatness. Government could not, by possibility, be established on a more insecure basis, and, accordingly, the rancour with which he soon came to be regarded much exceeded any which had been manifested to Charles X. If the weight of these circumstances is considered, it will not appear extraordinary that Louis Philippe was in the end overturned; but the wonder will rather be that he succeeded in maintaining himself so long upon the throne.

The thorns were not long of showing themselves. In the Cabinet itself dissension was soon apparent. M. Lafitte, accustomed, by his previous intimacy with the Orleans family, to the language and manners of courts, was measured and respectful in his language, but M. de Lafayette had the utmost difficulty in coercing the violence and rudeness of his Republican allies. M. Dupont de l'Eure, in particular, distinguished himself by the vehemence of his democratic ideas, and his constant prophecies of disaster if his projects were not all carried into execution. The Republican journals loudly proclaimed that “the country was ruined” whenever he succeeded in carrying any thing before him in the Council. Every day Lafayette was besieged with deputations from the National Guards of all the principal towns of France. Most of them were not

53. Features, good and bad, of his character.

54. Vicissitudes of his life, and impress they had fixed to his character.

55. Extreme difficulties with which he had to contend.

56. Dissensions in the Council, and violence of the National Guard deputation.

yet dressed in uniform, but appeared in the republican blouse, ornamented only with a bunch of tricolor ribbons. Though worn out with cabinet councils of four or five hours' duration, Louis Philippe was obliged to receive these rude deputations, some of which showed by their haughty manner that they regarded themselves as masters, rather than servants, of the crown.¹

An incident occurred at this time which powerfully tended to depopularize the Government, and increase the sinister rumors which already began to circulate concerning its head. For many years past the old Duke of Bourbon, who united in his person the honors of the two most noble families in France, had lived in retirement at St. Leu, the mansion-house on one of his vast estates. Profoundly afflicted by the misfortunes of his family, the last and most deserving of which had been murdered by Napoleon at Vincennes, he lived alone, "between," as has been finely said, "the ancient tomb of his ancestors in the vaults of St. Denis, and the recent grave of his son in the fosse of Vincennes." The only companion of his solitude was the Baroness de Feuchères, an artful and unprincipled courtesan, who had acquired the ascendancy over him which youth and beauty so easily do over the feeble decrepitude of age, and who, to much of the talent which sometimes distinguishes, united all the cupidity which in general disgraces women, in whatever rank, of her profession. Nothing was more natural than that the childless old man of seventy should choose an heir out of the illustrious house of Orleans, with which he was closely connected, and thereby prevent that division of his estates among his heirs-at-law, if he died intestate, which would otherwise have taken place. If he had done so in the ordinary way, and died a natural death, though it might have awakened some envy, it could have excited no surprise. But a mournful tragedy rendered the matter the subject of deep interest, painfully aggravated by the mystery with which it was and still continues enveloped. The Duke of Bourbon, on the morning of the 27th August, was found dead in his bedroom, strangled by a silk handkerchief suspended from a nail in his chamber.

The Baroness de Feuchères was the only person above the rank of a domestic in the house at the time, and her bedroom communicated by an interior passage with that of the prince when the catastrophe occurred.²

The conduct of the Duke had been strange for some time, and a letter is said to have been written shortly before his death, indicating a feeling of approaching death.* On the other hand, the appearance of the body when discovered, and in particular the extreme tightness with which the handkerchief was tied round

his neck, were such as to militate strongly against the idea of suicide. Madame de Feuchères strongly supported the latter opinion, and advanced all she could in its support. Opinions, as usual in such cases, were much divided, and the public mind was strongly excited by so deplorable a termination of a long and illustrious line, when an entirely new current was given to the affair, and it assumed a political aspect, by the announcement that the whole movable property of the deceased, amounting to 4,000,000 francs (£160,000), was left to the Baroness de Feuchères, and his immense landed estates to the Duke d'Aumale, fourth son of Louis Philippe. There was no evidence, direct or indirect, to connect the new sovereign with the magnificent bequest; but people recollected the maxim of Macchiavelli—"If you would discover the author of a crime, see who is to profit by it;" and the suspicions afloat on the subject were much increased by the magnificent reception which Madame de Feuchères soon after publicly received at the Tuileries. The people, ever credulous of the marvelous, and thirsting for the horrible, put all these things together; and the report spread by the Republicans soon received general credit, that the prince had been assassinated, and that those who shared the succession were the parties implicated in it.¹

A more serious subject of disquietude for the cabinet of Louis Philippe arose from the attitude and proceedings of La-fayette. He had been declared Commander-in-chief of the National Guards of France, as a reward for his acquiescence in the advancement of Louis Philippe to the throne; but it was soon doubtful whether his position in that capacity would not soon overshadow that of the monarch on the throne. Night and day he was beset with deputations from the National Guards of Paris and the neighboring provinces, most of them of a highly democratic and even republican character, with whom he entered into familiar conversations eminently threatening to the new-born dynasty. "We must," said he, "let the government go on, appreciate it, and judge it. The people, in the last resort, always remain sovereign, and nothing is more easy than to undo what we have done." To counteract this dangerous influence, the King had a grand review of the National Guard of Paris, sixty thousand strong, to whom he presented their colors. In a letter to General Lafayette as their commander, couched in the most flattering terms, he declared that the legions he had witnessed were superior to the forty-eight battalions raised in 1792, and which had so powerfully contributed to the deliverance of France at Valmy. But notwithstanding these cordial appearances in public, it was already apparent that the seeds of irremediable jealousy were already sown between the King and the Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and that, if the former was to maintain his throne, the latter must be dismissed from his command.²

Already also appearances had assumed a

* "St. Leu et ses dépendances appartiennent à votre roi, Louis Philippe. Ne pillez, ni ne brûlez le château ni le village. Ne faites de mal ni à mes amis, ni à mes gens. On vous a égaré sur mon compte, je n'ai qu'à mourir en souhaitant bonheur et prospérité au peuple Français et à ma patrie. Adieu pour toujours." Sign. L. H. J. DE BOURBON, Prince de Condé.—"P.S. Je demande à être enterré à Vincennes auprès de mon infortuné fils."—CAPEFIGUE, vol. iii. p. 23; L. BLANC, vol. ii. p. 65.

58. Injurious reports spread abroad by the bequest of the Duke's property to the Duke d'Aumale.

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 67, 71; Cap. ii. 23, 26; An. Hist. xiii. 266, 267.

59. Attitude of M. de La-fayette, and its dangers.

² Moniteur, Aug. 31, 1830; Cap. iii. 31, 32; An. Hist. xiii. 271, 272.

threatening aspect at Paris. Thousands of workmen, thrown out of employment, and disturbances who had already experienced in Paris.

all their bitterness the effects of revolution, crowded the Prefecture of Police, the hotels of the Ministers, and the Palais Royal, demanding bread or work, in terms so menacing as scarcely to admit of a refusal. So threatening did they become that it became necessary to get M. de Lafayette, as commander of the National Guard, to issue proclamations urging them to disperse, and promising employment. Great uneasiness also was experienced from the arrest of M. de Polignac, the ex-minister of Charles X., at Grandville, M de Peyronnet, M. de Chantelauze, and M. de Guernon Ranville, at Tours, who were brought to Vincennes under a powerful escort of national guards, and, by the excitement which their presence occasioned, seriously increased the embarrassments of the Government.¹

¹ An. Hist. xiii. 269, 270; Moniteur, Sept. 5, 1830.

The legislative measures of the new Government evinced the cautious spirit with which it was animated, and the desire felt to render the Revolution productive of as few organic changes as was consistent with the excited temper of the people. Two of the most obnoxious laws of the Restoration—that of 12th January, 1816, defining, with numerous exceptions, the general amnesty which had been proclaimed for the events of the Hundred Days, and that of 1825, annexing the punishment of death for the crime of sacrilege, or theft in churches—were repealed. The strength of parties under the new Government was evinced by the division for the choice of a President of the Chamber of Deputies, on the resignation of M. Casimir Périer. M. Lafitte obtained 245 votes out of 256—a majority so great as to prove that the Revolution had produced its usual effect of extinguishing independence of thought, and that the debates of the

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 277, 295.

Legislature had become mere form.² A more important subject of discussion arose soon after in the Chamber of Deputies regarding the adoption of the electoral system proposed by the Government, which was the same as that agreed to in the modification of the constitution before the crown was offered to Louis Philippe. The project of Government was carried by a majority of 234 out of 246 votes, which sufficiently indicated how strongly the Chamber was disposed to support the throne. But the tone of the debate, and the language used by several orators, pointed to a change at no distant period in the Electoral Law, and may be regarded as the precursor of the important alterations in the composition of the Chamber in the succeeding year.³

³ Ann. Hist. xiii. 299, 305.

But more pressing interests soon came to occupy the new Government. The state of the finances was the most pressing; for the Revolution had enormously augmented the demands on the Government, while it had proportionally diminished its receipts. The expedition to Algiers, too, however glorious, had been attended with a very heavy ex-

pense, which was by no means entirely provided for by the previous votes. To meet the deficit, Ministers asked and obtained a supplementary vote of credit for 67,490,000 francs (£2,560,000). The receipts of the year were estimated at 979,787,000 francs (£39,200,000), and its expenditure 1,050,116,000 francs, or £42,100,000, which rendered the vote of credit necessary. But events were now approaching which threatened to embroil the new government of France with the European powers, and, by rendering a great increase of the army necessary, involved it in a series of financial embarrassments which rendered a great increase of taxation necessary, and from the effects of which it never recovered.¹

¹ An. Hist. xiii. 313, 314; Moniteur, Sept. 23, 1830.

The popular societies soon became formidable; and it was evident that the great contest of Ministers would be with their own supporters rather than the Royalists, whom they had overthrown. On the 21st September a great procession took place in the Place de Grève, to commemorate the execution of Borier and three other young men, who had suffered death there some years ago for their accession to the conspiracy of Rochelle. So great was the alarm felt on this occasion, that all the shops were shut in the districts through which the procession passed, and a large body of national guards were under arms to preserve the public peace. It passed over without any disturbance; and by a singular and striking coincidence, a petition for the abolition of the punishment of death was prepared, and unanimously agreed to, on the very spot, and at the table on which these gallant and unfortunate young men had suffered. This event, however, gave Government an opportunity of stating their views on these societies, in the course of a discussion on a petition presented by some commissaries on the subject. They were denounced in the loudest terms by the Ministers, as being the real cause of the alarm which existed, and the consequent stagnation of commerce and distress of the working classes.²

² An. Hist. xiii. 313, 314; Moniteur, Sept. 25.

“What,” said the Minister of the Interior, “are the characteristics of the revolutionary régime? If I do not deceive myself, the most remarkable are a disposition to call every thing in question, an immense mass of indefinite pretensions and continual appeals to force. All these features are united in the popular societies. There is no longer discussion on vague theories or philosophical questions. It is the very foundation of Government which is continually brought under discussion; the necessity of revolution, the distribution of property, the law of succession. Thus numbers are kept in a state of continual and increasing fermentation, which is the worst enemy of real political reform. There is a constant appeal to force, as the ultimate umpire of all disputes; a continual war against all the powers of society, and all ideas which do not completely accord with their own. We, too, wish for progress; but it is such a progress as may be durable, not such as can end only in destroying itself. They speak of the wishes of France; but the desires

³ An. Hist. xiii. 316, 317; Moniteur, Sept. 26, 1830.

⁴ An. Hist. xiii. 316, 317; Moniteur, Sept. 26, 1830.

speech of the Minister of the Interior on the subject.

they express are not those of France, but of a knot of revolutionists at Paris, who desire to elevate themselves by keeping France in a state of permanent revolution." Wise counsel, undoubtedly! but not very palatable to those who had just achieved a revolution, and beheld others in the quiet enjoyment of its fruits. The Chamber supported Ministers almost unanimously; but the societies were not discouraged, and a few days after, that of *les Amis du Peuple* violated the laws so flagrantly in their hall in the Rue Pellier that they were dis-

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 319, 320. solved by force, and the president brought before the police tribunals.²

The news of the French Revolution, which excited so powerfully the revolutionary party all over the world, early attracted to Paris a crowd of refugees from all countries, and especially Spain, who immediately formed a committee there, the object of which was to revolutionize the kingdoms of the Peninsula as they had done that of France. M. Mendizabal, Isturiz, Calatrava, San Miguel, the Duke de Rivas, Martinez de la Rosa, Count Toreno, and other Spanish Liberals, who had been banished from their country since the re-establishment of the absolute government of Ferdinand VII. by the invasion of the Duke d'Angoulême in 1823, formed its principal members. With them were united the leading French Liberals—in particular, M. Dupont de l'Eure, Viardot, Etienne Arago, Garnier Pagès, and others, who entered cordially into the plan, subscribed considerable sums, and prepared arms and troops for carrying their designs into execution. The Spanish government, aware of what was going forward, refused to recognize the government of Louis Philippe, and both parties openly prepared for hostilities.²

It was of the utmost moment to the Spanish revolutionists to obtain the countenance, however indirect, of the French government, and they were not long of obtaining it. General Sébastiani alone of the Ministers opposed the intervention; all the others supported it. "Tell those who sent you," said M. Guizot to M. Louis Viardot, who appeared on the part of the revolutionary committee, "that France committed a great political crime in 1823; she owes to Spain a striking reparation, and that reparation shall be made." When introduced by M. Odillon Barrot to the King, his majesty received the deputation in the most gracious manner. He admitted that France was menaced with a war on the Rhine; that a storm might any day break on her from the north, and that it was of the last importance that it should be secured from any other attack. He admitted that the protection given by Ferdinand VII. to the Carlist refugees in the south was alarming, and that it behooved them to see that there were no longer any Pyrenees. "As to Ferdinand VII.," he added, "you may hang him if you please; he is the greatest scoundrel that ever existed." Finding the dispositions of the King and his ministers thus favorable, the deputies of the committee ventured to propose to him their views, which were to dethrone Ferdinand VII., offer the crown to the Duke de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe, who

was to espouse Donna Maria, the heiress of Spain, and secure the lasting influence of France to the south of the Pyrenees, by effecting a similar revolution in Portugal, and annexing it to the crown of Castile. How agreeable soever these projects might be to the real wishes of Louis Philippe, he dreaded too much embroiling himself with the northern powers to espouse them openly, and he contented himself, therefore, with promising them his secret support, and sending 60,000 francs to Bayonne ¹ Louis Blanc, by M. Chevallon, and 40,000 to ^{ii.} 79, 81; Cap. Marseilles by Colonel Moreno.¹ ^{iii.} 324, 326.

Secure then of the secret support of the French government, the Spanish revolutionists commenced active measures for effecting the dethronement of the house of Bourbon at Madrid. The persons engaged in the enterprises were secretly furnished with arms by M. Montalavet, the Minister of the Interior, and M. Guizot, and dispatched by twos and threes, so as not to excite suspicion, to Bayonne. General Mina, who was in Paris, had a private interview with Marshal Gerard, who assured him of the warm sympathy, and promised him the secret support of the French government. "Take care, however," he added, "to hazard nothing: set out without delay for Bayonne; but swear to engage in no enterprise till France is relieved of all anxiety on the side of Europe." But this advice was too wise and judicious to suit the disposition of the Spanish revolutionists, who, like all refugees, were credulous and sanguine in the extreme, and impatient for the moment of terminating their painful suspense. Despite all counsels to the contrary, accordingly, they made preparations for crossing the Bidassoa, and in the middle of October the attempt was made by five hundred refugees. But experience had taught the Spanish troops the real tendency of revolutionary government, and it ended in a signal defeat. A small band of the boldest, under Chapalangarra, was first struck down by a volley from a Spanish outpost, which killed the leader, and dispersed his band. This disaster, like most first defeats in civil conflicts, proved fatal to the whole enterprise. Valdez, with another body, was speedily surrounded at Vera, and if not rescued was sure to perish. To effect his deliverance Mina set out from Bayonne, and, having collected a considerable force, made himself master of the important town of Irun. But there terminated his success. The Spanish Royalists accumulated round them on all sides; Valdez, defeated in an attack on a fortified convent near Vera, was obliged to fly across the French frontier, with the loss of three-fourths of his forces; Vigo, who commanded a third band of two hundred men, was shut up at Maulian; and Mina himself, surrounded by ten thousand Royalists, was driven from the heights of San Marcial, where he had taken post: his followers dispersed; and he himself only escaped, severely wounded and covered with blood, after having walked thirty-eight leagues in forty-two hours, through the thick woods and rugged ridges of the Pyrenees.² Similar attempts on the side of Catalonia proved equally unfortunate; and in the beginning

^{67.} Which is secretly favored by Louis Philippe and his ministers.

^{68.} The enterprise is undertaken, and fails.

² Louis Blanc, ii. 78, 79; Cap. iii. 315, 332.

Oct. 15. made by five hundred refugees. But

Oct. 18. feated in an attack on a fortified convent near Vera, was obliged to fly across the French frontier, with the loss of three-fourths of his forces; Vigo, who commanded a third band of two hundred men, was shut up at Maulian; and Mina himself, surrounded by ten thousand Royalists, was driven from the heights of San Marcial, where he had taken post: his followers dispersed; and he himself only escaped, severely wounded and covered with blood, after having walked thirty-eight leagues in forty-two hours, through the thick woods and rugged ridges of the Pyrenees.² Similar attempts on the side of Catalonia proved equally unfortunate; and in the beginning

² An. Hist. xiii. 693, 696; Louis Blanc, ii. 83, 86.

of November the revolutionary bands were defeated on all sides, and tranquillity restored along the whole French frontier.

This check to the propagandists excited little discouragement in France, in consequence of the signal success which attended at the same time their efforts in another quarter. BELGIUM was the country upon which the chief hopes of the revolutionists were fixed. This beautiful country, the richest and most favored by nature of any in Europe to the north of the Alps, long dissevered by religious dissension and the atrocious cruelty of Philip II., and the Duke of Alva, had at length been reunited, and the most signal prosperity had attended the reunion. The old seventeen provinces, the garden of northern Europe, united under one paternal government, had been eminently prosperous since the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been established in 1814. Even the desperate inroad of Napoleon, closed by the disaster of Waterloo in the succeeding year, had only given a temporary check to their prosperity. The taxes were moderate, and sufficient for the expenses of government; a respectable army, and the guarantee of the allied powers, secured the national independence; the frontier fortresses toward France had been put in the best possible state of defense, chiefly at the expense of Great Britain, which had assigned to that important object the whole of the share which its Government received of the indemnity levied on France by the second treaty of Paris; and although, as is always the case on a union, there were several points in dispute between Holland and Belgium, and the inhabitants of the former country lamented the loss of the seat of government, and those of the latter complained that, in the allocation of burdens, too large a portion of the public debt had been laid upon them, yet, upon the whole, there was great external prosperity, and, to appearance, great internal contentment, among the inhabitants of the united kingdom. A system of representation, neither aristocratic nor oligarchical, secured a due attention to the interests of the various branches of industry in the country, and the deliberations of the Chambers had, of late years, been distinguished by a remarkable concordance on objects of general good. This concord had been in an especial manner conspicuous during the last session of the Chambers; and the Minister of the Interior, in closing them on June 2, had only expressed the general voice when he said, "that the session had been remarkable for the extent of its labors

and the divergence of its opinions, crowned by the most happy concordance between the throne and the representatives of the people, on the subjects of the greatest interest to both."¹

But vain are all attempts to establish a real concord among men, how loudly so ever called for by their material interests, when their hearts are kept asunder by any of the master passions which agitate and disturb mankind. The two most powerful of these were in secret fomenting discord among the inhabitants, and renewing, even under the paternal sceptre of one monarch, the ancient jealousies of the Flemings and the United Provinces. These

passions were religious jealousy and democratic ambition. It is remarkable that the hereditary animosity of the Catholics and Protestants nowhere in Europe, save in Ireland, existed in more rancor than between the long-severed inhabitants of the seventeen Provinces. The clergy of Flanders, in their cathedrals, their palaces, had all the pride, and not a little of the persecuting spirit, of the Duke of Alva; those of the United Provinces were animated by the indomitable spirit of Count Egmont or William of Nassau. Reconciliation was impossible between persuasions animated by such discordant feelings; and the attempt of the Government to reconcile both parties by an equitable arrangement and entire toleration, ended only, as is often the case, in irritating both parties, and reconciling neither.¹

In addition to this, the democratic passions in Flanders, violently excited by the successful result of the Revolution in Paris, contributed also, in the most powerful manner, to bring about a convulsion, and sever the union between that country and Holland. In Brussels, and the other great cities of Flanders, the democratic spirit had for centuries been strong; and this disposition had been much strengthened in later times by the desire for French connection, and the number of interests which had been affected by the severance of the union with that country, and the breaking up of the imperial sway. When men's minds were in this excited state, no amount of general prosperity and material well-being could appease them, and little was wanting, at any time, to blow the discontent, at least among some classes, into a flame. This little was at once furnished by the French Revolution. The clubs of Paris, who possessed an influence in France equal, and in the adjoining states superior to Louis Philippe, immediately sent several agents to excite the revolutionary passions in Belgium. They were received with open arms by the clubs of Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp, and measures were quickly concocted for following the example of Paris, and dethroning the King of the Netherlands. In this attempt they relied with reason upon the support of the whole democratic party in the Flemish towns, and on that section of the community which, without being inclined to support a republican form of government, was desirous of severing the connection with Holland, and establishing a régime in which the Protestant faith was no longer to be tolerated, and the Catholic might be reinstated in exclusive power and pristine grandeur.²

Matters were brought to a crisis by the revolutionists on the 25th August, just a month after they had commenced at Paris. After leaving the theatre, where the play of *La Muette* had been performed, which contained several sentiments eagerly caught at and loudly applauded by the popular party, a number of enthusiastic young men collected in the streets, singing revolutionary songs, and the cry was heard among them, "*Imitons les Parisiens.*" Suited the ac-

69.
State of
Belgium,
and its dis-
positions.

¹ Ann. Hist.
xiii. 538, 539.

71.
Revolution-
ary party in
Belgium, and
its great in-
crease by the
events in Pa-
ris in July.

¹ Moniteur,
June 5,
1830, Ann.
Hist. xiii.
536, 538.

² Ann. Hist.
xiii. 536, 539;
Louis Blanc,
ii. 88, 89; Cap.
iii. 69, 70.

70.
Causes of
discord
among the
inhabitants.

72.
Commence-
ment of the
revolution.

tion to the word, they immediately proceeded to attack and plunder the printing-office of a ministerial journal, break open several armorers' shops, and provide themselves with the weapons they contained; while several huge tricolor flags were suddenly unfurled, and excited in the highest degree the enthusiasm of the multitude. They then proceeded to set fire to the hotel of the Minister of Justice, M. Van Maanen, which was speedily reduced to ashes. General Wanthin, the commander of the town, who tried to arrest the disorders with a detachment of troops, was surrounded and made prisoner.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 539, 541; Louis Blanc, ii. 88, 89; Dépêche, 26 Aout, 1830; Cap. iii. 71, note.

With the rapidity of lightning these disorders were imitated at Ghent, Liege, Antwerp, and all the chief towns of Flanders. The royal troops made very little resistance; so completely did the movement assume a national aspect, and run from the first into an effort to separate Belgium from Holland. The bourgeois in the great towns supported this movement, though they endeavored to detach it from the cause of revolution, to which they were very little inclined. The populace, however, especially in Brussels and Ghent, were by no means inclined to halt midway in their career, but openly endeavored to overturn the government by force, and establish a republic in its stead. At five in the morning of the 26th, the troops were drawn out, volleys of musketry were heard in the Place des Sablons, and the people began to cut down trees in the Park, and unpave the streets to form barricades. The troops were too few in number to make head against the insurgents, who now began to show themselves in all quarters of the city, and overawed the soldiers as much by the spectacle of unanimity, as they overwhelmed them by their numbers. Ere long the hotel of the Minister of Police, and of the governor of the capital, fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the work of destruction commenced. Several steam-machines were destroyed, many shops pillaged, and symptoms of the war of labor against property, of the proletaires against machinery, began to appear. Alarmed at this turn the affair was taking, the shop-keepers turned out, and formed a large Burgher Guard, 8000 strong, which in a manner interposed between the contending parties, and, by the respect which they inspired to both parties, suspended hostilities.²

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 540, 541; Cap. iii. 71, 73; Louis Blanc, ii. 89, 90.

The Burgher Guard, which was most anxious to terminate the dispute, and recover the lost nationality of the Belgians, without endangering the crown on the head of William of Nassau, presented, in the midst of these disorders, a petition to the King, in which they prayed him "to dismiss the minister Van Maanen, so odious to their national feelings, and give a *separate administration to Belgium*, hitherto devoted to the house of Nassau, of which they did not wish to break the sceptre." The King returned for answer, "That he would abide by the text of the compact—that is to say, by the law; that his resolution would depend on a vote of the

Estates; that if that assembly determined on a separation of the kingdom, he would conform to it; and that, for that purpose, the Estates should be immediately convoked." At the same time, he ordered the Prince of Orange, the heir-apparent of the crown of the Netherlands, to repair to Brussels, in order to ascertain the sentiments of the bourgeoisie, and see what would really satisfy them. Emboldened by this success, the burghers next demanded that he should come alone, without an escort, and without uniform or arms. This also was conceded, so anxious was the Government to pacify the people by every imaginable concession; and on the 1st September the Prince, Sept. 1. one of the heroes of Waterloo, arrived at Brussels in plain clothes, and without an escort. He was received with respect by the Burgher Guard, which escorted Louis Blanc, ii. 89, 90; Ann. Hist. xiii. 540, 548; Cap. iii. 73, 75; Moniteur, Sept. 4, 1830.

The Prince, in passing through the streets, was received with cries of "*Vive le Prince! Vive la liberté!*" ^{75.} Demands of the leaders of the revolution. A *bas Van Maanen!*" but he beheld on all sides convincing proofs of the serious nature of the insurrection. Barricades required to be passed in many places; the cross-streets were all blocked up, and armed men at the windows gave fearful proof of the murderous warfare which awaited the troops if hostilities were resumed. Even before he arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, it had become evident that an accommodation was impossible. The deputations, which succeeded each other with rapidity at the Hôtel de Ville, expressed their wishes clearly; the word "separation" was heard, but no wish was expressed to unite with France; and the Prince of Orange returned on the 4th to his army at Vilvorde, with the hope that he might still retain his throne. The yellow cockade was every where abandoned; but there was no disposition evinced to break finally with the house of Nassau. Soon after, a deputation waited on the King with a formal and concise statement of their grievances and demands; and for a brief period the hope was entertained that he might retain both crowns, on the condition, as in the case of Austria and Hungary, of an entire separation of offices and administration.* But these hopes were soon found to be fallacious. The wish for a separation from Holland was so generally

* The demands of the Belgian revolutionists were: "1. L'exécution entière, franche et sincère, de la loi fondamentale, mais sans restrictions ni interprétations au profit du pouvoir, soit par arrêtés circulaires ministériels ou rescrits du cabinet. 2. L'éloignement du ministre de l'intérieur et de l'odieux Van Maanen. 3. La suspension provisoire de l'abatage jusqu'à la prochaine session des états généraux. 4. Un nouveau système électoral établi par une loi, où l'élection soit plus directe par le peuple. 5. Le rétablissement du jury. 6. Une loi nouvelle de l'organisation judiciaire. 7. La responsabilité pénale des ministres établis par la loi. 8. Une loi qui fixe le siège de la haute cour dans les provinces méridionales. 9. La cessation de poursuites intentées aux écrivains libéraux. 10. L'annulation de toutes les condamnations en matières politiques. 11. Qu'il soit distribué à tous les ouvriers infortunés du pain pour subvenir à leurs besoins jusqu'à ce qu'ils pussent reprendre leurs travaux."—Ann. Hist., vol. xiii. p. 546.

^{74.} Negotiations of the insurgents with the King. August 30.

expressed that it was obviously irresistible; ¹ Cap. iii. 75, and the Prince carried back the 77; An. Hist. mournful conviction that the union xiii. 545, 547. could no longer be maintained.¹

The Estates of the kingdom were convoked for the 13th September, and on that day they assembled from all quarters; and the session was opened with great pomp by the King in person, accompanied by the Prince of Orange. It was impossible to imagine a more august or solemn occasion; for the assembly was to deliberate not only on the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but on the maintenance of the connection with Holland, as fixed by the Congress of Vienna. The speech of William was dignified and moderate, and in every respect worthy of the occasion. "To go back," said the monarch with emotion, "to the causes of the past, to scrutinize them with your high mightinesses, to seize their true character, is less urgent than to seek the means of re-establishing the authority of the laws, so violently shaken by the late commotions. But in the midst of the shock of ideas, and of the clash of conflicting opinions, it is no easy matter to reconcile my wishes for the happiness of my subjects with the duties which I have contracted toward all, and which I have consecrated by my oaths. I earnestly implore, therefore, your firm and calm consideration, in order that, fortified by the opinions of the national representatives, I may adopt such measures as the safety of the country demands. One party contends for a revision of the fundamental law of our union, and even the separation of the Provinces. This can only be done, you are aware, in the form prescribed by the fundamental act of our constitution. I pray only that you may approach it with the deliberation and caution which its importance deserves. Entirely disposed to satisfy all reasonable wishes, I will accord nothing to the spirit of faction; I will never consent to measures which may sacrifice the interests and prosperity of the nation to the passions and to violence."

² Cap. iii. 78, 79. Reconcile, if you can, all interests; that is the sole wish of my heart."²

Nothing could be more judicious or conciliatory than this language; but the time was passed when it could command any attention. The passions of the populace were so strongly roused by the prospect of the successful revolution in Paris, of the clergy and burghers by the hope of an approaching severance from Holland, that the voice of reason and patriotism had no longer a chance of being heard. The working classes, thrown by thousands out of employment by the public convulsions, and who, by the force of numbers, had got possession of Brussels, Ghent, Liege, and other towns, had already proceeded to acts of pillage; disorders in the streets were frequent; and the burghers, whose representatives formed the great majority, were dreadfully alarmed at the prospect of the destruction of their property or the cessation of their profits. To terminate these dangers, the King, on the recommendation of the Chambers, gave the command of the army at Vilvorde to Prince Frederick, a brave sol-

dier, who justly possessed the confidence of the troops, with instructions to advance to Brussels, re-establish the authority of Government, protect property, and leave the national representatives at liberty to deliberate in safety on the important matters waiting their determination. Having published a proclamation, accordingly, explaining his views and the orders he had received, he moved his troops toward Brussels.^{1*}

The approach of the Prince at the head of nine thousand men, twenty-six guns, and two howitzers, on the road from Antwerp toward Brussels, produced the utmost excitement in the latter city. The French emissaries and democratic leaders, who were openly denounced in the proclamation by which his advance was preceded, were indefatigable in their efforts to rouse the populace; they had no longer any hope but in the most determined resistance. The tocsin sounded from all the steeples, the *générale* beat in all the streets. Old men and women, age and childhood, were to be seen at the barricades, which were erected at the gates and across the principal entrances. The utmost enthusiasm and courage pervaded the working classes, who by this time had become all armed; the burghers, in silence, and trembling for their shops, fell into the ranks, obeying mechanically a movement which they had originally raised, but of which they had now entirely lost the direction. Some guns, placed at the gates of Schaarbeck and Louvain, opened a fire upon the troops of the Prince of Orange when they first came within range; but the Dutch guns were immediately hurried to the front, and by their superior fire quickly silenced that of the insurgents. The entrance being thus cleared, the troops advanced, and without much difficulty occupied the gates of Schaarbeck and Louvain, with the whole boulevards between them, and established themselves in force in the Park, the highest quarter of Brussels, and, in a military point of view, giving the entire command of the city.²

But while these successes, to all appearance decisive, were gained by the royal troops, the insurgents in Brussels were not idle. Guided by the numerous French refugees then in the city, and who possessed the skill and information on military matters by

* "Tandis qu'avec un zèle et une activité dignes des plus grands éloges, vous veillez à la défense des propriétés publiques et particulières, un petit nombre de factieux cachés parmi vous excite la populace au pillage, l'armée au déshonneur; les intentions royales sont dénaturées, les autorités sans force, la liberté opprimée. Conformément aux ordres du roi, nous venons apporter à cet état des choses qui ruine votre cité, et éloigne de plus en plus, pour cette résidence royale, la possibilité d'être le séjour du monarque, et de l'héritier du trône, le seul remède véritable et efficace, le rétablissement de l'ordre légal. Les légions nationales vont entrer dans vos murs, au nom des lois, et à la demande des meilleurs citoyens, pour les soulager tous d'un service pénible, et pour prêter aide et protection. Une sage amnistie s'étendra sur les fautes et les démarches irrégulières que les circonstances ont produites. Les auteurs principaux d'actes trop criminels pour espérer d'échapper à la sévérité des lois, des étrangers qui, abusant de l'hospitalité, sont venus organiser parmi vous ce désordre, seront seuls et justement frappés. Leur cause n'a rien de commun avec la vôtre.—FREDERICK. 21st Sept. 1830."—CAPEFIGUE, vol. iii. p. 79.

Speech of the King on opening the Chambers. Sept. 13.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 556, 557; Cap. iii. 78, 79; Louis Blanc, ii. 104, 105.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 557, 559; Cap. iii. 79; Louis Blanc, ii. 106, 107.

The army is directed by the King and Chambers on Brussels. Sept. 23.

^{79.} The Dutch troops are in the end defeated, and retire to Antwerp.

which that gallant people are pre-eminently distinguished, they intrenched themselves strongly in the quarters adjacent to the park, and filled all the houses looking into it with musketeers. The Dutch troops might easily have forced the city to capitulate, by bombarding it from the park, which commanded it in every part; but the Prince of Orange was reluctant to proceed to such extremities with his own capital city, and with reason apprehended that it was a hopeless thing to attempt to conciliate a hostile kingdom by burning its metropolis. He confined himself, accordingly, to a combat of musketry, the effect of which would not reach beyond the combatants; and the entrance into the Place Royale from the park continued through the whole of the 24th to be the theatre of as warm a fire as ever was witnessed in street conflicts. The insurgents, however, bravely stood their ground, and notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts, the Dutch troops were unable to dislodge them from the houses commanding the entrances of the parks. During the night the insurgents received great reinforcements from Liege, Ghent, and other towns, which had espoused the same cause, and this so encouraged them that on the morning of the Sept. 25. they assumed the offensive, and

commenced a vigorous attack on the Royalists in the park at all points. Success was for some time pretty nearly balanced; but reinforcements having come up in great numbers during the day, the insurgents, toward evening, gained decided advantages, dismounted a battery which the Dutch had established in front of the palace of the Prince of Orange, and forced the Dutch into the extremity of the Madeleine, where they succeeded in maintaining themselves. But as they were now evidently over-matched, and had a whole nation on their hands, the royal troops were withdrawn early in the morning of the 26th, and took the road to Antwerp. The revolutionary chiefs, amidst shouts of triumph, immediately appointed a provision-

al government, which forthwith pronounced the dethronement of Frederick-William from the Hôtel de Ville of Brussels, as Lafayette had done from the Hôtel de Ville of Paris.¹

This decisive victory of an insurgent populace over a considerable body of regular troops, armed with a powerful artillery, and headed by a prince of the blood, produced, as well it might, very great sensation in Europe, and stimulated the revolutionists every where to imitate the example of the Parisians and Belgians, and overturn the existing authorities by a well-concerted urban tumult. The whole provinces of Flanders followed the example of the capital, and declared for the provisional government and the separation from Holland. The Estates, by a majority of 55 to 43, decided for the separation; and ordered a nation-

Oct. 18. al Congress, where all interests should be represented. Meanwhile the fortresses, still remaining in the hands of the Dutch, being without ammunition or provisions, were all obliged to capitulate except Antwerp, Maestricht, and Luxembourg, which, with the province of Limburg, held out for the house of Nas-

sau, and at the first of which the Prince of Orange had established a sort of counter-government, from which orders, as for the whole of Flanders, were issued. At length even Antwerp was wrested from them, with the exception of the citadel, which, with a garrison of seven thousand men, was held by a resolute veteran, GENERAL CHASSÉ. On the 27th October, the Prince of Orange left the town for the Hague, and he was no sooner gone than symptoms of insurrection appeared. Encouraged by a body of troops which approached from Brussels, and who were stealthily admitted within the gates, the people broke into revolt, surrounded and disarmed several isolated soldiers and detachments, and gradually wrested from the Dutch all the gates, while the garrison retired to the citadel. Emboldened by this success, the insurgents ventured to measure their strength with the citadel, and fired some

Oct. 29. shots at the sentinels on the ramparts. Chassé replied by a vigorous fire from two hundred pieces of artillery, which speedily set the town on fire in several places, and destroyed property to the amount of 5,000,000 florins (£400,000). Menaced with total ruin, the insurgents were too happy to accede to a convention, by which a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, on condition of the city remaining in their hands, and the citadel, arsenal, and squadron in those of General Chassé.¹

It was not to be expected that GERMANY, the land of ardent feelings, heroic courage, and lofty aspirations, as the tone of its contemporary literature and the deeds of its gallant sons demonstrate, was to escape the influence of the electric shock of the French Revolution. It was felt there, accordingly, and only with the more vehemence that the people were unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, and that to them the land of freedom was the fairy region of imagination, not the theatre of actual experience or observation. The feelings of a large portion of the people had been deeply wounded by the failure on the part of the greater powers to perform the promises which, under the pressure of danger in the war of liberation, they had made to give representative institutions to their people. This theme, so vast and important, will form the subject of an ample disquisition in a future chapter, when Germany comes prominently forward, and the causes which led to the general outbreak of its inhabitants in 1848 require to be recounted. At present, as the disturbances which occurred were only partial, and of ephemeral duration, though not ephemeral consequences, it is sufficient to observe, that though representative institutions had been established in Wirtemberg, Baden, and several of the lesser States, subsequent to 1814, yet they were either wholly wanting, or existing only in form, in Austria and Prussia, and that a deep though smothered feeling of indignation pervaded the middle class over all Germany, at what they justly regarded as a deliberate breach of faith on the part of their governments in this vital particular. When men's minds were in this indignant and agitated state, a spark was sufficient to produce an ex-

¹ *Moniteur*, November 1, 1830; *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 568, 574; *Cap. iii.* 80, 81.

81. State of political feeling in Germany.

¹ *Moniteur*, October 1, 1830; *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 561, 568.

80. The insurrection extends generally, and the separation of Belgium and Holland is pronounced by the Chamber.

plosion; and the French Revolution was too important an event not at once to induce it.

The train took fire first in the great commercial and manufacturing towns, the centres, in all ages and countries, of independent thought and united action. No sooner did the disturbances, accordingly, break out in

Brussels, than they extended to Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne, in both of which cities the workmen assembled in tumultuous crowds, and began to pillage shops, break machines, attack manufactories, and deliver prisoners from jail in order to swell the ranks of the disaffected. These disorders excited the utmost alarm all along the Rhine, in all the principal cities on which river symptoms of agitation appeared; and it was only by the general turning out and firm countenance of the burgher militia that they were prevented from breaking out into open insurrection. Greatly alarmed, the Prussian government in haste moved forward several veteran regiments of Old Prussia into the Rhenish provinces; and Prince William of Prussia, on September 9th, addressed a letter to the authorities there, expressing his resolution not to interfere with the internal affairs of France,

or the form of its government, but to defend the Prussian dominions from attack, and maintain the provinces on the Rhine to the last extremity.¹

From the banks of the Rhine the agitation was communicated like an electric shock through all the cities of the north of Germany, though the success which attended the attempts

at insurrection was very various, according to the vigilance and strength of the Government in different places, and the fidelity which the troops evinced when brought into contact with the people. Enough, however, appeared to indicate what the events of 1848 so fully confirmed, that the stability of existing institutions in Germany rested entirely upon the strength and fidelity of the armed force; that in the midst of feudal manners, institutions, and traditions, though repressed by an enormous military establishment, there existed a deep and widespread spirit of discontent in the industrious and highly-educated middle classes; and that, if the time should come when the regular troops were no longer, as in France, to be relied on in a conflict with the people, or were open-

ly to espouse the popular side, society would be shaken to its centre, and the most dreadful convulsions might be anticipated.²

In all the cities where the Teutonic race was predominant, even the military capital of Bavaria, and the distant metropolis of Denmark, disturbances or symptoms of disorder appear-

¹ "Le roi m'a chargé de témoigner à ses sujets des provinces Rhénanes combien il regrettait de ne pouvoir se rendre au milieu d'eux. Les événemens survenus en France nécessitent sa présence dans sa capitale. Cependant le roi est fermement résolu de ne s'immiscer en rien dans les affaires de ce pays, et de laisser le volcan se consumer dans son intérieur. Mais si les Français attaquaient nos frontières, alors le roi rassemblerait toutes ses forces pour les combattre. Les travaux qui ont été exécutés à Coblenz et qui en font un boulevard puissant de la monarchie, prouvent l'importance que sa majesté attache à la possession des provinces Rhénanes, et sa ferme résolution de les défendre à toute extrémité.—GUILLAUME. Coblenz, 9 Septembre, 1830."—*Ann. Hist.*, xiii. 93, note.

ed on intelligence being received of the events in Brussels; but they assumed the most formidable aspect in Leipsic, Dresden, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel. In the first of these cities, extensive mercantile transactions, a great spread of knowledge, and the vast concourse of strangers during the fair, had greatly strengthened the desire for popular institutions. In the second, in addition to the general desire for freedom, there was united the discontent of a population generally Protestant at a royal family still Catholic. In Leipsic, the disturbances, which originated with the students of the university, were repressed without any serious consequences at the end of two days; but at Dresden the populace for a time gained the ascendant. The Hôtel de Ville and the Hôtel de la Police were both burned, and the King was obliged to fly from his capital, and take refuge in the impregnable fortress of Königstein, so celebrated in the wars of Frederick the Great and Napoleon. At Hesse-Cassel—where the people, in addition to the other causes of German discontent, were irritated by the absence of the Elector, who lived, apart from the Electress, a scandalous life at his palace of Wilhelmshohe, in which his presence was signaled only by arbitrary decrees or acts of oppression against his subjects—the disorders were not less serious, and were only put down by four thousand of the Burgher Guard and four hundred regular troops.¹

Still more alarming were the disturbances in Brunswick. On the 6th the populace rose, and, disregarding sixteen pieces of cannon placed around the palace of the reigning sovereign, but which were never discharged, surrounded the ducal residence, which was soon committed to the flames. The whole pictures and furniture were broken to pieces or thrown out of the windows, and the superb pile reduced to ashes. The Duke fled in disguise during the darkness of the night, and escaped to London, where he was coldly received by the English government, which was aware of the indiscretions and faults on his part which had occasioned so violent an explosion. Meanwhile, the Estates of the duchy conferred the government, provisionally, on his brother Prince William, in the character of regent, and as a matter of necessity he was recognized by the courts of London, Berlin, and Vienna. Even the distant capital of Vienna felt the shock. Assemblages were formed in the streets which defied the whole power of the police, and were dispersed only by the appearance of the cuirassiers; and the dawn of that spirit already appeared, destined at no distant period to threaten with dissolution the whole Austrian monarchy.²

SWITZERLAND did not escape the general contagion; and though the shepherds of the valleys, in possession of full democratic privileges, remained tranquil, the burghers of its cities, who were not equally endowed, were violently agitated. The Federal Diet was sitting at Berne in perfect tranquillity when the news arrived of the revolution of July in Paris; and the ex-

84.
In Dresden, Leipsic, and Brunswick.

Sept. 7.

Sept. 9.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 634, 640; Cap. iii. 96.

85.

And in Brunswick.

Sept. 6.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 631.

634, 637;

Cap. iii. 96;

Moniteur, Sept. 12,

1830.

86.

Political tests in Switzerland.

erland.

citement immediately became so violent that it was evident the demand for more popular institutions could no longer be withstood. Wisely resolving to yield to a storm which they could not resist, the cantons in which aristocratic institutions still existed, themselves took the lead in making the changes which were demanded.

Nov. 27. Zurich was the first which did so. On the 27th November the local Legislature of that city passed a resolution fixing the representation of the Council at 212 members, of whom a third were to be returned by the city, and two-thirds by the landward part of the canton, fixing the qualification for representatives at twenty-nine years of age, and a fortune of 5000 francs (£200). This Council was to appoint a smaller body, which was to form a constitution, the basis of which was to be popular sovereignty, and an equal division of the public burdens. Similar organic changes, in effect, like the Reform Bill in England, amounting to revolution, were brought about in Lucerne, Soleure, Argovia, St. Gall, and Turgovia, not without, in some, serious popular disorders which disgraced the land and cause of freedom. Berne itself, the most aristocratic of all the cantons, underwent its revolution. The petitions praying for reform and an extension of popular rights, presented to its Council of State, were so numerous that at length they could no longer be resisted, and in the beginning of December a meeting of the great Council, which consisted of 217 members, was held, at which it was unanimously resolved to put the whole militia of the country on a war footing, and to appoint a committee of eleven to revise the constitution. So great, however, was the public agitation, that these measures would not suffice, and the central committee of government accordingly convoked a general assembly of the representatives of all the cantons to meet at Berne on the 23d

Dec. 23. December. It decreed the levy of sixty thousand men, to cause the external independence of the confederation to be respected; but wisely abstained from interfering with the internal constitutions of the cantons, which were left to their separate Legislatures.¹

ITALY also felt the shock, and, from the more ardent temperament of its inhabitants, and the circumstance of their having so long been unaccustomed to the exercise of any of the rights of freemen, with more violence than in the colder latitudes of the Alps. In Lombardy and Piedmont the extreme vigilance of the police, and the presence of an immense Austrian force, the fidelity of which could perfectly be relied on, prevented any open convulsions; but the impression was not the less decided, and the public passions, long and rigorously repressed, only acquired the greater strength from being brooded over in silence. The fermentation was extreme in Bologna and Modena, the two cities of the peninsula most warmly attached to the new institutions; but it was repressed with rigor, and in Florence overawed by the influence of Austria. In Rome the effect was very great at first, but it was ere long superseded by the election of a new Pope, in consequence of the death of Pius VIII., which took place on the 30th November.² He

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 674, 678.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 684, 688.

was succeeded by Cardinal Capellari, elected to the pontifical chair on February 2d, who took the title of Gregory XVI.

But these events, important and startling as they were, yielded in ultimate importance to an event which took place in this year in Spain, and proved the source of unnumbered calamities to both the kingdoms of the Peninsula.

88. Change in the order of succession in Spain.

This was the CHANGE IN THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION to the Spanish crown, as it had now been established for a hundred and twenty years, with the concurrence of all the powers of Europe. This order, which strictly excluded females from the crown, was an innovation on the old law of Spain, which admitted them; but it had been established by a decree or pragmatic sanction on 10th September, 1713, on occasion of the accession of Philip V. to the throne, and subsequently ratified by all the powers of Europe, and in particular by France and England, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714. It had ever since regulated the succession to the Spanish crown, and was regarded as a fundamental point in the public law and fixed policy of Europe. The object of it was not so much any peculiar necessity for the male succession in the Spanish monarchy beyond other states, but considerations of the highest moment for the general balance of power. The bequest of the crown of "Spain and the Indies" to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., in 1700, by the King of Spain, had lighted up the flames of the War of the Succession in Europe, which burnt fiercely for thirteen years, and were very imperfectly laid by the Peace of Utrecht in 1714. This treaty was thought by the Tories to have averted the danger of a union of the crowns of France and Spain on the same head, by entailing the crown of the latter kingdom on the male line. Bolingbroke and Harley, who made that treaty, did not perceive, what the event ere long demonstrated, that it was not the union of the crowns, but the alliance of the kingdoms, which was the real object of danger; that a "family compact" founded on family connection might prove as formidable as a union of kingdoms; and that, if the English fleets were outnumbered, and blockaded in their harbors, as they often were in the course of the century, by those of France and Spain together, it were of little moment whether it was in virtue of a united government or a family alliance.¹

¹ See Life of Marlborough, c. xii. p. 474, 524.

An opportunity now occurred which enabled the Liberals of Spain to lay the foundation for a revival of their hopes, which had been so signally blasted by the universal burst of indignation against their rule that appeared on the invasion of the Duke d'Angoulême in 1823. The King, now advanced in years, had married in

89. Its motives and political objects.

* In every one of the wars of England against France, in the course of the eighteenth century, subsequent to 1714, the Spanish government took part with the French, and their united navies always considerably outnumbered the English. This was particularly the case in the American War and the war of the Revolution, in the former of which the French and Spanish fleets, numbering forty-seven sail of the line, blockaded the English, of twenty-one sail, in Plymouth; while, at the outset of the latter, their combined fleets outnumbered those of Great Britain by forty-four line-of-battle ships.—See ALISON's *Life of Marlborough*, vol. ii. p. 474, 3d edit.

the close of the preceding year CHRISTINA, daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies; and the fêtes consequent on the marriage, which was graced by the presence of the royal parents of the bride, had been of so magnificent a character as to have recalled the pristine days of the monarchy, and in some degree reconciled even the Liberals to the sway of "*El Rey Absoluto*." In the spring of this year the Queen was discovered to be with child; and as the sex of the infant was of course uncertain, and DON CARLOS, the King's immediate younger brother, was, failing male issue of the marriage, the heir-apparent of the monarchy, and the avowed head of the despotic party, the Liberals resolved upon a device, which was attended with entire success, for altering the order of the succession, and establishing it in favor of the King's issue, *whether male or female*. By this means they hoped to ingraft a war of succession on a war of principles, and gain for themselves an ostensible and visible head—a matter of importance in all civil wars, but especially in one in

Spain, where the people were much more inclined to attach themselves to persons than to things.¹

By the united influence of the young Queen and the old father-confessor, the King was won over in his old age to this intrigue, and the decree accordingly appeared calling females as well as males to the succession of the throne. On March 29, 1830, to render the device the more plausible, it was stated in the decree that it was no new order of succession which was thereby established, but that it was a mere transcript of a former decree made by the late king, Charles IV., in 1789, on the requisition of the Cortes. Neither the alleged old decree, however, nor the requisition of the Cortes, were ever produced to give authority to the innovation, and it was done without the privity or concurrence of any of the powers in Europe which had been parties to the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the crown had been entailed on the male line. This, however, soon came to be of little moment; for in due time the Queen gave birth to a daughter, ISABELLA, the present sovereign of Spain; and although the irregularities of the mother's conduct gave rise to serious doubts as to the infant's legitimacy, yet she was immediately adopted as the head of the Liberals, and the dependants of the crown united with the partisans of free institutions in making THE QUEEN the war-cry of their united party. It will appear in the sequel what important consequences fol-

lowed this circumstance, what mournful tragedies it occasioned in all parts of the Peninsula, and how completely, in the end, it has had the effect of nullifying Spain in the general balance of power in Europe.¹

Thus, within less than six months after the Revolution of 1830 broke out, and Charles X. had been dethroned, was the whole face of affairs in Europe changed. Disgust had every where succeeded to confidence, apprehension to security, convulsion to stability. In vain had Louis Philippe assured the Continental sovereigns, and with sincerity, that he was inclined to abide by existing treaties, to check the spirit of revolution, to stand between them and the plague. Events had proved that, whatever his intentions were, his power to carry them into effect was extremely circumscribed. It was evident that there were two governments in Paris, one in the Tuileries and one in the clubs, and that the latter was more powerful for evil than the former was for good. The spirit of propagandism, nursed in France, and quadrupled in strength by its victory there, was now spreading over the adjoining states, and had already achieved the most signal triumphs in foreign nations. The Conservative administration had been overturned in England, and a party installed in power, based on popular support, and pledged to organic changes, with a democratic tendency in the constitution; the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been revolutionized, the King dethroned at Brussels, and Belgium to all appearance irrevocably severed from Holland; the barrier of Europe against France had been converted into the outwork of France against Europe; Germany had been convulsed, and a reigning sovereign dethroned; Switzerland subjected to democratic change, and brought under the influence of the clubs in Paris; and in Spain the order of succession changed, and a visible head given to the democratic party in the Peninsula, in the person of the heiress to the throne! A conflict of three days' duration in the streets of Paris had obliterated the whole effect of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, overturned the barrier in Flanders to revolutionary power, and annihilated in Spain the last remnant of security against French influence becoming predominant in the Peninsula! To all appearance the prophecy of Lafayette, forty years before, was about to be realized; the tricolor flag was to make the tour of the globe.

¹ Ann. Hist.
xiii. 690, 691.

91.
Resumé of the influence of the Revolution in France over Europe.

90.

Promulgation of the decree.

March 29, 1830.

CHAPTER XXV.

FRANCE FROM THE OVERTHROW OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS IN OCTOBER, 1830, TO THE ABOLITION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE IN SEPTEMBER, 1831.

THE events which have been recounted in the end of the last chapter entirely altered the position of France and Louis Philippe with reference to the European powers, and had an important effect, both externally and internally, on its future history. The Government of July was now placed in a state of antagonism with Europe. The cordial feelings with which the envoys of Louis Philippe had been received by the northern powers on his first accession to the throne, as a fortunate necessity and valuable barrier against evil, had given place to an alarming anxiety and entire distrust. Without doubting the sincerity of his professions of an ardent desire to co-erce revolution and restrain propagandism, they had seen enough to have the most serious apprehensions of his ability to do either the one or the other. The English government evinced, not without reason, great disquietude at the events in Flanders, and the extension of revolutionary influence to the mouth of the Scheldt. The speech from the throne at the opening of

Parliament openly expressed that feeling.¹ The Prussian cabinet was equally alarmed at the revolutionary movements in Northern Germany, and the obvious danger to which their Rhenish provinces were exposed, from the vicinity of the Flemish states in which the government had been overthrown. The cabinet of Vienna, under the cautious guidance of Prince Metternich, was still more apprehensive at the democratic fervor in Switzerland and the excitement in Northern Italy, which their huge army and vigilant police had the utmost difficulty in repressing. Even the distant court of St. Petersburg took the alarm, and, well aware of the sympathy of feeling between Paris and Warsaw, began to direct forces, to be prepared for any event, in great numbers, to the banks of the Vistula. The Prussians sent troops as rapidly as possible to their Rhenish provinces, and Austria did the same to Northern Italy. Every where on the Continent were to be seen armaments and heard the sound of marching men. England alone, secure in her sea-girt isle, and entirely engrossed with domestic questions, made no warlike preparations, and regarded the distant din on the Continent as the precursor of a conflict with which she had no immediate concern.²

This great change of necessity induced a corresponding alteration in the French cabinet. The original government, formed by a coalition of the three parties—the Doctrinaires, headed by the Duke de Broglie and M. Guizot; the burgher interest, by Count Molé and M. Casimir Périer; and the Republicans, represented by M. Dupont de l'Eure—soon un-

derwent the fate of all administrations formed by a combination of interests, not a union of principles. Dissensions of the most violent kind speedily appeared; the debates and recriminations were as tumultuous at the council-board as at the tribune; and it soon became evident that the differences of opinion were so great that every thing like united action was impossible. In truth, each of these sections of the Cabinet was the representative of a party in the State, the passions or apprehensions of which had become so violent that they could no longer be restrained. The Republicans in the clubs, the press, and the streets, loudly proclaimed the necessity of instantly establishing the sovereignty of the people, installing the citizens in possession of real power by a great reduction of the suffrage qualification, receiving with open arms the friends of freedom in other countries, and regaining the frontier of the Rhine, and all that had been lost by the treaty of Vienna, by accepting the proffered amalgamation of Belgium with France. The burghers, whose strength, always great, had been doubled by their forming the greater proportion of the National Guard, both in the metropolis and the provincial towns, were mainly set on the maintenance of order and the preservation of general peace, and dreaded alike any foreign demonstration which might revive the hostile alliance of 1815, and any domestic innovation which might restore the internal sway of the Jacobins in the State. And the Doctrinaires, to whose enlarged and philosophic ideas the sagacious and experienced mind of the sovereign was most inclined, earnestly inculcated the principles that the government, to be stable, must be one of progress and of order; that measures must be taken to co-erce the extravagance and restrain the influence of the clubs; and that the only lasting security for internal freedom was to be found in the maintenance of external peace.³

With such discordant opinions agitating both the Cabinet, the Chamber, and the people, it was impossible that the Government could long hold together; but an event which strongly roused and agitated the nation, induced its dissolution even earlier than might have been anticipated. This was the trial of Prince Polignac and the other ministers of Charles X., who, by the officious zeal of inferior functionaries rather than the real wishes of the Government, had been arrested in various places and brought to Vincennes, where they awaited the determination of the cabinet and Legislature on their fate. Had it been practicable, Louis Philippe and the majority of his cabinet would gladly have avoided so embarrassing a proceeding as the trial of these

¹ Ante, c. xxii. § 71.

² Cap. iii. 275, 279.

³ Cap. iii. 336, 341; Louis Blanc, ii. 157, 159.

³ Commencement of the trial of the late Ministers.

state prisoners; but their alleged delinquency and real infraction of the laws had been too recent, the passions of the people too strongly excited, the risk of any thing like a compromise to the new Government too great, to admit of such a course being thought of. Reluctantly, therefore, they were compelled to authorize the institution of proceedings against them. On

Sept. 23. September 23d the Chamber of Deputies, after long debates on the form to be adopted in the prosecution, had invested three commissioners with the power of conducting it on the part of the popular branch of the Legislature, and the trial was to take place before the Chamber of Peers. That body forth-

Oct. 4. with held an extraordinary meeting to commence the cognizance of the affair; and according to the form of the French law, when the court takes so large a share in the preliminary steps of the trial, three peers were appointed, and conjoined with the commissioners of the Deputies to conduct it. The judicial examinations commenced, and were conducted with great strictness and ability, though in an

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 325, 359, 423; Louis Blanc, ii. 119, 120, 121. Peers in a detailed and very impartial report on the 29th November.¹

The conduct of the accused during the prolonged interrogations was calm and dignified, but at the same time strongly characterized by that political infatuation and insensibility to the realities of their situation by which their conduct when in power had been distinguished. When they approached the gloomy towers of Vincennes, there was enough to quell the most undaunted spirit. In its fosse the Duke d'Enghien had fallen a victim to the jealousy and anger of Napoleon; within its walls Prince Polignac had undergone the weary hours of a nine years' captivity, for having conspired against that sovereign power which he was now accused of having abused. The carriage which bore them to the gloomy fortress was surrounded by an immense crowd, which never ceased to exclaim, "*La mort, la mort! la mort aux Ministres!*" So savage was their demeanor, so fierce and unrelenting their cries for vengeance, that the prisoners were relieved, and felt as if the worst of their dangers were over, when the draw-bridge was passed, the gates entered, and the doors of the fortress closed upon their pursuers. During the examinations, the prisoners, who were kept apart and in close confinement, exhibited a very different demeanor. M. de Chantelaube, on seeing the commissioners, with some of whom he had formerly been intimate, enter his apartment, burst into tears; M. de Peyronnet evinced more resolution, admitted his accession to the ordinances, and justified them by the necessities of his situation, and the kindness of the King toward him. M. Guernon de Ranville was equally resolute. But although the pale countenance, prominent forehead, and emaciated figure of Prince Polignac evinced the

² Louis Blanc, ii. 120, 121; Cap. iii. 388, 389; An. Hist. xiii. 425, 428. wearing influence of anxiety and meditation, yet the smile on his lips and the serenity of his manner revealed a mind at ease with itself and the world.² He constantly be-

lieved that the acknowledged irresponsibility of the King must, by a legal fiction, be extended to his Ministers. "When am I to be set at liberty?" he often said to the commissioners.

During the progress of these examinations, however, the state of Paris became such as dreadfully alarmed the court, and fearfully endangered the accused. The Republicans were indefatigable in their endeavors to excite the people, and awaken the savage thirst for blood which had forever disgraced France during the Reign of Terror. The continued and increasing distress which existed among the working classes, and which the agitators contrived to impute solely to the acts of the late ministers, which originated the convulsion, added immensely to the success with which their efforts were attended. On the 18th October, in particular, an *émeute* of so serious a kind took place in the Faubourg St. Antoine, that it assumed almost the character of an insurrection. A furious band then surrounded Vincennes, and were making preparations for storming the castle, in order to execute justice on the state prisoners with their own hands. They were only repelled by General Daumenil, the governor, threatening, if they did not desist, to blow up the building. Repulsed from thence, the waves of insurrection rolled to the westward, and broke on the Palais Royal, where it was only averted by the firm countenance of the National Guard. The King and his Ministers were all assembled. "Hark!" said Odillon Barrot, "I hear the cry '*Vive Barrot!*'" "And I," said the King, have heard the cry '*Vive Pétion!*'" Groups of disorderly persons singing the Marseillaise, and exclaiming "*Mort aux Ministres!*" crowded the streets leading to Vincennes, and in the evening they were generally swelled to several thousand persons. The apprehensions of the Government were extreme: it was thus that the massacres in the prisons on 2d September, 1792, had commenced. The garrison of Vincennes was greatly strengthened, the guards doubled, the draw-bridge kept up, and the guns loaded, as in a state of siege, with grape-shot. Thanks to these wise precautions, the revolutionists were deterred from an attack upon the fortress, and the agitators confined themselves to incessant efforts at the clubs and in the press to excite the public mind, and keep it in that state of feverish anxiety when the most desperate resolutions are most likely to meet with a favorable reception.¹

At length, on the 15th of December, the trial commenced in the hall of the Peers, in the palace of the Luxembourg. Every thing had been done which could give dignity and solemnity to the august spectacle. Seats were provided for all the foreign ambassadors and their families, as well as the principal dignitaries of the kingdom; and a guard of two thousand men, with several guns, was provided for daily service around the hall, besides powerful reserves in all the barracks of the capital, ready to turn out at a moment's notice. No less than one hundred and sixty-three of the Peers answered to their names when the roll was called; twenty sent excuses, which were sustained.

6. Commencement of the trial. Dec. 15.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 429, 430; Cap. iii. 392, 394; Louis Blanc, ii. 120, 128.

The proceedings opened with the utmost solemnity, and were marked by a degree of moderation and equity which reflected honor on the august assembly, and contrasted strangely with the perpetual cry of "*La mort, la mort ! la mort aux Ministres !*" which burst from the agitated crowds that surrounded the palace: The defense of Ministers rested mainly on the necessity of their situation, as the Government had been brought to a dead lock by the majority of 221 in the Chamber of Deputies, and on the 14th article of the charter, which, for such extreme cases, had, it was contended, provided the appropriate remedy. All the accused behaved with firmness, and yet temperance of demeanor. The smile often appeared on Prince Polignac's lips which had so frequently been seen during the whole course of these stormy scenes. Being asked who drew up the report which preceded the issuing of the ordinances, M. de Chantelauze replied, "It was I; it was drawn up after the principles of the ordinances had been agreed on by the Cabinet; it was a manifesto intended to be published, demanded by the King, and approved by the Council." The courage of this answer, when a capital charge was hanging

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 397, 461; crowds on the outside demanded their death, excited a general 492; *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 431, 440. respect.¹

Louis Philippe, greatly to his honor, had from the very first exerted himself to the very utmost to save the lives of the accused. More than this could not, in the excited state of the public mind, by possibility be hoped for. His conduct in this respect was the more praiseworthy, that it was attended with imminent hazard to his own crown, and even life; for such was the excitement in Paris on the subject of the trial, that it was hard to say whether the Sovereign or the prisoners stood in the greater peril. As it was, the crisis proved fatal, not to the monarchy, but to the administration. The immediate and ostensible occasion of its fall was a split in the Cabinet, on the subject of dismissing M. Odillon Barrot, the Prefect of the Seine, from his office, on occasion of a proclamation he had issued, condemning the address of the Chamber of Deputies, which had appeared in the official part of the *Moniteur*, as "an inopportune step, calculated to interrupt the ordinary course of justice." This gave rise to a violent altercation in the Cabinet between the King and M. Dupont de l'Eure, who was supported by M. de Lafayette and the whole strength of the Republican party; the former contending for the dismissal, the latter resisting it. It was easy to see, from the warmth with which the dispute was conducted on both sides, that a more vital interest than a mere question of criminal law was at stake, and that the real point was, whether or not the lives of the state prisoners were to be saved.* The

Keeper of the Seals, M. Dupont de l'Eure, tendered his resignation if M. Odillon Barrot was dismissed. The King, alarmed at the prospect of an entire breach with the Republican party, consented to retain him; and the consequence was, that MM. de Broglie, Guizot, Molé, Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Bignon, tendered their resignations, which were accepted.¹

To all appearance the triumph of the Republicans was now complete, for they had succeeded in humbling the King, and driving the Doctrinaires and Conservatives of the Cabinet out of office, on a question in which they themselves were clearly in the wrong—viz., in supporting a subordinate functionary, still holding office, in a public act of insubordination against the Government. But with that dexterity which the King possessed in so remarkable a degree, and of which, in the course of his reign, he gave so many proofs, he contrived to elude the blow, and escape total defeat, by making a new combination, and taking his Cabinet, not from the victorious Republicans, but from the burgher party, which had not yet been brought into discredit. The Duke de Broglie retired from the dignified post of President of the Council; M. Guizot from the scarcely less important position of Minister of the Interior: M. Lafitte was made President of the Council and Minister of Finance; Marshal Maison, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Montalivet, Minister of the Interior; M. Merilhou, Minister of Public Instruction; while M. Dupont de l'Eure, Count Sébastiani, and Marshal Gérard retained their offices respectively of Ministers of Justice, the Marine, and War. These seven alone constituted the Cabinet, from which M. Dupin and M. Bignon were excluded. The defeat of the Doctrinaires was complete, for they were entirely extruded from the Government; and the step in favor of the democratic party was considerable, for a banker, the author of the Revolution of July, was Premier, and the aristocratic party were almost entirely excluded from the Cabinet. A few days after, an ordinance appeared, appointing Count Sébastiani Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Argout Minister of the Marine, and Marshal Soult Minister at War, in room of Marshal Gérard. The triumph of the extreme democrats, however, was not complete, for the burgher party, of which Lafitte was the head, still formed the majority of the Council; and it turned out, ere long, that Marshal Soult, the new War Minister, was the most formidable antagonist which the Republicans had ever encountered, and very different from Prince Polignac or the priests who had induced the Revolution of July.²

* "Louis Philippe annonce que la retraite du Préfet de la Seine est décidée, et que M. de Lafayette y consent. 'M. de Lafayette, Sire !' dit alors M. Dupont de l'Eure, 'votre Majesté se trompe assurément.' 'Je l'ai entendu, Monsieur.' Permettez-moi de croire à une erreur de votre part : M. de Lafayette m'a tenu un langage différent, et je ne crois pas le Général capable de le contredire à ce point.' Le visage du roi était en feu. 'Au reste,' con-

tinue le Garde des Sceaux (Dupont), 'reparlons de ce qui me concerne. Puisque M. Odillon de Barrot se retire, je réitère à votre Majesté la prière d'accepter ma démission.' 'Mais, vous m'avez dit ce matin tout le contraire.' 'Moi, Sire ! J'affirme cette fois que vous êtes dans l'erreur.' 'Quoi, Monsieur ! vous me donnez un démenti ?' Tout le monde saura que vous m'avez manqué.' 'Sire !' répondit M. Dupont avec dignité, 'quand le roi aura dit oui, et M. Dupont, non, je ne sais auquel des deux la France croira.' —LOUIS BLANC, vol. ii. p. 152.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 363, 365; Louis Blanc, ii. 151, 153; *Cap. iii.* 343, 345.

² *Formation of M. Lafitte's ministry.* October 29.

² *An. Hist.* xiii. 366, 369; Louis Blanc, ii. 136, 140; *Cap. iii.* 136, 141.

The contest of parties began in the Chamber the very first day that the new Ministers appeared in their places there. M. Lafitte on this occasion made the following statement of the principles on which his Ministry was to be conducted: "A member of the former and present Administration, it falls to me to explain our intentions and proposed line of conduct, and the explanation shall be as concise as possible. The whole Council were unanimously of opinion that liberty could only be accompanied with order, and that the inflexible execution of the laws, till they are changed by legislative authority, is indispensable, under pain of anarchy. All are full of the hopes which the Revolution of 1789 has bequeathed to the world. Every one knows that the Revolution of 1830 must be restrained within certain bounds, that it is necessary to conciliate Europe by uniting to dignity a measured moderation. Upon these points we were all agreed, because the Cabinet was composed only of men of sense and prudence. But a difference arose upon the way in which we were to carry out the Revolution of 1830. The opinion was not general that it was destined soon to degenerate into anarchy; that it was necessary early to take measures of precaution against it; to evince distrust and hostility toward it. But, excepting upon this one point, there was no difference of opinion among the members of the late Cabinet." This declaration was perfectly sincere, and very near the truth; but it excited very little attention, as being couched only in vague generalities, which meant nothing. One only point of real practical importance occupied every mind, and divided society with the utmost acrimony. The Legitimists and Doctrinaires were animated with the generous desire to save the lives of the ex-ministers; the Democrats and Republicans thirsted after their blood.¹

The progress of the trial ere long brought them into violent collision, under circumstances so alarming as to threaten the destruction of the infant monarchy. The public, violently excited, suffering under most serious real evils, and incessantly stimulated by a licentious press, demanded in a voice of thunder a holocaust of victims to appease its indignation. The trial lasted long, and the public excitement seemed to increase with every day that it continued. The accused were defended with talent and energy; and some noble minds came forward, in the moment of peril, to defend their former political opponents at the hazard of their own lives. Among the rest was M. de Martignac, whose ministry had been supplanted by that of Prince Polignac, but who now appeared as counsel for M. de Peyronnet, his old school and college companion. "At school," said he, "at college, we have followed the same cause. Well, after having passed the ordeal of human grandeur, we find ourselves again here; I, as of old, lending to an accused party the aid of my voice; he, a captive accused, obliged to defend his life and good name, alike menaced. That long brotherhood, which had continued undisturbed through so many events, was in-

terrupted for a moment by the sad effects of political dissension. The hall in which we are met has sometimes resounded with our debates, not unmingled with bitterness; but of all recollections, that of ancient friendship is alone retained in the castle of Vincennes."¹

The general argument in favor of the accused was thus ably stated by M. Sauzet, who appeared for M. de Chantelauze: "The royal dynasty was in danger at the time of the ordinances, not in consequence of a general conspiracy, which I will not impute to the French nation. It is not I who will accuse the people of being treacherous to their King; but had not other and irretrievable causes of discord arisen at that time in society? Who can doubt the dangers of the crown in presence of a new throne, when there were floating on all sides the standards of another house, and the colors of another epoch? The Revolution of July has furnished the best argument in favor of the ordinances, and of the necessity, in the eyes of Charles X., I will not say of what was actually done, but of some extraordinary measure to meet extraordinary dangers, to which the dynasty, in order to preserve its existence, was forced to have recourse. Let us figure to our minds what would have occurred if such a revolution as we have witnessed had broken out, prepared, not by conspiracy, but by the ancient and ineradicable bent of the public mind. We constantly confound the cause and the occasion. Three days have sufficed, indeed, to make the Revolution, but fifteen years had been employed in preparing it; and if I do not deceive myself by confining the Revolution within trifling limits, *it is not destined to have a long futurity*. It was a revolution which is due only to hazard, and which has only succeeded by a fortunate accident in breaking up the throne of our ancient kings; a revolution which probably would not have taken place the day before, and assuredly would not have been successful the day after."²

These, however, were political considerations, calculated perhaps to go far in justifying the memory of the accused in the eyes of posterity, for having introduced the ordinances as a measure of state necessity; but they afforded no vindication of them, in a legal point of view, from the crime of a deliberate infraction of the constitution, of which they were accused. Their condemnation, therefore, was a matter of necessity; and it is highly to the credit of the Government that they had the courage to propose, and of the Peers that they had the firmness to adopt, punishments short of death. So much had their number been reduced by the exclusion, at the Revolution, of all those who had been elevated to the peerage during the reign of Charles X., that only 156 peers appeared to vote on the guilt and punishment of the accused. They were all found guilty by a majority of 132 to 24. This was expected, and was, in fact, unavoidable; but the material point, upon which public expectation was so violently excited, was, what punishment should be inflicted on them? The whole weight

¹ Moniteur, Nov. 11, 1830; the lives of the ex-ministers; the Louis Blanc, Democrats and Republicans thirsted after their blood.¹

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 451, 452.

¹² Condemnation and punishment of the accused.

of Government had been thrown, and happily with success, to the side of mercy. M. de Polignac was sentenced, by a majority of Dec. 21. 128, to transportation for life; M. de Peyronnet, by 87 to 68, to perpetual imprisonment; M. de Chantelauze, by 138 to 14, to perpetual imprisonment; and M. de Guernon Ranville to the same punishment, by 140 to 16. Considering how violently the people were excited on the subject, and the efforts which had been made to rouse them, these sentences must be regarded as an act of mercy; and it must always be considered as an honor to the government of Louis Philippe that it first gave the example, on a memorable occasion, of the abolition of the punishment of death for purely political offenses.¹

But though the lives of the accused were spared by the court, it was by no means equally clear they would be respected by the people; and the utmost danger awaited them in the course of the passage from the palace of the Luxembourg to the castle of Vincennes. The mob which surrounded the court amounted to above fifty thousand persons, and exhibited the most savage and unrelenting disposition. Had they once tasted of blood, the whole horrors of the first Revolution might have been renewed. Happily, in this crisis, the admirable dispositions of the military and police authorities prevented such a catastrophe. Twenty-four thousand troops of the line and national guards, with cannons loaded and matches lighted, were formed in dense array around the building when the sentence was determined on; and without its being promulgated, the prisoners were hurried away, the moment it was signed by the president of the court, to the carriages which were to convey them to Vincennes, which immediately set off at a rapid pace. M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior, rode on the right of the carriage which conveyed Prince Polignac—the post of honor as the post of danger. So quickly was the whole got over that they were safely lodged at Vincennes, under the charge of the firm General Daumenil, before the mob around the Luxembourg were well aware of their conviction.* The sentences were then read to them in their separate apartments, which they heard with constancy; and some days afterward they were quietly removed to Ham, the place of their final destination. Some disturbances took place in Paris, which was violently agitated on that day and the following day; but they were suppressed by the firm countenance of the troops of the line and national guards, who were publicly thanked by Louis Philippe for their conduct on the occasion.²

The violent excitement consequent on the trial of the ex-ministers led Government to appreciate the necessity of doing something decisive to terminate the anarchy which prevailed in the capital, and put a period to the military

dictatorship which, as Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, M. de Lafayette exercised in the capital. Great part of the National Guard had evinced a very bad spirit on occasion of the trial, and the artillery, in particular, had been so mutinous that a conflict had all but taken place between the gunners of the National Guard and the troops of the line, in the Place de Carrousel, under the very eyes of the King. On the 22d December, when the decision of the Peers on the punishment of the accused was known in the capital, things wore the most menacing aspect. A black flag was displayed from the Pantheon; crowds began to assemble in the streets, muttering threats, no longer against the ex-ministers, but the Government which had shielded them. So great was the distress which prevailed among the workmen of the metropolis, that crowds of ten or twelve thousand persons were seen in all directions, loudly demanding bread or employment, and openly threatening insurrection if it were any longer withheld. Against them, and alongside of the best portion of the National Guard, appeared the scholars of the Polytechnic School, clad in that magic uniform which five months before had thrilled every heart with emotion. Indeed, the peril to the new dynasty was as great as that which had overturned the last; and it was the bitter lessons learned by experience which alone in this crisis preserved Paris from a second convulsion. The shop-keepers had suffered so dreadfully by the stagnation of trade induced by the first, that they were resolved not again to incur a similar risk; and to all the dreams of the enthusiasts it was a sufficient answer, "*Le commerce ne vapas.*" Beyond all doubt, it was the steadiness of the National Guard from the best parts of the city which at this crisis saved the throne.¹

But this very circumstance of the immense importance of the service rendered by the National Guard on this occasion opened the eyes of the Government to the extreme danger of their position in regard to that formidable body. M. de Lafayette, taking advantage of his influence, and of the almost unbounded sway which these circumstances gave him, made certain demands on the Government which were tantamount to a revolution. These were—1st. The immediate dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, the majority of which was not in harmony with the ideas of the Republicans, with whom he was surrounded; 2d. The placing of the electoral franchise on a new footing, which should admit all the persons paying direct taxes to the suffrage; 3d. The reconstruction of the peerage on a different basis, for life only, and elective, like the American Senate. Thus the dictator, the head of the National, which might now be called the Prætorian Guard, demanded what in France, where there were 4,000,000 persons paying direct taxes, was equivalent to universal suffrage, and the abolition of the peerage, whether hereditary or for life, and the substitution of an elective senate in its room. This was certainly the realization of his favorite dream of a "monarchy surrounded with repub-

* When they passed the Barrier du Trône, M. Montalivet wrote to the King: "Sire, nous avons franchi la moitié de l'espace; encore quelque minutes de danger et nous sommes à Vincennes et tout est sauvé."—CAPE-FIGURE, vol. iv. p. 163.

14. Disaffection of the National Guard, and the misery of the capital.

¹ Cap. iv. 167, 169; Louis Blanc, ii. 224, 226; Moniteur, Dec. 23, 1830.

lican institutions." Whether they could coexist in the same community was a very different question, upon which the Government required to come to an immediate decision. The sway of Lafayette, as at the head of the armed force of the capital, appeared in foreign countries completely to overshadow the throne, and the utmost alarm was manifested regarding it, not in the journals of St. Petersburg and Vienna, but in the Whig papers of London.¹

The conduct of the French government on this crisis was marked by the vigor and decision which, in civil dissensions, when supported by strength, is the sure precursor of success. Already the exorbitant power assumed by M. de Lafayette had excited a general jealousy even among his own adherents, who, although quite willing to use him for a tool, were by no means inclined to have him for a master. The press, both Republican and Legitimist, daily declaimed against him; and the epithet of "Le Polignac populaire," applied to him by M. Capefigue in the *Conservateur*, like other felicitous sobriquets which wound those of whom we are jealous, was received with general applause. Encouraged by this support, Ministers, on the 24th December, amidst the most fulsome expressions of gratitude and adulation for the "hero of the two worlds," quietly deprived him of his command of the National Guards, cloaking the dismissal under the pretext of appointing him "Honorary Commander of the Guard." "Since the 30th July," said M. Charles Dupin on the part of the Government, "General Lafayette has been the living law of the National Guard; he has acquired unbounded glory by the manner in which he has exercised that august mission; but the friend, the companion, the emulator of Washington, knows that a man can not remain a living law all his life, if the written law is not to become extinct. That illustrious friend of liberty, if he were within these walls, would be the first to say, 'My wish is that the law should live, and that I should again become what I am, the citizen of the two worlds.'" The decree dismissing Lafayette with these high-sounding flowers of panegyric was passed by the Chambers without a division; and the General had the patriotism or the good sense to submit to it without resistance, after declining the title of "honorary" commander offered to him, with the most flattering expressions of regard, by the King.*

* "Le grand pouvoir," said Lafayette, "dont j'étais investi, donnait quelque ombrage. Vous en aviez bien entendu parler, Messieurs. Cet ombrage s'était surtout étendu dans les cercles diplomatiques. Aujourd'hui, ce pouvoir est brisé, je n'ai plus que l'honneur d'être entre des collègues. Cette démission, reçue par le roi avec les témoignages de sa bonté ordinaire pour moi, je ne l'aurais pas donnée avant la crise que nous venons de traverser. Aujourd'hui, ma conscience de l'ordre public est pleinement satisfaite. J'avoue qu'il n'en est pas de même de ma conscience de liberté. Nous connaissons tous ce Programme de l'Hôtel de Ville, 'un trône populaire, entouré d'institutions républicaines.' Il a été accepté, mais nous ne l'entendons pas tous de même. Il ne l'a pas toujours été par les conseils du roi, comme par moi, qui suis plus impatient que d'autres de le voir réaliser. Et quelle qu'ait toujours été mon indépendance personnelle dans toutes

This decisive step was immediately followed by some changes in the Cabinet. M. Dupont de l'Eure resigned his situation as Minister of Justice; it was gladly accepted, and he was succeeded by M. Merilhou, then Minister of Public Instruction, a man of ability and of moderation, though a decided Liberal. M. Merilhou was succeeded in the port-folio of Public Instruction by M. Barthe, a man of eloquence and power, and, like him, distinguished as a Liberal under the Government of the Restoration. M. Treilhard, the Prefect of Police, also resigned, and was succeeded by M. Baudé, one of the most active chiefs on occasion of the Revolution of July, and a man of vigor and courage. M. Odillon Barrot also tendered his resignation as Prefect of the Department of the Seine; but he was prevailed on to withdraw, and continue the discharge of his functions, on condition of their being considered judicial or administrative only, and altogether detached from politics. M. Taschereau, his sous-prefect, was also retained. "Odillon Barrot," said Louis Philippe, "will be no longer to be feared when he has no longer M. de Lafayette above him, and none under him but M. de Taschereau."¹

The Government was considerably strengthened by these changes, both from the greater unity given to the Cabinet, and the increased consideration it acquired in the public estimation and in the eyes of foreign powers. It derived additional support from the news that arrived in the latter months of the year from Algeria. Marshal Bourmont, upon receiving on the 11th August the intelligence of the dethronement of Charles X., published an address announcing it to the army, and at the same time resigning the command to General Clausel, who had been appointed his successor. He soon after embarked for France, "carrying with him," as he himself said, "nothing of the hundred millions which the conquest of Algiers had brought to France, and bringing but the embalmed heart of his son." General Clausel resolved to signalize the advent of the Republican party to power at Paris, by forming a chain of fortified posts through the Algerine territory in order to protect the colonists, who were presenting themselves in considerable numbers for the acquisition and cultivation of land. The expedition set out in the middle of November, and after defeating several bodies of Arabs which presented themselves, succeeded in reducing the two towns of Melideah and Medeah, with a considerable adjacent territory, under the French dominion.²

These were considerable advantages; but they yielded in importance to the vast armaments which the new Government was compelled to make, and the great addition to the public expenses with which they were attended. The deficit of 86,000,000 francs in the revenue, which, as has been already mentioned, appeared soon after the Revo-

lutions, je me sens dans ma situation actuelle plus à l'aise pour discuter mon opinion avec vous."—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 490.

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 234, 235; Cap. iv. 191, 196; *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 505, 508.

^{18.} Favorable accounts from Algiers.

Nov. 25 and 26.

² *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 510, 511.

^{19.} Great additional expenditure for the army and its forces.

lution, rapidly and alarmingly increased. Many causes contributed to bring it about. The funds had fallen fully 20 per cent. between July, 1830, and January, 1831,* and the public misery and stagnation of commerce had become such in the latter months of the year that the suffering produced by the invasions of 1814 and 1815 had been less in comparison. It was absolutely indispensable to increase largely the government expenditure in order to counterbalance this woeful stagnation, and the clothing, arming, and equipping of 600,000 national guards, which were called out over all France, had this effect in a considerable degree. The hostile attitude of foreign powers, especially Prussia and Austria, since the revolution in Belgium, also rendered necessary a great increase of the regular army. That force, in the time of the fall of Charles X., had consisted of 131,000 infantry and 34,595 cavalry, of whom 12,000 were Swiss, who were all disbanded and sent home after the Revolution of July. Their place was supplied, however, by 148,000 new French conscripts, which raised the infantry to 243,000 men, and the cavalry to 45,000, making a total of 288,000 men—a large force, doubtless, but by no means disproportioned to what France was entitled to have on foot, considering the strength of the nation and the doubtful ground on which it stood in its relations to foreign powers.¹

The circumstance beyond all others which rendered this great armament on the part of France necessary, was the jealousies which had arisen on all sides in regard to the candidates for the crown of Belgium, now vacant by the results of the revolution in Flanders, and its definitive separation from Holland. Two candidates, and two only, presented themselves, in the first instance, for the crown—the Duke de Leuchtenberg, son of Prince Eugène Beauharnais, the far-famed Viceroy of Italy under Napoleon, and the Duke de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe. The separation of Belgium from Holland had been finally determined on by a congress of the ambassadors of France, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, on the 20th December, 1830, on reasons which, under existing circumstances, appeared too well founded.† The throne being

* Five per cents, 2d January, 1830	109
Three per cents, 2d January, 1830	84
Five per cents, 31st December, 1830	93
Three per cents, 31st December, 1830	62

—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 520.

† “En formant par les traités de Vienne en 1815, l'union de la Belgique avec la Hollande, les puissances signataires de ces traités, et dont les plénipotentiaires sont assemblés dans ce moment, avaient eu pour but, de fonder un juste équilibre en Europe, et d'assurer le maintien de la paix générale. Les événements des quatre derniers mois ont malheureusement démontré que cet amalgame parfait et complet, que les puissances voulaient opérer entre ces deux pays, n'avait pas obtenu ce qu'il serait désormais impossible d'effectuer; qu'ainsi l'objet même de l'union de la Belgique avec la Hollande se trouvait détruit, et que des lors il devenait indispensable de recourir à d'autres arrangements pour accomplir les intentions, à l'exécution desquelles cette union devait servir de moyen. Unie à la Hollande, et faisant partie intégrale du royaume des Pays Bas, la Belgique avait à remplir sa part des devoirs Européens de ce royaume, et des obligations que les traités lui avaient fait contracter envers les autres puissances. La rupture avec la Hollande ne saurait la libérer de cette part de ses devoirs et de ses obligations. La conférence s'occupera conséquemment de discuter et de concerter les

then vacant, its disposal was nominally in the hands of the Estates of Flanders; but it was evident that the European powers would all feel the deepest interest in the question involved in it, for its territory, interposed between France and Germany, bristling with strong and newly-erected fortresses, and adjoining the recent acquisitions of Prussia on the Rhine, was too important not to be of the utmost moment in the future balance of power in Europe, and its possession might have a decisive effect on the first general war which might arise. England had been drawn into the first revolutionary war by the advance of Dumourier to Antwerp, and the opening of the mouth of the Scheldt, contrary to existing treaties,¹ and its independence might be not less seriously menaced by the incorporation of Flanders with France, in conformity with the loudly expressed wish of the revolutionists in both countries, or the bestowing of the crown of Belgium on a son of the King of the French.²

Notwithstanding the obvious force of these considerations, which threatened to involve Europe in a general war, if either the incorporation of Belgium with France were openly attempted, or if it was indirectly brought under French influence by its being bestowed on a son of the King of the French, such was the weight of the French party, and the desire of the leading party in the revolution for a connection with that country, that the Estates made a formal tender of the crown to the Duke de Nemours. Louis Philippe was much embarrassed by this election, however agreeable, under other circumstances, it might have been to his ambition. He had already formally announced to the Estates of Belgium “that he would never, in any event, recognize the Duke de Leuchtenberg or the Duke de Nemours as King of Belgium, or give the former, if elected, any of his daughters in marriage;” and now he was tempted by a direct offer of the crown to his son.* His own throne, however, was not sufficiently established to permit him to take a step which would probably give umbrage to all the European powers, and would certainly dissolve the good understanding between France and England. He had the good sense, accordingly, to refuse the tempting offer, in terms courteous, indeed, but sufficiently firm to show that his mind was made up; and the crown of Belgium continued to be vacant, the object of diplomatic intrigue and revolutionary ambition.³

nouveaux arrangements les plus propres à combiner l'indépendance future de la Belgique avec les stipulations des traités, avec les intérêts et la sécurité des autres puissances, et avec la conservation de l'équilibre Européen.”

—*Protocole*, 20 Décembre, 1830. *Ann. Hist.* xiii. 244, 245.

* “Le roi ne consentira pas à la réunion de la Belgique à la France; il n'acceptera pas la couronne pour M. le Duc de Nemours, alors même qu'elle lui serait offerte par le Congrès. Le gouvernement verrait, dans le choix du Duc de Leuchtenberg, une combinaison de nature à troubler la tranquillité de la France. Nous n'avons pas le projet de porter la plus légère atteinte à la liberté des Belges dans l'élection de leur souverain, mais nous usons aussi de notre droit en déclarant de la manière la plus formelle que nous ne reconnaitrons pas le Duc de Leuchtenberg.”—*Dépêche de Sebastiani*, 11th January, 1831. *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 385, 386.

By another protocol of the representatives of the five powers at London, on 20th January, 1831, it was provided that the kingdom of Holland should embrace all the territories which formed part of the Seven United Provinces in 1789; and that of Belgium, "the whole remainder of the territories which had received the denomination of the Kingdom of the Low Countries in the treaty of 1815, with the exception of the *Grand-duchy of Luxembourg*, which the princes of the House of Nassau possessed by a different title, and which formed, and shall continue, *part of the German Confederation*. All the dispositions of the general act of the Congress of Vienna relative to the free navigation of rivers and navigable streams shall apply to the rivers and streams which traverse the Dutch or Belgian territory."

Provision was also made for the mutual exchange of small detached portions of the Belgian and Dutch territory which lay *enclavés* in each other's territories, in order that the dominions of each should be rounded, and embrace none lying within the general limits of the other. This protocol was of great consequence, as fixing the respective limits of the Dutch and Belgian states, which have ever since remained separated in the European family.¹

¹ Protocol, January 20, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 125; Doc. Hist.

The refusal of Louis Philippe to accept the throne of Belgium for his son gave the highest satisfaction in London, both as adjourning at least, if not avoiding, the dangers of the extension of French power and influence to the mouth of the Scheldt, and as demonstrating that the sway of Great Britain in European diplomacy was superior to that of France. It gave nearly as much satisfaction to the Republicans at Paris; for what they desired was, not to see a valuable appanage bestowed upon the Orleans family, already become the object of their irreconcilable hatred, but to effect an incorporation of Belgium and France in one great republic, extending to the Rhine, and recalling the glories, as it embraced the territories, of Napoleon. Meanwhile the government of Holland, recovered from the shock occasioned by the severance of Belgium, was taking the most active measures to put itself in a posture of defense. Troops were rapidly levied to increase the strength of the regular army; the patriotic spirit of the people added greatly to their number by voluntary enlistment; the frontier towns were armed, provisioned, and put in a respectable posture of defense. Already the regular army amounted to 60,000 men, which before the summer was increased to 80,000; and the spirit of the people, deeply excited by the treachery and defection of the Belgians, supported the Chambers in all the money grants requisite to support an establishment so great

for a state not numbering above two millions and a half of inhabitants.²

In Belgium, on the other hand, the usual weakness which succeeds the first burst of revolutionary strength was daily becoming more conspicuous. The country was not only without a government, but no one could foretell ei-

ther what the government was to be, or into whose hands it was to fall. The diplomatic body nearly unanimously supported Prince Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria, as the candidate least likely to excite the jealousy of France or England. The Duke of Leuchtenberg was out of the question, as the French government had formally declared they would never consent to his appointment. In these circumstances, a considerable party in the Belgian Assembly began to turn their eyes to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, whose German connections might, it was hoped, conciliate the powers of that country; while his connection with Great Britain, through the late Princess Charlotte, would probably render him acceptable to the cabinet of St. James's. Nor did it escape the notice of the Belgian patriots, that he was possessed of a jointure of £50,000 a year as widower of the daughter of England, which might be of essential service in consolidating their infant monarchy; while by offering his hand to a daughter of France, he might conciliate the suffrages of that country, and overcome the scruples of its cautious sovereign. But these views were problematical only, and wrapped in the darkness of futurity. In the mean time, the country was without a government, and fast falling into the anarchy and helplessness which invariably succeed such an interregnum. The taxes were unpaid, the fortresses unarmed, the exchequer empty; already nearly half of the army, ashamed of their defection, had left their colors; and though the Assembly at Brussels passed repeated decrees ordering the levying of fresh troops, and calling out the *ban* and *arrière-ban*, yet no progress was made in embodying them; and while the external dangers of the country were hourly increasing, its internal means of defense were daily wasting away.¹

The dangers of a general war, great as they were in the north of Europe from the difficulties which beset the Belgian question, were, in a great measure, removed by the temper and judgment displayed by the diplomatists at London, especially Prince Talleyrand and Lord Palmerston, and the sincere desire which they all felt to avoid any thing which might induce hostilities. But it was otherwise in Italy, where the ardent spirit of revolution, nourished by French propagandism, and excited by French convulsions, was brought in contact with the cautious spirit of Austrian conservatism, directed by the prudent sagacity of Prince Metternich. In Milan, the seeds of revolt were ripe, and no slight fermentation was evinced on occasion of the revolutions of July and October; but the presence of a large Austrian force, the vigilance of the police, and the energetic measures of Marshal Radetsky, the governor, prevented any actual outbreak. It was otherwise, however, in the Papal States, where the government was weaker, the seditious spirit stronger, and the prospect of success to the revolutionists greater. A formidable insurrection accordingly was soon organized in the Pope's dominions, which had its principal ramifications in the Papal Legation, or provinces to the north of the Apennines, and its centre in Bologna, a city where an

^{24.} Weak and distracted state of Belgium.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 401, 403; Cap. iv. 247, 259.

^{25.} Perilous state of Italy.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 400, 401; for a state not numbering above 245.

dependent free spirit had long been in an especial manner conspicuous. The wealth of this city was great, its inhabitants amounted to sixty thousand, and its citizens were animated with that desire for a share in the government which naturally arose from a consciousness of their own strength, and a perception of the imbecility of the conclave of Cardinals by whom they were oppressed. In Modena also, and Parma, the same discontent prevailed, and the people only waited for an opportunity to shake off their oppressive petty tyrants.¹

The insurrection broke out first in Modena, on the 3d of February, and was in the outset suppressed, and its leader Menotti made prisoner. But next day appearances of disturbance of a much more serious kind showed themselves in Bologna. Its garrison, which consisted of only seven hundred men, was ordered by the Prolegat, governor of the town, not to act, for fear of irritating the people. The consequences of this timidity were soon apparent. Assured of impunity whatever they did, the conspirators sallied forth from their respective places of rendezvous, and were soon strengthened by the whole students of its far-famed university. Thus supported, they advanced to the palace of the Prolegat, whom they forced to abdicate, and retire with the garrison over the Apennines to Florence. A provisional government was immediately established, comprising, among others, some dignitaries of the old Kingdom of Italy; the authority of the Pope as a temporal sovereign was overturned; the Italian tricolor, green, white, and blue, every where mounted, and the people invited to form a national guard for the defense of the public liberties. The example of this successful revolution, which was effected without shedding a drop of blood, or disorders of any kind, speedily spread to the adjoining towns. The whole cities in the papal dominions to the north of the Alps broke out into open insurrection. Modena again rose the day after the success at Bologna, and the authority of the government was speedily overturned. Ancona and Reggio followed the example, as well as Ferrara, which had an Austrian garrison. The troops having no orders, and not knowing what to do, shut themselves up in the citadel, and let the citizens do what they pleased; and the feeble government of the Duchess of Parma, the widow of Napoleon, yielded to the request of a deputation of the inhabitants that she would abdicate and leave the country. In less than a week the authority of the Pope had ceased in all the provinces to the north of the Apennines; and the insurgents, encouraged by their easy success over the pontifical troops, took steps to extend their movements in every direction. Efforts were made to spread the conflagration to Tuscany, Piedmont, and Naples. A detachment from Bologna crossed the mountains, and advanced as far as Otricoli, in order to lend a hand to an insurrection which was expected in Rome; and an animated proclamation was addressed to the inhabitants of Lombardy,² calling on them to shake off the hated yoke of the stranger, and con-

cur in the general establishment of Italian freedom.*

Austria, ever nervous about her Italian possessions, did not require this provocation to induce her to interfere in the strife to the south of the Alps. Ever since the Revolution of July in France, she had sedulously augmented her forces in Italy, and they now amounted to little short of a hundred thousand men. The Pope, the Duke of Modena, the Duchess of Parma, had each implored succor from the cabinet of Vienna, to enable them to put down the insurrection in their several states, and regain their lost possessions. On the other hand, the French at first declared that they would not permit any armed intervention of the Austrians in the affairs of Italy. After some negotiations, however, this resolution was so far modified that the cabinet of the Tuileries declared they would not object to the Imperialists moving into the Papal States to suppress the insurrection, provided they came under an engagement not to remain there, which was at once agreed to. Fortified by this consent, a division of Austrians, in the first week of March, crossed the Po, and marched on Parma and Modena; while General Frimont, at the head of twenty thousand men, advanced against Bologna. The insurgents, scarcely armed, and wholly undisciplined, were in no condition to resist forces so considerable. The Duke of Modena re-entered his dominions at the head of the Austrian troops, and immediately erected scaffolds. Menotti and Borilla, the two leaders of the insurrection, were hanged, and numbers of others sentenced to long imprisonment. Inspired with better as well as wiser feelings, the Duchess of Parma accorded a general amnesty, on the mild condition only of the leaders being excluded for three years from public employments.¹

At Bologna some resistance was attempted, but finding General Frimont at the head of such formidable forces, all thoughts of combating were laid aside, and the Austrians entered the city without resistance on the 21st. Some skirmishes between the insurgents and Imperialists took place afterward, but nothing that could be called war any where ensued; and the rebels, refluxed from all quarters, were soon cooped up in Ancona, where they were glad, on 29th March, to conclude a convention by which the fortress was given up, and they laid down their arms on condition of an absolute amnesty for their persons and estates. This condition the papal government refused to ratify; various arrests took place, and commis-

* "Concitoyens de Lombardie! Suivez l'exemple de la France, imitez les patriotes de l'Italie centrale; brisez les chaînes honteuses dont la Sainte Alliance vous a chargés. Nous étions esclaves et misérables sous le despotisme des prêtres, mais nos oppresseurs étaient du moins Italiens. Vous êtes esclaves d'étrangers qui s'enrichissent de vos dépouilles, et qui, chaque jour, vous rendent plus malheureux. Le jour où vous vous leverez contre eux, 40,000 de nos compatriotes marcheront pour vous aider à écraser les Autrichiens. Ne tardez point; car il y a péril à hésiter. Déployez votre courage, concitoyens, et le despotisme fuira de nos belles contrées. Notre pays, notre liberté, et notre indépendance nationale avant tout!"—*Proclamation*, Bologne, 10th February, 1831; *Ann. Hist.*, xiv. 537.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 532, 535; Cap. iv. 263, 264.

² Insurrections in Bologna, Modena, Reggio, and Parma. February 3-10.

²⁷ Intervention of Austrian Italy.

March 5.

¹ An. Hist. xiv. 539, 540; Cap. iv. 263, 264.

28.

Entry of the Austrians into Bologna, and suppression of the insurrection. March 21.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 534, 536; Cap. iv. 262, 264.

sions were instituted to try the rebels. Happily, however, no lives were sacrificed; the leaders had escaped, and a general amnesty was proclaimed, with the exception only of the members of the provisional government who had signed the deposition of the Pope. The insurrection being thus extinguished, the French government called upon the cabinet of Vienna to redeem its pledge, and withdraw from the Ecclesiastical States; but the latter, on various pretexts, delayed doing so, and it was not till the 17th July that their troops retired into Lombardy, and finally evacuated the papal dominions.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 540, 541; Cap. iv. 263, 265.

Although the fermentation in Germany, in 29. the course of this year, did not assume so formidable an appearance as it did in Italy, yet enough existed to excite disquietude, occasion armaments, and presage war. The King of Holland, in his character of Grand Duke of Luxembourg, in which he was a member of the Germanic Confederation, presented a petition to the Diet, praying that he might be protected in his German dominions by the

March 18. Federal forces; and upon this requisition a force of 24,000 men was, by a resolution of the Federal Assembly, ordered to be stationed in that duchy to maintain the authority of the King of Holland. When this resolution was known in Brussels, the hot-headed revolutionists of that country prepared to assert their right to it by force; and if they had adhered to that resolution, a general war would have ensued; for the German Diet, to be prepared for any emergency, immediately armed the frontier fortresses on the Rhine, and put them in a respectable posture of defense. Fortunately for the peace of Europe, more rational councils ere long prevailed with the Belgian provisional government. They hesitated to come to a rupture with a Confederation which could bring three hundred thousand men into the field. The refusal of the throne of Belgium for his son by Louis Philippe rendered it doubtful whether, in such a contest, they would have the support of France; and the resolution of the assembled ambassadors in London that Luxembourg should form part of the dominions of the King of Holland, proved that, in attempting to enforce their pretensions, they would incur the hostility of all Europe. These considerations were so obvious that they forced themselves even on the most unwilling minds; and accordingly the intention to assert their rights by force was abandoned, and the Belgian government contented itself with making a formal

Aug. 12. demand upon the Diet for the duchy, which was formally refused. The conservative tendency of the Diet was still further

Oct. 27. evinced by two resolutions which it soon declared that it would refuse to receive any petitions relative to the general interests of the Confederation, as they were dangerous to the tranquillity of particular states; while

Nov. 10. by the second it was recommended to all governments to take the most vigilant steps

Nov. 19. to coerce the licentiousness of the press. Soon after the Diet passed a resolution asserting its own right to exercise a control of the press in all the states of the Confederation,

and immediately gave a practical proof of its determination to enforce its power by prohibiting the circulation in all Germany of a liberal journal entitled *L'Allemagne Constitutionnelle*, published at Strasbourg, which advocated the overthrow of existing governments.¹

Austria had serious matter for consideration at this period, from the state both of its own dominions and of the adjoining districts. The insurrection in Italy, which has been already mentioned, caused its government to augment largely its forces, already considerable, in that peninsula, and brave the threatened hostility of France, to prevent the spread of the revolutionary movement through the north of Italy. But the cabinet of Vienna had soon still more pressing cause for anxiety in its own dominions. The fierce and deeply interesting war in Poland, of which an account will immediately be given, excited the warmest sympathy in all parts of the Austrian dominions, and especially in Hungary, which adjoined it, and among the inhabitants of which a strong identity of feeling with the efforts of the Sarmatian race has always existed. Alarmed at the growing fermentation in Hungary, the government of Vienna issued ordinances against the exportation of arms or munitions to Poland, and, under pretense of a *cordon sanitaire* against the cholera, established posts along the frontier of Galicia, so as to intercept all communication with the kingdom of Poland, where the war was raging. This immediately led to anxious petitions from all parts of Hungary, in which they demanded the immediate repeal of the ordinances which prohibited the export of arms and munitions of war to Poland, and the convocation of a Diet to consider of what could be done to soften the fate of the Poles. So warm were these petitions, and so deep the sympathy felt in all parts of Hungary with the efforts of the Poles to re-establish their independence, that there is no saying to what it might have led, had not a new enemy, still more formidable, appeared within themselves, which absorbed the national mind, and for the remainder of the year diverted it from the consideration of external objects. In May, the cholera, which had been very fatal in Galicia and Poland, made its appearance in Hungary, and before it ceased in the end of September, it had carried off 102,657 persons out of 256,000 who had been seized with the disease.²

In Prussia, the dominions of which adjoined Poland on the one side, and Belgium on the other, in both of which countries the revolutionary fever was raging with peculiar violence, and the sovereigns had been overthrown, the war-like ardor was very strong, and it required all the prudence and wisdom of the Government to prevent war from actually breaking out. To be prepared for any event, however, the cabinet of Berlin took the most decisive measures. The army was placed on the war footing, the reserves and landwehr called out, and the fortresses on both the Flemish and Polish frontiers armed and put in a posture of defense. Extreme was the fermentation which these war-like measures produced at Berlin, and among

30. Defensive measures in Austria.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 456, 459.

31. State of feeling in Prussia.

the gallant youth of Prussia, with whom, as with the French, war is a perfect passion. At the same time, while professing an entire neutrality, the Prussian government took the most decisive measures against the Polish insurgents, and in favor of the Russian army. A powerful cordon of troops, established along the whole frontier of Poland, prevented all transit of ammunition or provisions from Prussia into the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, while the Russian army drew supplies of all sorts from the Prussian provinces, and the Russian ships of the line landed at Dantzic stores of all kinds for the use of the Russian armies carrying on the campaign. It will appear in the sequel that it was this indirect but most efficacious interference of Prussia in favor of the Muscovites which mainly over-

threw the gallant and marvelous efforts of the Poles in support of their independence in this memorable year.¹

The vast military force at the disposal of government in these great monarchies rendered hopeless any attempts of the Liberal party at insurrection within their dominions. But it was otherwise in the lesser states, where the resources of government were much less considerable, and in most of which constitutional assemblies existed, which both kept alive the hopes of the friends of freedom, and afforded a legal channel for making their demands known. In Bavaria, the court had taken an imprudent step in rejecting some Liberal deputies recently elected to the Chamber, and in proposing rigorous decrees to coerce the press. This immediately excited a storm of indignation in the country, which burst forth in violent petitions from Nuremberg, Bamberg, and other great towns in the Confederacy. The Government, however, persevered; and five edicts coercing the press, and giving a right of censorship to the crown, were, after a violent opposition, and with several modifications, at length passed by a majority of 7—the numbers being 59 to 52. They were immediately and rigorously acted upon by the Government, and the discontent thence arising produced serious results in after times. In Baden the Government took the initiative in various measures of reform, particularly in the judicial department, the municipalities, and the *corvées*, which gave universal satisfaction. The independent spirit of the Chamber, however, was evinced in a protest which was brought forward by M. Rotteck, one of the most celebrated journalists of Germany, and unanimously adopted, against Baden yielding obedience to, or being bound by, the resolutions of the Diet of the Confederation of 10th and 19th November, against the liberty of the press. Though the matter went no farther at this time than the recording a protest on the journals of the Assembly, yet it excited a great sensation, and gave token of the free spirit with which the inhabitants of the lesser states of Germany were

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 461, 469. animated, which led to such great results at a future time.^{2*}

The discontent which was so general in Germany during this year broke out into serious acts of violence in Saxony and Hanover. In Dresden, the people, discontented because the existing constitution did not give them

the entire command of the State, as their influence did not extend to the Upper Chamber, formed themselves into clubs and unions, where the most inflammatory principles were soon promulgated. In the middle of April, a contest began between the clubs and the royal troops, when the latter were victorious, but not before the disturbance had lasted three days, and several persons had been killed. To appease the people, some concessions were made in matters of constitutional right, but they were far from allaying the discontent; and on 30th August another insurrection, still more serious, took place, when the mob unavowed the streets, and began to erect barricades, and were only dispersed by heavy platoon-firing, which killed great numbers. In Brunswick, the interregnum consequent on the dethronement of the reigning prince, of which an account has already been given, was terminated by the Diet authorizing his younger brother to assume the reins of government; and on the 25th April following he received the joyous homage of his subjects.

In Hesse-Cassel a great fermentation prevailed, and appearances were at one time very threatening; but they were appeased by the judicious conduct of the Government, which established, of its own accord, a constitution similar to those in the other lesser states of Germany. This gave great satisfaction; but the Chambers and people complained that the Elector did not reside at his capital of Cassel, but at a distant chateau of Wilhelmshöhe. He positively refused to yield this point; and the remonstrance of the Chambers and discontent of the people became in consequence so violent, that he was obliged to name his brother Frederick-William co-regent, who came to Cassel, and exercised the functions of government in the absence of the Elector.¹

In Hanover the revolutionary spirit also showed itself, and for a time with more threatening symptoms. On the 7th January a movement took place at Osterode in that kingdom, which ended in the establishment of a national guard, under pretext of defending persons and property, while the citizens were laying their grievances before the Duke of Cambridge, the viceroy of the kingdom. This was followed next day by an open insurrection in Göttingen, when the people displaced all the constituted authorities, proclaimed a provisional government, and invited every other municipality in the kingdom to do the same. The conduct of the Duke of Cambridge on this occasion was characterized by vigor and decision. Collecting a body of troops, he marched

* "Profitions des instants précieux pendant lesquels nous pouvons encore faire entendre nos voix, pour les élever en faveur de la patrie et de la liberté. Protestons que jamais, même quand nos langues seraient liées, nos âmes ne se soumettront à un tel arrêt, et que nous ne

cesserons de protester, du moins par un morne silence et de sombres regards, contre la violation de la souveraineté de l'état de Bade, venue de la diète, et contre la suppression de nos droits constitutionnels. L'Assemblée se leva en masse."—Ann. Hist., xiv. 468.

in person direct to Göttingen, and having arrived on the 15th before the gates of the city, he gave the insurgents twelve hours to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. This was at first refused, and preparations for resistance made; but the insurgents, finding themselves not supported by the rest of the country, lost heart, and submitted next day to the proposed terms. Having gained this advantage by his vigor and celerity, the Duke wisely proceeded to deprive the malcontents of their chief grounds of complaint, by publishing a constitution soon after, consisting of two Chambers; the first composed of the princes of the blood, the nobles, and a few named by the King; the second of ninety-five deputies chosen by the different classes of the citizens.¹

Threatening as appearances were in Italy and Germany, they were yet outdone at this period by what was exhibited in Paris itself. The elements of discord and confusion there went on increasing, during the whole of January and the first week of February, to such a degree that it was evident to all a serious convulsion was at hand. All parties were discontented, all were suffering, all were disappointed. The Revolution had injured many, and benefited none excepting those who had got possession of power and office by the elevation of Louis Philippe. It was hard to say whether the Republicans, the Napoleonists, or the Legitimists, were most querulous and indignant. The former loudly complained that they had gained nothing by the Revolution, that its fruits had been reft from them by fraud and chicanery, and that, under a new name, the old Government had been imposed on them, distinguished from its predecessor only by increased extravagance and more arbitrary principles. The partisans of Napoleon lamented that the glorious event of the Revolution had been suffered to evaporate without producing any durable result, and that the golden opportunity of regaining the frontier of the Rhine, during the first terror consequent on the Revolution of July, had been allowed to pass away. The Legitimists, with equal or greater truth, asserted that the general distresses were entirely owing to the overthrow of the ancient line of monarchs, pointed with exultation to the increased expenditure and diminished receipts of Government, and contrasted it with the opposite state of things which had prevailed during the government of the Restoration.* In the midst of this chorus of complaints and recriminations commerce was at a stand, industry without em-

ployment, suffering without relief, and all the public offices were surrounded by starving multitudes, whose numbers and threatening aspect forbade refusal, while their woeful appearance demonstrated distress, and their numbers precluded effectual succor.¹

The minds of all parties were in this feverish and excited state, each deploring the public suffering, and throwing upon the other the responsibility of having occasioned it, when the ministerial budget was brought forward, and revealed at once the frightful gulf into which the finances of the kingdom were on the point of falling.* The finance minister laid before the Chamber a statement of the probable expense of the year, which, taking into view the floating debt which it was necessary to provide for, amounted to the enormous sum of 1,434,655,000 francs (£58,500,000), being an increase of nearly 500,000,000 francs (£20,000,000) on the last budget of the Restoration! Of this huge sum, it is true, 160,400,000 francs (£6,500,000) was stated to be debt anterior to 1830, and for which the Government of Louis Philippe was not responsible; but still the regular budget of 1831 amounted to 1,177,000,000 francs (£45,200,000), and it confessed extra advances of no less than 90,755,000 francs (£3,750,000) since 1830, for which no provision had been made. And after taking into view every imaginable resource, and stating every sum that possibly could be brought to bear against the old Government, there remained a deficit of 211,655,000 francs (£8,450,000) to be provided for by loan, or carried forward as floating debt, to cripple the income of future years. The receipts of the year, from ordinary sources, were taken at 947,940,000 francs (£39,800,000); and 46,000,000 francs (£1,800,000) was added to the land-tax; and no less than 310,000,000 francs² nances.

* FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF FINANCE FOR THE YEAR 1831.

	Francs.	£
Old debt prior to 1830	160,400,000	
Sums advanced beyond receipts since 1830	90,755,458	
Expenses of 1831 for budget ..	1,177,000,000	
Additional budget	6,500,000	
To be provided for	1,434,655,458, or	57,500,000
Ways and means	1,223,000,000, or	49,000,000
To be provided for by loans ..	211,655,458, or	8,650,000
Vote of credit farther required ..	60,000,000, or	2,400,000
To be raised by loan, or kept up as floating debt	271,655,458, or	10,900,000

—Ann. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 193.

Ample as these estimates were, they were less than the total expenditure of the year, which reached the enormous amount of 1,511,000,000 francs, or £60,400,000.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE LAST YEARS OF CHARLES X. AND FIRST YEARS OF LOUIS PHILIPPE.

	DÉPENSES.	RECETTES.
Year.	Francs.	Francs.
1826	976,948,919	981,882,722
1827	986,934,765	947,951,091
1828	1,024,100,035	1,028,274,227
1829	1,014,914,432	1,022,782,692
1830	1,095,142,115	1,020,299,082
1831	1,214,610,975	1,306,572,792
1832	1,174,620,247	1,064,031,296

—Statistique de la France, 121, 145—(Finances.)

	Francs.	£
* Seven first months of 1830, receipts of Treasury exceeded expenditure by	12,300,000, or	500,000
Deficit August, 1830	5,651,000	
Do. September, 1830	6,881,000	
Do. October, 1830	5,454,000	
Do. November, 1830	4,044,000	
Do. December, 1830	12,377,000	
Deficit in five months of Revolution	34,397,000, or	1,320,000
Estimated deficit of 1831	54,000,000, or	2,200,000
Losses of commerce in 1830, since July	50,000,000, or	2,000,000
Losses from Revolution in five months	138,397,000, or	5,520,000

—L. BLANC, vol. ii. p. 208.

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 266, 268; An. Hist. xiv. 80, 81; Cap. iv. 270, 282.

² 36. Alarming budget of 1831, and its effects.

³ 35. Violence of parties, and misery in Paris.

² An. Hist. xiv. 193, Exposé du Ministre de Finance; and App. 105, Tableau de Finances.

(£12,250,000) was proposed to be raised by loans in a year of peace, and the first of the reign of the Citizen-King and of the regenerated monarchy.

No words can describe the storm of indignation which arose in Paris, and over all France, upon the promulgation of this alarming budget. In truth, it was unavoidable, and arose necessarily from the vast increase of the expenditure for the army and ordnance, which was the natural consequence of the position which France, antagonistic to continental Europe, had now assumed. The estimate for the army, which in 1829 had been 214,576,000 francs (£8,500,000), had risen in 1831 to 386,624,000 francs (£11,750,000).^{*} This was the necessary consequence of arming for defense or attack against Europe. But this result, how natural or obvious soever a consequence of the Revolution of July, which put it in a state of antagonism with the Continental powers, was by no means what the authors of that revolution intended when they brought it about. They had no intention of adding 50 per cent. to the military force or public expenditure of the kingdom. They expected to be permitted to send their propagandists through all the adjoining states, and effect the overthrow of all their governments, without any increase of their own expenses, or being called on to arm or spend money in their own defense. Whatever

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 279, 281; *Statist. de la France*, 194 (Finances).
visions may flit before the minds of the bourgeois who effect a revolution, assuredly *increase of expenditure and taxation* is not one of them.¹

What rendered this great increase in the expenditure and taxation of the kingdom still more exasperating, was its advent at a time when the industrial resources of the kingdom, so far from increasing, were rapidly diminishing, and the general misery of the country was in consequence at its height. Statistical facts of unquestionable authenticity, which the Government of Louis Philippe itself has adduced, prove this beyond a doubt. The commercial paper, under discount at the Bank of France, which in 1829 had been 129,000,000 francs (£5,400,000), had sunk in 1832 to 29,000,000 francs (£1,140,000).[†] The sums advanced by the Bank of France to the public exchequer, which in 1828 had been 73,000,000 francs (£2,700,000), had risen in 1830 to 291,500,000 francs (£11,600,000). The five per cents, which in 1829 had been all 109.85 cents, sunk in 1831 to 74.75 cents. The exports in the former year had been 504,247,000 francs (£20,200,000), in the latter they had sunk to 455,000,000 francs (£18,200,000); the imports, which in the first

^{*} The troops, which were 255,323 in the first year, had risen to 368,921 in the second, and in 1832 amounted to 389,273.—*Stat. de la France*, vol. x. p. 194.
[†] TABLE OF DISCOUNTS OF THE BANK OF FRANCE IN FRANCES.

Year.	Commercial Paper held by Bank.		Discount in Year.	Produce of Discount.
	Maximum.	Minimum.		
1830	128,598,000	75,446,000	617,494,000	4,021,000
1831	84,944,000	25,190,000	222,524,000	1,845,700
1832	29,678,000	18,625,000	150,723,000	1,031,000

—*Statistique de la France*, vol. x. p. 187—(Finances).

year had been 483,000,000 francs (£19,200,000), had sunk in the last to 374,000,000 francs (£15,750,000). So great a diminution of receipts and increase of burdens in so short a time, indicated in the clearest manner the calamitous action of the revolution on the industry and resources of the nation.^{1*}

The effect of this state of things is thus described by the Republican historian who has so ably described the course of the Revolution. "An assembly of notables elected by another assembly of notables, and directed by ministerial agents—such was the new system of government, such the economy of the new laws! The ministerial power rested on thirty-four thousand little bourgeois oligarchies. All the democrats were in commotion. 'What!' exclaimed they—'is this the course into which we are to be turned by the Revolution? Is France to pass under the yoke of notabilities of municipalities and notabilities of offices? What do those municipal capacities signify, which are revealed only by the weight of burdens and increased taxation? Better to destroy at once the shadow of a representation than to corrupt it. The electoral right has become only the strongest instrument of tyranny. If the rich predominate in the municipal councils, we shall only have organized a protection for the interests which have least need of protection.'"²

This woeful social state, immediately succeeding, as it did, the ardent hopes and boundless expectations of felicity which the Revolution of July had ushered in, led, as is usual in such cases, to every imaginable excess in opinion and belief. When men, in the political world, are suffering the punishment of their sins, or smarting under the consequences of their transgressions, they never recede or pause in their course till the extremity of suffering has been endured, and society is brought back by absolute force to more rational sentiments. The drunkard who, the morning after his debauch, is suffering for his sins, seldom thinks of retracing his steps and becoming habitually sober; he seeks relief for the moment in fresh intoxication, in still more stimulating spirits. With the blasting of all their hopes of the regeneration of society by revolution, the Republicans took refuge in still more violent principles, and the doctrines of the St. Simonians became the creed of the great majority of the working classes in the capital. Their position was, that the remuneration of labor should be regulated by a power issuing from itself, and capable of judging of its just demands; that production should be concentrated, and its fruits distributed to each in proportion to his merit; that the transmission of property by inheritance, as of employment,

^{*} EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF FRANCE FROM 1828 TO 1831.

Year.	Exports.	Imports.
1828	511,215,000	453,760,000
1829	504,247,000	483,353,000
1830	452,901,000	489,242,000
1831	455,574,000	374,188,539

—*Statistique de la France*, x. 45, 46—(Commerce).

should be annihilated; that marriage, the “legalization of adultery,” should be abolished, and give place to the “sovereignty of passion—the emancipation of pleasure;” and that the government of society should be substituted for that of families in the education of the young. Such were the doctrines which were daily poured forth and ably elaborated in numerous publications, particularly the *Globe* newspaper, by a band of powerful, eloquent, and sensual young men. It may be conceived how agreeable these doctrines were to the numerous class, including the natural children, in Paris, forming *a third of the entire population*, which, destitute of property, and having no hopes of succession, was yet steeped in sensual desires, and thirsting for the enjoyments consequent on affluence; enjoyments which had hitherto, as it seemed to them, unjustly been monopolized by a single and limited class in society.¹

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 268, 269.

In truth, however, the state to which society had been brought in France by the effect of the first great Revolution, had now become such that its regeneration, or the removal by moral influence of the existing evils, had become impossible. It is thus painted by the ablest of the Republican historians: “Centralization, introduced by the Convention, and carried to its highest point by Napoleon, had for a quarter of a century constituted the power and glory of France. The unity of the Mountain had conquered Europe. But from the moment that it was no longer necessary that France should be one soldier, the excess of centralization had become a source of weakness. At the epoch of the first year of Louis Philippe, the greater part of the rural districts of France vegetated in a state of ignorance, egotism, languor, and misery, which is scarcely credible. There was no longer any trace of *esprit de corps*, common passion, or prescriptive usage. The blood had been drawn from all parts of the social body to the surcharged heart. What was the consequence? A marvelous ardor, ending in impotence and skepticism in the capital; the concentration of all power, inferring that of all ambition; the desire to shine carried to effrontery; an immense absorption to produce a little intelligence; talents the most original perverted by the mania of imitation, the thirst for gain, the despotism of fashion, or the impatient desire of success; competition with its frauds; rascality and its opprobrium; excitement without end, but for evil rather than good; immense resources, but these rather fitted to nourish vain illusions than to satisfy legitimate hopes; civilization exhausting its frauds and illusions to render man unhappy or guilty. Such was life in the capital under the influence of centralization. France around Paris was the void around chaos.”²

² Louis Blanc, ii. 279.

Under the influence of this unbounded chaos of passion, licentiousness, and ambition, the moral corruption of Paris is rapidly increased. The natural births in the department of the Seine, in 1831, amounted to 11,044, and the foundlings to 5803, while the legitimate births were only 24,391. In other words, the found-

41. State of corruption into which the system of centralization had sunk France.

42. Moral statistics of Paris at this period.

lings and natural children taken together were *two-thirds* of the number of the legitimate! The births, both legitimate and illegitimate, increased considerably in 1831, though the misery of the people was at its height—a sure proof of the spread of reckless habits and physical indulgence among a squalid and excited population.* In the same year, the persons admitted into the public hospitals, in the department of the Seine, including Paris, were 84,957, of whom 10,910 died in them, and 30,118 remained in them on January 1, 1832. The expense of these hospitals was 10,054,000 francs in the year (£404,000). The persons relieved at home in Paris, in that year, were 70,503, and the sums expended on them 2,041,000 francs (£82,000). It is hard to say whether these figures attest most strongly the seeds of evil which the Revolution had implanted in the country, or the admirable spirit with which their effects were combated by the benevolent feelings and incomparable powers of administration by which France has always been characterized.¹

To a people in this extraordinary state of excitement, passion, and suffering, there was nothing so hateful as the restraint which religion imposed on their indulgences. This soon appeared. The 14th February was the anniversary of the death of the Duke de Berri; and the Royalists, with more courage than prudence, were preparing to celebrate a funeral service in memory of that unhappy prince. The ceremony was originally designed for the church of St. Roch, in the Rue St. Honoré; but the Minister of the Interior, having received intelligence of the intention, applied to the Archbishop of Paris, by whose authority it was prohibited there, as likely to lead to disturbances. Upon this it was determined to celebrate it in the church of St. Germain l’Auxerrois, that beautiful monument of the revival of taste after the middle ages, and which was universally admired as one of the finest specimens of that style of architecture in the world. On the day appointed the Royalist nobility flocked there in great numbers. Long lines of carriages, with handsome liveries, were seen waiting at the doors; and in the interior of the church the service for the dead was performed with all the magnificence which the Roman Catholic religion so well knows how to display on such occasions. The *Miserere* and *Dies Iræ* melted the audience, great part of which was composed of ladies, to tears; and in the enthusiasm of the moment some ardent Royalists passed a crowned miniature of the Duke de Bordeaux from hand to hand, and even had the imprudence to place it on the coffin, that the child might seem to share in the prayers offered up for the soul of the father.²

¹ Stat. de la France—Administration Publique, 28, 29, 99.

43. Tumult in the church of St. Germain l’Auxerrois. February 14.

² Cap. iv. 295, 297; Ann. Hist. xiv. 80, 81; Louis Blanc, ii. 284, 285.

* BIRTHS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.

	1829.	1830.	1831.
Legitimate.....	23,534	23,788	24,391
Illegitimate.....	10,615	10,711	11,044
Foundlings.....	5,487	5,341	5,803

—Statistique de la France, 28—(Commerce).

Intelligence of what was going on in the interior of the church speedily spread 44. Sack of the abroad, and the crowd, whom curiosity had attracted to the doors, immediately swelled to a most alarming degree. The police interfered, and the young man who had put the image on the coffin was arrested; but this was far from satisfying the public fury. No sooner was the service concluded than a furious multitude broke into the sanctuary of the church, and the house of the curé adjoining, and in the twinkling of an eye every thing was sacked or tossed out of the windows. The splendid decorations and ornaments with which the piety of the Bourbon princes had adorned the sanctuary, where they had listened to the eloquence of Bourdaloue and Massillon, were torn down and destroyed. The cross, the symbol of salvation, was in an especial manner the object of popular fury. Under the pretense that the cross at the west end of the church had *fleurs-de-lis* carved on its stones, the multitude demanded that it should be pulled down. The mayor of the fourth arrondissement of Paris, who was present, gave his consent. In a few minutes the cross was torn down, and fell with a tremendous crash, and in its fall brought down with it a part of the organ, the fragments of which strewed the pavement of the church. This achievement excited the people to the utmost fury: all the crosses, both on the outside and inside of the church, were speedily torn down, the ornaments

disappeared, and this once splendid interior exhibited only a melancholy heap of ruins. The National Guard were present with the magistrates the whole time, but they remained passive spectators of the devastation.¹

No sooner was the work of destruction completed at St. Germain l'Auxerrois than the cry arose "*A Notre Dame!*" and instantly the crowd rushed in that direction with such rapidity that the National Guard, which was not very anxious to arrive at the scene of ruin, was unable to keep pace with them. Part broke into the cathedral, which had stood erect and unshaken amidst all the storms of the first Revolution, and immediately began pulling down the crosses and defacing the ornaments, as they had done at St. Germain l'Auxerrois. But the greater part fastened on the Archbishop's palace adjoining the Hôtel Dieu, in the square in front of the cathedral. In a few minutes it was surrounded; but as it was by this time dark, the crowds separated, after vowing to return the following morning to complete the work of destruction. They were as good as their word.

Feb. 15. Early on the following morning a furious crowd returned to the Archbishop's palace, which, by negligence or design, had only been left under the care of a hundred men of the National Guard, and immediately broke in through the doors and windows. The civic force made no resistance; and so speedily was the work of destruction that before noon not only was the whole palace sacked and pillaged, but it was pulled down from top to bottom, and not one stone was left upon another. The noble library of the Archbishopric, containing a great number of rare and valuable manuscripts, with

all the precious movables and furniture which the palace contained, were taken out and thrown from the little bridge into the Seine amidst horrid imprecations and shouts of laughter. From Notre Dame the mob moved to the churches of St. Roch and of the Assumption, in order to destroy the crosses on those sacred edifices; but "happily," says the French annalist, "the promptitude of the Government had anticipated them, and the crosses were already destroyed." Next day a royal ordinance was published, ordering the removal of the crosses from all the churches in Paris, and directing the formation of a new State seal, *without* the emblem of salvation which had hitherto appeared on it, and the erasure of the *fleur-de-lis* from the arms of the royal family.¹

Not content with these disgraceful outrages against religion, which went far to discredit the Revolution in the eyes of foreign nations, the mob in Paris endeavored to wreak their vengeance on obnoxious individuals. On the night of the 14th, two

hundred savage wretches repaired to the house of M. Dupin, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and a most distinguished man, and demanded he should be given up to them. Already were heard the cries "*La mort! la mort! —à la lanterne!*" and it was only by the courage of one man, who defended the doorway, that he escaped by a back window. A second band attacked the Posts on the Petit Pont and the Rue St. André du Ares, and disarmed them; and a third invaded Conflans, the country residence of the Archbishop of Paris, a prelate known only by his unwearied deeds of beneficence, and sacked it from top to bottom. Another band broke into Notre Dame, tossed about and profaned the sacred vases beyond what had been seen in the days of Chaumette and Robespierre, and even devastated the sepulchres of the dead beneath that sacred fane. What rendered these outrages the more alarming was the evident and pitiable weakness of Government. A few lines in the *Moniteur*, a proclamation against the *Carlists*, and the arrest of some of their leaders, and a proclamation from the Minister of the Interior praising the Parisians for their noble conduct, but recommending "*respect aux monuments publics*"—such were the sole steps taken by Government to stop or punish these atrocious crimes. The really guilty escaped wholly unpunished; none of them were even apprehended. The journals, with servile adulation, vied with each other in praising the people, and declared "that never had the sun shone on a more brilliant carnival, or the masquerades been more ravishing."²

It was now all over with the ministry of M. Lafitte. The magnitude of the budget had deprived him of all his popularity in Paris. The disorders of February, and proved weakness of the executive, had sunk him to the lowest point in the estimation of Europe. The King was sensitively alive to the latter danger: he dreaded nothing so much as being implicated, in the eyes of foreign powers, with the disorders of the Revolution, and

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 83, 85; Cap. iv. 302, 304, 309; Louis Blanc, ii. 285, 286.

^{46.} Attacks on individuals, and deplorable weakness of Government.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 82, 83; Cap. iv. 298, 301; Louis Blanc, ii. 284, 285.

^{45.} Sack of Archbishop's palace at Notre Dame.

² Moniteur, February 16, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 84, 85; Cap. iv. 301, 304.

^{47.} Fall of Lafitte, and appointment of Casimir Périer in his stead. March 13.

deprived of the prestige arising from the idea that he was the only possible barrier against its excesses. He resolved, accordingly, to sacrifice his minister, hoping thus to throw upon the author of the Revolution the responsibility for its consequences. By a royal ordinance, on March 13th, Lafitte was dismissed, and M. CASIMIR PÉRIER, a great banker and manufacturer in Paris, was appointed President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, in his stead. M. Merilhou also was dismissed from his situation as Minister of Justice, and M. Barthe appointed in his room. Baron Louis was made Minister of Finance, Admiral de Rigny of Marine, and the Count d'Argout of Public Instruction and Worship. Only three of these ministers were new, viz., M. Casimir Périer, Baron Louis, and Admiral de Rigny, the others being merely transposed from one office to another; but the vigor and capacity of the new ministers, especially M. Casimir Périer and Baron Louis, impressed a different character upon the Government, and warranted the assertion that it was directed by a new Cabinet.¹

On the day succeeding the formation of the new Cabinet, the following article appeared in the *Journal des Débats*, at that period high in the confidence of Government: "For the last four months the Government has been without a system; that is the reproach which its adversaries and partisans alike make against it. It is the want of system which has induced its vacillation and irresolution—that has made its weakness, which was great, and might be fatal. It put the salvation of France in peril. The appointment of the new Ministry signalizes the advent of a new system; it at least gives us reason to hope. That system is to govern by the Chambers—to consider their opinion as the expression of the opinion of France, and to disregard all opinion out of it. It wishes peace, but such only as is honorable, and may be lasting. Order is the first necessity of France. Credit is shaken, commerce expiring; order alone can re-establish it. We stand in need of security rather than repose; order alone can re-establish security. *Tyranny no longer comes from above; it comes from below.*"² There can be no doubt that these observations were well founded. Experience and suffering had wrenched truth even out of the warmest organs of the Revolution! But what the partisans of that convulsion did not see, or would not admit, was, that the weakness in Government and disorder in the State, which they justly deplored as the immediate causes of the universal suffering, were the inevitable results of what they themselves had done. They ascribed to the weakness of a man what was, in fact, the punishment of the sins of a nation. Lafitte was a person of some powers of speaking and agreeable manners, though of no great energy of character; but had he possessed the firmness of Carnot, the eloquence of Mirabeau, or the energy of Napoleon, the result would have been the same. The minister of the Revolution, he was constrained to bend to its excesses. He became unpopular, and fell, not because he failed in the essential condition of his

ministerial existence—obedience to the public voice—but because, in yielding that obedience, he had unavoidably conducted the nation to anarchy, misery, and suffering. The people mistook for the delinquencies of a man, what was, in truth, the chastisement of themselves.

In order, however, to carry out the ministerial programme of governing by the Chambers, and regarding them as the sole organ of public opinion, it was indispensable to take some steps which might render the decision of the representative part of the Legislature more in harmony with the majority of the people, which, under the uniform qualification of 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes, was very far from being the case. The Chamber of Deputies had become utterly discredited in public estimation, since the Revolution of July, from the blind submission it had yielded to the demands of Government, and, above all, to the enormous budget and increase of taxes, which had spread such alarm throughout France. As usual, the popular party sought a remedy for this state of things in lowering the suffrage. They thought that would admit themselves, and put all right; not seeing that, as long as the suffrage was uniform, class government would still be at the head of affairs, and *all out of that class* would find themselves unrepresented. Louis Philippe felt the necessity of yielding in some degree to the demands of the democratic portion of society, but he resolved to make the change as little as possible; and the general intelligence had not yet learned the vital truth, that all attempts to remedy the representative system, while a uniform suffrage is kept up, prove ineffectual. After much discussion and many amendments, it was agreed to fix the electoral qualification at payment of 200 francs (£8) of direct taxes, and for candidates at 750 francs (£30). These payments corresponded to incomes of £40 and £150 a year; and though the evil of uniformity of qualification, and consequent class government, was not obviated, yet the concession to the popular party was considerable, for it raised the electors from 90,000 to 180,000 over all France.¹

A severe law, alike discreditable to the Sovereign who proposed and the Chamber which adopted it, was soon after brought forward in France. This was one banishing the ex-King, Charles X., his descendants, and their relations, forever from the French territory, and prohibiting them from acquiring, by any title, onerous or gratuitous, any property, or to enjoy any rent or annuity. They were ordained to leave France, and sell their whole effects within six months, under pain of the confiscation of all their property, without exception, in France. If the entire sales were not effected in the prescribed six months, they were directed to be sold by the public authorities, in the same manner as the State domains appointed to be alienated, and their produce applied to the fund for the indemnity of the ancient proprietors, after deduction of what might be awarded to the sufferers by the events of July. After a violent opposition from the Royalists, and the addition of an amendment prohibiting all services on the an-

48.
Views of parties on this change of Ministry.

² *Journal des Débats*, March 15, 1831.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 121, 147.

50.
Proscription of the elder branch of the Bourbons. March 24.

niversary of the death of Louis XVI., the law was carried, with the difference of a year being allowed for the sale of the effects, by a majority of 210 to 122. Such was the return, when he had the power, which Louis Philippe made to Charles X. for the generous grant which, on his accession to the throne, restored their whole estates in fee-simple to the Orleans family, by the same title by which the Crown enjoyed the Royal domains, and conferred upon its head the much-coveted title of "Royal High-

ness."¹ History has not preserved the record of a more flagrant and disgraceful act of ingratitude; and it only proves what so many events in public and private life concur in demonstrating, that the commission of one great crime leads to that of another, and that the guilty party finds himself

at length on a rapid descent, from which extrication is impossible and destruction certain.²

Aware, from the character of Casimir Périer, as well as the declarations with which it set out, that the new Cabinet would prove a much more formidable antagonist than the last had been, the democratic journals, from the very first, denounced it in the most unmeasured terms. The *Courrier Français* foresaw, in the coming future, a period even

more disgraceful to France than that of the Restoration; the *National* could see no difference between the administration of M. Casimir Périer and that of Prince Polignac. The *Tribune* called on all patriots to come forward and openly resist it. In pursuance of these suggestions, an association was formed, styled the National Association, the members of which bound themselves, "on their life and honor, to combat the stranger and the *Bourbons* by all pecuniary and personal sacrifices, to come to no accommodation with them, to whatever extremities the country may be reduced."³

On the 18th of March, M. Casimir Périer thus announced, both with reference to the interior and exterior, the principles of the new Government: "Our principles are those of our Revolution, neither exaggerated nor lessened. The principle of the Revolution of July, and of the government which it has established, is not that of insurrection—it is that of resistance to the aggressions of power. France was provoked and defied; it defended itself, and proved victorious. Respect to sworn faith, regard to established right—such are the principles of the Revolution of July, and of the government which it has established. It has founded a government, it has not inaugurated anarchy. It has not overturned the social order; it has only touched the political order. Its object was the establishment of a free but regular government. Violence, either within or without, is alike adverse to the principles of our government. Within, every appeal to force, without, every provocation to popular insurrection, is a violation of its principle. In the interior, its duty is simple. Our institutions are regulated by the charter of 1830. The present session has

resolved some questions of the highest political importance; the Chamber which is to succeed it will determine those which remain. It is from it, and it alone, that France awaits the bringing to perfection its institutions. Till it meets, the Government has but one duty to perform—to maintain order, to execute the laws, to cause power to be respected. It is legal order and established power which society requires; for it is the want of power and order which has spread distrust, and engendered the whole embarrassments and dangers with which we are surrounded.

"Armed to defend its own rights, France knows how to respect those of

others; its conduct is not regulated by its passions. We wish the peace so necessary to our liberties; but

we would not shrink from war, if the honor or security of France were menaced, and we would then appeal with the utmost confidence to the patriotism of the nation. At the first signal France will be found ready; and the King has not forgot that it was in the camp that he first learned to serve his country. The principle of non-intervention has been appealed to; we adopt it, and it is on that ground that we maintain that foreign powers have no right to intermeddle in our internal affairs. We ourselves practice that principle on every occasion, and we incessantly appeal to it in our intercourse with foreign nations. Is that to say that we are to carry our arms abroad whenever that principle is not respected? That would be an intervention of another kind; that would be to renew the principles of the Holy Alliance, and to fall into the chimerical ideas of those who would subject Europe to a single idea, and realize the visions of universal empire. Thus understood, the principle of non-intervention could serve only as a mark to the spirit of conquest. We will, under all circumstances, support the principle of non-intervention; but we do not recognize in any people the right to compel us to combat for their interests: the blood of France is due to France alone. We feel confidence in the fortune of France; but that it should have confidence in itself, it is necessary that we should respond to its dearest interests; that we should say aloud what has long been said in secret, Truth should be told to nations as well as kings."¹

How true soever these principles might be, and well calculated to calm the

apprehensions of foreign powers as to the ability or disposition of the government of Louis Philippe to curb the revolutionary spirit in

France, there could be no doubt that, for the time at least, they augmented the difficulties of his Government. It was very difficult to foretell how the majority would incline at the next election; for although the number of electors had been nearly doubled by lowering the qualifications to two hundred francs, yet it was known that the revolutionary law of succession, by constantly leading to the division of properties, was daily lessening the number of those who paid that amount of direct taxes; and at least a fourth of the whole electors, including those who held the largest amount of property,

¹ Ante, c. xvi. § 4.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 173, 179.

³ 51. Violent opposition of the Liberal journals to Casimir Périer, and formation of the National Association.

³ Ann. Hist. xiv. 159, 160.

^{52.} Casimir Périer's speech on the principles of his government.

53. Continued, in reference to foreign affairs.

¹ Moniteur, March 19, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 162, 165.

^{54.} Louis Philippe's efforts to conciliate the electors.

belonged to the Legitimist party. If they were to coalesce with the Republicans, whose numbers had been considerably increased by the lowering of the suffrage, the Government might be thrown into a minority. Impressed with these ideas, and deeming the establishment of his throne, not without reason, mainly dependent on getting a majority in the new Chambers, the King exerted himself to the utmost to secure it. The Chamber of Deputies was procured by the King in person, with great pomp, on the 28th April. With regret the monarch took leave of a Legislature which had given him a throne. Soon after a royal proclamation dissolved the Chamber, and appointed the electoral colleges to assemble on the 5th July, and the next one to assemble on the 9th August, the anniversary of the King's accession. The interval was assiduously employed in every possible effort to gain a majority in the new Legislature.¹

It was not without reason that the King was so solicitous to obtain a Chamber which might support his Government, for the appearances in Paris were very threatening. The people were in that excitable, irritable state, when every little thing occasions a crowd, and every crowd becomes the cradle of a sedition. The trial of some

young men, among others M. CAVAIGNAC, destined for celebrity in future times, for their conduct on occasion of the trial of the ex-ministers in December, and their acquittal by the jury amidst thunders of applause, gave rise to disturbances

which continued several days, and were not put down till a large military force had been called out. The restoration of the colossal statue of Napoleon on the summit of the column in the Place Vendôme, by order of the King, next violently excited the Napoleonists, and gave rise to alarming demonstrations of enthusiasm by crowds surrounding the column, and putting garlands of *immortelles* on its

pedestal. At length these crowds in the Place Vendôme became so serious, that Government, with great good sense, stationed a company of *Pompiers* with fire-engines in the Place, who cooled the ardor of the Napoleonists by copious *effusions of water*, which at length dispersed the assemblages. A more serious source of discord was found in a dispute relative to the decorations which were to be

given by the King to the heroes of the barricades, which were objected to as inscribed with the words "*Donné par le Roi des Français*," and accompanied by an oath of fidelity by the recipient to the reigning sovereign. The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, on July 14, was made the pretext for large assemblages in Paris and several towns in the departments, which terminated in bloodshed. The humiliating condition of the King was evinced by his being obliged, a

fortnight after, to sanction magnificent rejoicings in Paris, on occasion of the anniversary of the corresponding insurrection of the preceding year, which led to his own elevation to the throne.²

Distrustful from these appearances of the cap-

ital, the King resolved to throw himself on the departments, and for this purpose he made two royal progresses—one into Normandy, one into Champagne. In the course of the first, he visited Rouen, Havre, Abbeville, and Amiens; of the second, Meaux, Châteaui-Thierry, Chalons, Metz, Verdun, Luneville, Colmar, Strasbourg, Besançon, and Troyes. These, being the most revolutionary departments of France, were selected for the display of the popularity of the Citizen-King, and, upon the whole, he had no reason to complain of the reception which he met with. In some places, however, the sturdy republican spirit evinced itself without control, and the King was reminded, like his ancestor Clovis at Soissons, even by a private soldier, of the precarious tenure by which he held his authority. At Metz, a leading member of the municipality, in the course of his address to the King, insisted on the unanimity of the country on the abolition of the hereditary peerage, and the ardent wishes every where formed for the independence of the Poles. The King cut him short. "You speak to me of what you say all the municipal councils in France have proclaimed; you are mistaken; they have proclaimed nothing. It is no part of their duty to do so, nor to take any part in the deliberations on subjects of state policy; that duty belongs to the Chambers alone." M. Voirhaye, a commander of the National Guard at the same place, expressed similar sentiments. "The National Guard," said the King, "should not occupy itself with political questions." "Sire," replied M. Voirhaye, "it is not an advice which it gives, it is a wish which it expresses." "The National Guard," answered the King, "should form no wishes; the armed force never deliberates: you are not its organ. I will hear no more." These words, repeated in the columns of the *Moniteur*, were soon known over all France, and made an immense sensation.¹

But the King soon found that it is easier to raise up than put down a revolution, and that the armed force which has overturned one government may think of overthrowing another. Notwithstanding the utmost pains taken by the Government, by circular letters to the prefects, and in every other imaginable way, to secure a majority for the government candidates, they generally experienced defeat. The lowering of the qualification to two hundred francs told with decisive effect upon the returns. The Royalists, who were very powerful in some departments, especially in the south and west, generally kept aloof and took no part in the elections, following an opinion, very common in such circumstances, that things must be worse before they are better, and that the only way to damp the ardor for revolutions is to let the people experience their effects. A great number of new deputies were elected; no less than two hundred and three members of the former Chamber were not found in the new. Nevertheless the majority of the new deputies were not absolute Republicans, but strong and ardent Liberals, thirsting for wealth, power, and distinction, and impressed with the idea

The King's progresses into Normandy and Champagne. May 18.

1 Cap. v. 133, 135; Louis Blanc, ii. 364, 365.

57. Unfavorable issue of the elections for the Crown.

¹ *Moniteur*, May 24, July 15, July 31, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 204, 207, 247, 250.

that they could be obtained only by falling in with, and even anticipating, the public wishes. Among them were several celebrated men—M. Arago, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. Thiers, and M. Garnier Pagès. The opposition had no acknowledged leader, but M. Odillon Barrot was the most ready orator and influential man among them. To follow out the Revolution of July, and establish a government in harmony with its spirit, was the prevailing feeling of the electoral colleges; and the first triumph which they desired over the Legitimists was the abo-

lition of the hereditary peerage. So general was the feeling on this subject, that it was made the subject of a distinct pledge to the electors from the great majority of the representatives.¹

The Chambers met on the 23d July. "Gentlemen," said the King, in a speech dictated by Casimir Périer, and read from his manuscript, "I am happy to find myself in the midst of you, and in the hall which witnessed my oaths. Penetrated by a sense of the duties which they have imposed upon me, I will always look for support in the national will, of which you are the constitutional organs; and I expect from you that cordial co-operation which can alone give my government the strength without which it will be unable to respond to the expectations of the nation. I have said, gentlemen, that henceforth the charter shall be a truth: what I have said has already been accomplished. The charter is nothing but a constitutional monarchy, with its conditions loyally maintained, its consequences frankly accepted. In calling me to the throne, France wished that royalty should become national: it did not intend it should be impotent. A government without force can never be suitable for a great nation. I have just traversed great part of France; the marks of affection I have received have deeply touched my heart; they are ever present to my thoughts. You will assist me in accomplishing the objects I have so much at heart. Order shall be protected, liberty guaranteed, the efforts of the factious confounded and repressed. Thence will arrive that confidence in the future which can alone secure the prosperity of the State. I know the extent of suffering which the commercial crisis in which the nation has been involved has produced: I am grieved at it, and admire the courage with which it has been borne. I hope it is drawing to its close, and that ere long the maintenance of order will restore the security necessary for the expenditure of capital, and restore to our commerce and industry its wonted activity."²

Notwithstanding the ardent wish thus expressed by the Sovereign for a strong Government, and the support of the majority of the Chamber, he soon found that he was not likely to obtain it. The crises on which support to the Government from the Legislature and the nation is most required, are generally those when it is most resolutely withheld; for every one is then striving for himself, and self counsels coincidence with the majority. At the very first division for the choice of a Presi-

dent, the weakness of Government and the democratic temper of the Chamber became apparent. The candidate of the Government for the presidency was M. Girod de l'Ain, and M. Lafitte of the Opposition. The first had 171 votes, the second 168; so that M. Casimir Périer prevailed only by a majority of 3 votes. But the result was still more disheartening on the contests for the Vice-Presidencies; for M. Dupont de l'Eure and M. Béranger, the Liberal candidates, had a majority of 10 over the government ones. The defeat of Ministers was now apparent, as Casimir Périer had always declared that he would only rule by means of a parliamentary majority, which, he thought, should be at least of 40 votes. He and M. Sébastiani, Baron Louis, and M. Montalivet accordingly the same day tendered their resignations to the King. To all appearance, a change of Ministry was inevitable, when it was prevented, and they were induced to resume their seats, by the intelligence which reached Paris by telegraph on the very next day, that *the Dutch troops had invaded Belgium*.¹

To understand how this came about, it must be premised that the relative positions of Belgium and Holland had essentially changed during the nine months which had elapsed since the house of Nassau was precipitated from the throne at Brussels. Patriotic spirit, vigor of administration, wisdom of council, had done as much on the one side as tumult, selfishness, and disunion had effected on the other. There was no need for the intervention of a congress: a fair stage and no favor was all that the King of the Netherlands required to regain his lost dominions. Such had been the vigor of administration in Holland since the catastrophe occurred, that she had now sixty-eight thousand men on foot, of which four thousand eight hundred were cavalry, with a hundred and fifty guns ready for the field, besides four sail of the line, and a large fleet of smaller vessels ready for sea. On the other hand, the preparations of the Belgians had been on paper and in words only. Such had been the stagnation of commerce, and the misery of the industrious classes in consequence of the revolution, that the collection of taxes in most places had become impossible. The provisional government at Brussels was without either money, men, or consideration. The assembly there decreed the formation of an armed force of a hundred thousand men, but there were not twenty-five thousand really present with the standards, and they were in the most miserable state, without magazines, equipments, or discipline. In addition to this, a strong party in the chief towns, particularly Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and Brussels, composed of the richest and most eminent citizens, were desirous of resuming the connection with Holland, and the King was in daily expectation of a counter-revolution to that effect, or an election of one of his sons as king of the Belgians.²

In these circumstances, what the principle of non-intervention required, and the five powers whose representatives were assembled at Lon-

¹ Cap. v. 140, 141; Louis Blanc, ii. 367, 368; Ann. Hist. xiv. 219, 220.

² Moniteur, Aug. 4, 1831; An. Hist. xiv. 227, 229; Louis Blanc, ii. 418.

¹ Moniteur, July 24, 1831; Cap. v. 155, 156.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 399, 400; Cap. v. 160, 162; Louis Blanc, ii. 418.

don should have done, if they had really been actuated by that principle, or influenced by a sense of justice, was very evident. They should simply have formed a cordon of troops round Holland and Flanders, and allowed them to fight it out. Considerations of the highest political importance, with a view to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, had suggested the formation of that united kingdom, and these considerations had only become the more pressing from the Revolution of 1830 in France, and the extreme violence with which the great majority there was now urging the Government to embrace the cause of the malcontents in all the adjacent countries, and adopt a system of general propagandism. Still these considerations did not authorize the armed intervention of the great powers; because, although they had all guaranteed the kingdom of the Netherlands to Frederick-William, that gave them a title to support him only against foreign aggression, not domestic revolt. But now the course of events had rendered the just course at the same time the wisest. Principle and expedience for once pointed in the same direction. The faith of treaties and the dictates of public morality alike prescribed non-intervention; and it at the same time restored the barrier of Europe against France, and preserved that which the victories of Marlborough had won, and those of Wellington had secured.

Obvious as these considerations were, and decisively as they would at any other time have spoken to any government of Great Britain, there were others which told with still more effect at the moment on the minds of the able statesmen who at that period directed the foreign affairs of France and England. Both these countries were then in a state of revolution, and foreign affairs were regarded in both, less with reference to the *future* interests of either country, than to their *present* bearing on the position of the party which had risen in each to the direction of government. M. Talleyrand was the representative of the Citizen-King, who had in a moment of public fervor, and by the aid of the popular party in Paris, dethroned his lawful sovereign, and now with difficulty restrained the loudly-expressed demand of the party to whom he owed his elevation, that France should lend its aid to the democratic party in all the adjoining states, and in particular support the revolutionary government recently established in Belgium. Lord Palmerston was the foreign secretary of a ministry in England which had recently overturned the long-established dominion of the Tories, and only now maintained its ground against them by having awakened and by keeping alive a burst of democratic fervor, second only to that which had recently overturned the throne of Charles X. on the other side of the Channel.

However obviously the ultimate and lasting interests of both countries might require the maintenance of the barrier of the Low Countries to prevent their collision, and however loudly the principles of non-intervention required an entire abstinence on either side from any interference in the quarrels of

Holland and Belgium, yet it was evident that such a course would at the moment be perilous to the government at the head of both. The cabinet of Louis Philippe would never recover in France the discredit of having allowed the patriots of Belgium to be put down by the advanced guard of the Holy Alliance, and lost the opportunity of wresting from the Allies the inestimable barrier of the Flemish fortresses; the Whigs in England would have been seriously weakened in the estimation of their popular supporters at the critical moment of the Reform struggle, if they had looked tamely on while Frederick-William put down the insurrection in Belgium, and prevented the tricolor flag from waving at the mouth of the Scheldt. In a violent political crisis, considerations of party generally prevail over those of country; and thence the entire deviation which ensued in the policy of England from that which had been invariably pursued by its government for two hundred years.

The leaders of the revolution in Belgium were well aware of the dangerous ground on which they stood. They knew that they were in a manner the advanced work of revolution against Europe, and that Holland was the advanced work of Europe against them; and it was on the support of France and England that they looked for their only effectual support against the open or covert hostility of Russia and Prussia. No sooner, accordingly, did they receive Louis Philippe's refusal of the crown for the Duke de Nemours, than all shades of the Liberal party concurred in offering it to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, by whom it was, after some hesitation, accepted. This hesitation was produced by a doubt as to the extent of territory which was to belong to the new kingdom on the side of Limburg and Luxembourg, as his declinature of the crown of Greece had been occasioned by the exclusion of Candia from its limits. Having, however, received satisfactory assurances from the British government on this point, he accepted the proffered diadem, and soon after made a public entry with great eclat into Brussels. M. de Talleyrand had strongly supported the British government in its efforts to procure that nomination; for he foresaw in that nomination a termination of all discord between France and England on this subject, and the only real security for the new-born royalty of Louis Philippe against the now scarcely disguised hostility of the northern powers.¹

But although the veteran diplomatist was undoubtedly right in supposing that the election of the widower of the Princess Charlotte, and the personal friend of the leading Whigs in England, would remove all jealousy on the part of its cabinet to the new arrangement in the Low Countries, yet it was very far from having the same effect on the relations of Holland and Belgium themselves; on the contrary, it much aggravated the causes of irritation between these two rival states. The Belgian congress, which was audacious in proportion to its weakness, and could with difficulty be brought to reason or a

61.
What the
London con-
gress should
have done.

62.
Views of Tal-
leyrand and
Lord Palmer-
ston.

63.
Reasons
which led
them to
support the
Belgians.

64.
Leopold of
Saxe-Cob-
ourg elect-
ed King of
Belgium.
June 1.

¹ Ann. Hist.
xiv 400, 415;
Cap. v. 165,
169.

65.
Change which
this election
made on the
views of Hol-
land and Bel-
gium.

just sense of its situation by the threatened hostility of the five powers, no sooner found itself supported by England, from whom most hostility was to be apprehended, than it rose in its demands, and insisted upon the cession of Luxembourg and Limburg to the new kingdom. On the other hand, the King of Holland was determined to make no more concessions, and to bring the negotiations which appeared to be interminable to an end; he formally in-

June 1. intimated to the Belgian government his acceptance of the conditions of separation between the two states, as fixed by the protocols of 20th and 27th January last, and that if the Belgian government did not intimate their adherence within five days, he would consider himself entitled to act for himself. In making this declaration, William was in secret much influenced by irritation at the election of Prince Leopold to the throne of Belgium. He had all along been supported by a strong party, composed of the most respectable, though not the

most numerous citizens in Belgium; and it was not till the election of Leopold was declared that he lost the hope he had always entertained of the crown being tendered to one of his own family.¹

The same election caused the feelings of the government which now ruled the destinies of Great Britain to undergo a still more decisive change toward him. England was now convulsed by the reform passion, and it was only by feeding it that the

Whig Ministry could retain possession of the reins of power. As such, it naturally felt a secret leaning and partiality for a popular, and a distrust of a conservative power. Belgium was the advanced work of the revolutionary, Holland of the legitimate monarchies. France was the protector of the former, Russia of the latter. This state of things—new in recent British history, though well known in the days of the Reformation—now began for the first time to influence the foreign policy of the country, and Holland was the first power which experienced the change. Leopold was a constitutional monarch; he was the *élève* of Great Britain, the personal friend of the existing Ministers, and they had placed him on the throne. In all these respects William of Holland was the very reverse: he stood on hereditary right; he was the *protégé* of the Holy Alliance, the pupil of Russia. Thus the ancient and long-established alliance with Holland insensibly turned, first into coldness, and ere long into hostility; while, on the other hand, sympathy of feeling and identity of party interest was rapidly converting the ancient jealousy of France into a feeling of cordial amity, which ere long terminated in alliance. Thence the immense importance of the political changes in Great Britain which were in progress at this time, and have occupied so large a portion of this history. They brought on not only an alteration in the internal constitution of Great Britain equivalent to a revolution, but an entire change in the alliances of Europe, and in the foreign policy of its principal monarchies.

Luxembourg was the point where this change in the foreign policy of Great Britain first ap-

peared. It has been already mentioned that by article 2d of the Act of Separation between the two states, which had been sanctioned by all the powers, it had been stated that the province should belong to Holland, as part of the ancient patri-

mony of the house of Nassau.* But no sooner was the election of Leopold as King of Belgium determined on, than the British ministry, forgetting in the heat of party conflict alike the faith of treaties and the lasting interests of their country, passed over to the other side, and announced by a letter of Lord Ponsonby to the congress of Brussels, that, provided they submitted without reserve to the Conference, the latter would use their best endeavors to obtain the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg for them by negotiation, and upon giving to Holland a suitable indemnity, and in the mean time protect them from any attack on the part of the German Confederation.† Justly alarmed at this declared intention of despoiling him of part of his paternal inheritance on the part of the London conference, and anticipating nothing but coercion from the "powerful mediation" of such formidable mediators, the King of Holland lost no time in protesting solemnly against any such project being entertained, and appealing to the faith of treaties to maintain him in the possessions of his family, and the limits assigned to him by the mediating powers themselves.‡

Without going into the tedious details of those negotiations, which continued without intermission for the next two months, and went the length of above fifty protocols, it is sufficient to observe that neither party abated in their demands, and it ere long became evident that a rupture had become unavoidable. The Belgian Assembly and King Leopold, in secret supported by England and France, insisted that negotiations should be begun between the two states for the purpose of severing the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg from Holland, and annexing it to Belgium; while William,

* "Les limites de la Hollande comprendront tous les territoires, places, villes, et lieux qui appartiennent à la ci-devant République des provinces unies des Pays Bas en l'année 1790. La Belgique sera formée de tout le reste des territoires qui avaient reçu la dénomination du Royaume des Pays Bas dans les traités de 1815." Luxembourg and Limburg were part of the old patrimony of the house of Nassau, and never were part of Belgium at all.—*Protocole*, 20th Jan., 1831; *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 410.

† "Si la Belgique consent à se placer dans le cercle des états Européens, reconnaissant les traités énoncés, la conférence l'aidera par une puissante médiation à obtenir le Duché de Luxembourg par un traité, et moyennant une indemnité équitable; et, par des moyens assurés, la conférence préviendra toute attaque militaire de la part de la Confédération Germanique pendant la négociation."—*LORD PONSONBY au Congrès de Bruxelles. Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 410.

‡ "Le Roi s'en tient à l'acte de séparation que les cinq puissances lui ont proposé, et qu'il a accepté sans réserve. L'article 2 de cet acte reconnaît expressément que le grand-duché appartient à la maison de Nassau. Il est donc difficile à concevoir qu'il pourrait être question d'une négociation sur cette souveraineté, laquelle même par l'adhésion conditionnelle de la Belgique aux bases de séparation ne laisserait pas de rencontrer les plus grandes difficultés, attendu que le grand duché a remplacé, pour le roi et les princes de sa maison, ses états héréditaires, et qu'il est d'une valeur inappréciable à ses yeux."—*Le Roi au Congrès à Londres, June 5, 1831. Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 416.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 414, 416; Cap. v. 167, 168; Louis Blanc, ii. 419, 420.

66. Change in the policy of Great Britain regarding Belgium.

67. Change in the language of England and France regarding Luxembourg.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 412, 416; Cap. v. 167, 169; Louis Blanc, ii. 420, 421.

68. Progress of the negotiation, and secret treaty of France and England.

in secret supported by Russia and Prussia, as strenuously insisted that nothing remained to negotiate about, that he accepted absolutely and unconditionally the Act of Separation as it had been fixed by the five powers themselves, and declined all proposals of exchange or compromise. Aware that matters were coming to extremities, and that hostilities might ere long break out, England and France entered into a secret treaty, the purport of which was, that Holland and Belgium should be forcibly restrained from coming to blows, and that for this purpose an English fleet should be cautiously collected in the Downs, ready to cross over to the mouth of the Scheldt, and a French army of 40,000 assembled on the Flemish frontier. M. Talleyrand said, in reference to this treaty, that "England and France were two gendarmes who forcibly intervened to prevent a duel;" and had such been the character of the intervention, there could be no question of its propriety or justice. But he forgot to add that the intervention assumed a very different character

¹ Treaty, June 16, 1831; Cap. v. 170, 171; to enable one of the combatants with impunity to rob the other.¹

The pretensions of the Belgian Assembly rose in proportion as England and France manifested a disposition in their favor; and at length they arrived at such a point that they declared they would *not be bound* by the Act of Separation of the two states. Upon this the French and English ministers, Lord Pon-

sonby and General Belliard, left Brussels. Negotiations, however, still went on in London, and Leopold formally accepted the crown, on condition of the conference giving him the advantages stipulated in eighteen articles, which differed widely from the original Act of Separation, and gave Belgium much more than had belonged to it in 1790, besides leaving the question of Luxembourg open. To this the conference in London agreed, deeming the settlement of the Belgian question by placing Leopold on the throne, an advantage so great that it was worth purchasing by the sacrifice of some of the rights of Holland. When this resolution was notified to the King of Holland, he declined to accept it, in calm but dignified

terms; and orders were given to the troops on the frontier to move forward, while General Chassé announced the termination of the armistice, concluded on the 5th of November preceding, to the Belgian governor of Antwerp.^{2*}

* "Les 18 articles que vos Excellences m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser, et qui sont proposés aux deux parties comme un base de préliminaires d'un traité de paix, changent toutes les combinaisons. Le contenu inattendu de cette pièce a d'autant plus douloureusement affecté sa Majesté, que, d'après ce qui en résulte, la Conférence n'a pas jugé devoir accueillir une seule des observations multipliées produites par les plénipotentiaires des Pays Bas. La plupart de ces articles semblent le résultat d'un concert avec ceux qui exercent le pouvoir en Belgique. Mais sans s'arrêter à cette apparence, il est de fait qu'ils furent simultanément communiqués à la Belgique et à la Hollande, et que principalement on ne consulta point sur leur contenu, le Cabinet de la Haye, comme sa Majesté, avait bien droit de l'attendre. A l'exemple des souver-

The Dutch army, when it thus threw down the gauntlet to the greatest powers of Europe, was in a very efficient state, and, considering the resources of the country by which it was maintained, surprisingly numerous. It consisted of 70,000 men, recruited from the veteran soldiers of Prussia, Germany, and Switzerland, attracted to the standard of King William by the ample pay offered by the Dutch government, of whom 40,000 were stationed on the frontier in three corps: one under General Van Gheen, which had orders to move upon Antwerp from Breda; the second, under General Georges, was in front of Maestricht; while the third was stationed between them, and was to advance upon Brussels. On the other side, the Belgians had collected 12,000 men, who were dignified by the name of the Army of the Scheldt, at Malines, which was commanded by Leopold in person; while another corps, 10,000 strong, under General Daine, was stationed between Maestricht and Hasselt. The composition of these troops, however, was not such as to inspire any hope that they would be able to withstand the shock of the veteran troops who were collected round the Dutch standards, for they were nearly all raw levies, chiefly composed of the rabble of towns, ill equipped and worse disciplined, and totally destitute of the firmness and confidence in each other requisite to success in the field.¹

The corps of the Prince of Orange crossed the frontier on the 5th, and made itself master of Diest without opposition; from whence, advancing on its left toward Haarlem, and on its right to Siehem, it interposed between the enemy's corps at Malines and on the Meuse, and rendered their junction impracticable. This was in itself a great advantage, which would probably be decisive of the issue of the campaign; but it was rendered still more important by what soon after occurred with the Dutch left on the Meuse. The Belgians were there attacked on the road between Hasselt and Tongres by General Georges' corps, and routed with such facility that the affair could not be called a battle. At the first shot the Belgian infantry took to flight; their artillery, in the confusion, fired on their own men, taking them for enemies; and the cavalry completed the disorder by wheeling about and trampling under foot their own foot-soldiers in the general flight. In frightful confusion the whole army fled to Liege, with the loss of its whole artillery, caissons, and baggage, leaving Brussels uncovered to its fate. That city was now at the mercy of the Dutch troops; for on

ains les plus puissans, il pourra céder à la nécessité en abandonnant à leur sort ceux de ses sujets qui se sont soustraits à son autorité, mais jamais il ne leur sacrifiera les droits de la Hollande. Or, un examen réfléchi l'ayant convaincu que les articles préliminaires livraient à la merci de l'insurrection les intérêts les plus chers de la patrie, il ne peut dès-lors les accepter, et doit derechef réclamer de la part des cinq puissances, comme j'ai l'honneur de le faire en son nom. Désormais c'est une querelle, un débat entre la Hollande et la Belgique, états indépendants et séparés; il a ainsi le droit de paix et de guerre, sans qu'il y ait nécessité d'une intervention des puissances."—*Protestation du Roi Guillaume*, 26th June, 1831; CAPEFIGUE, vol. v. p. 173, 175.

70.
Commence-
ment of hostil-
ities, and posi-
tion and forces
on the two
sides.

¹ Ann. Hist.
xiv. 433, 435;
Cap. v. 182,
185; Louis
Blanc, ii.
420.

71.
Total effect
of the Bel-
gians. Au-
gust 8, 10,
and 22.

the very day when this disaster happened to the army of the Meuse, Leopold, finding his right entirely uncovered, retired toward Louvain, and took up an intrenched position in front of that town. There he was followed by the Prince of Orange, attacked, and routed with so much facility that it was with great difficulty he escaped, after losing all his artillery, into Louvain, where he was shut up next day by the victorious Dutch. Leopold himself behaved with great gallantry in this affair, but he could not communicate his own spirit to the revolutionary rabble whom he commanded. In these disastrous circumstances, he wrote an urgent letter to Marshal Gérard, who commanded the French army on the frontier, to hasten his march; and a limit was thus put to the progress of the Prince of Orange, when he was at the gates of Brussels, held his rival blockaded

in a town which could not hold out three days, and when, according to the republican journalists, "Belgium was within a hair's-breadth of destruction."¹*

But it was no part of the policy of France to allow this opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Flanders to be lost, or of the new-born liberal policy of England to interfere with such an extension of the power of their ancient rival. On the contrary, the governments of both countries leaned to the new-born revolutionary State, and regarded with jealousy the pretensions of William, the protégé of the Holy Alliance, and the advanced guard of the Legitimist sovereigns. No sooner, accordingly, was the intelligence of the crossing the frontier by the Prince of Orange received in Paris and London, than orders were sent by the two governments for their respective forces to advance. The English fleet made sail from the Downs for the mouth of the Scheldt; the French army received orders instantly to cross the frontier and march upon Louvain and Brussels. With transports of joy the French troops began their march, the soldiers chaunting songs of victory; they were marching against the Holy Alliance; they were recommencing the career of the Grand Army; they were going to level the Lion of Waterloo! Forty thousand men, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, crossed the frontier on the 9th, and on the 12th the van-guard entered Brussels at the very moment

when the victory of Louvain had opened to the Prince of Orange the gates of the capital.²

Fortunately for the peace of Europe, the good sense of the King of Holland, which was equal to his resolution, led him to appreciate the dangers of his situation if he persisted any farther in hostilities. He had received a communication, signed by the ambassadors of all the five powers, to the effect that they were unanimously resolved to put a period to hostilities so eminently hazardous to the peace of Europe, and that France and England, in interposing to prevent them, acted in the general interest, and with the concurrence of all the

powers. In effect, a protocol was signed on the 6th, which regulated the intervention, declared that the Conference was Aug. 6. satisfied that the French and English intervention was done in the intent and in order to preserve the peace of Europe, and provided that they should not cross the frontier of Old Holland, and neither invest Maestricht nor Venloo, and that the French troops should retire within the French frontier, and the English fleet to the Downs, as soon as hostilities ceased between the Dutch and Belgians. As soon as he was informed of this resolution on the part of the five powers, William dispatched orders to the Prince of Orange to stop hostilities, and retire within the frontiers of Holland. The order reached him at Louvain, on the 13th, and he immediately concluded a convention with Aug. 13. General Belliard, who commanded the French advanced guard, in virtue of which the Dutch troops withdrew within their own frontier, and the French, after some delay, retired to their own country, without having had the satisfaction of destroying the Lion of Waterloo in the course of their expedition.¹

Nothing but the preponderance of France and England, from their united policy and geographical position, so near the seat of hostilities, and the danger to which they themselves were exposed by the still doubtful contest on the shores of the Vistula which will immediately be recounted, could have induced the Northern Powers to look quietly on, while the western potentates took upon themselves, in this manner, to arrange the affairs of Flanders at their own pleasure, and keep up by force the revolutionary state of Belgium, at the very moment when it had in reality fallen under the restored dominion of its lawful sovereign. In truth, the powers engaged in the Conference were as much divided on the subject, notwithstanding their apparent unanimity, as Holland and Belgium; and it was with great difficulty a rupture was prevented between them. A spark would then have lighted the flame of a general war; and had the affair of Poland been settled three months earlier than it actually was, the French invasion of Belgium would have proved that spark. But the terror of a general war, for which they were wholly unprepared, and an undefined dread of revolt in their own dominions, if a strife of opinion were openly waged in Europe, prevailed over these views, and a sort of tacit agreement took place between the five powers, to the effect that France and England should be permitted to arrange at pleasure the affairs of Belgium, provided they allowed Russia and Prussia at will to settle those of Poland.

But although hostilities were thus stopped in Flanders, and William was prevented from recovering the lost Great advantage of his dominions, at the very ages gained part of his dominions, at the very time when he had decisively defeated the rebels in them, yet he gained much, both in material advantage and moral influence, by the brief passage at arms which had taken place. Short as the period of hostilities had been, it had proved both the

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 434, 435; Cap. v. 185, 186; Louis Blanc, ii. 422.

² 72. Intervention of the French army in Flanders.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 435, 436; Cap. v. 187, 190.

^{73.} Armistice, and withdrawal of the French troops. Aug. 13.

¹ Protocol, No. 31, Aug. 6, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 147, App.; Cap. v. 189, 190.

^{74.} Renewed conferences, and reasons which made the northern powers acquiesce in them.

^{75.}

* "La Belgique était à deux doigts de sa perte."—L. BLANC, vol. ii. p. 422.

vigor, patriotism, and unanimity of Holland, and the weakness, disunion, and inefficiency of Belgium. It was now demonstrated beyond all dispute, that the Belgian revolution had been the work merely of the heated democrats of a few great towns, and had no foundation in the solid sense or settled wishes of the great majority of the inhabitants of Flanders; for the revolutionary state, with four millions of inhabitants, had been vanquished in a few days by the conservative with two millions and a half. It was now evident to all the world that a popular dynasty could not stand of itself in Flanders, and that, if not propped up by the adjoining Liberal Governments of France and England, it would at once fall to the ground. These conclusions flowed so evidently from what had occurred, that they soon came not only to affect general opinion over Europe, but materially to influence the views of the London Conference. After mature deliberation, the ambassadors of the five powers presented to the Kings of Holland and Belgium a project of a treaty for the separation of the two states, which they described in the accompanying letter as "final and irrevocable;" but containing terms far more favorable to Holland than the former one of eighteen articles, which had been rejected. By this proposed treaty, the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg was to be divided between the two powers, but with the fortress of Luxembourg belonging to the King of Holland, as grand duke of that duchy, he receiving a portion of Limburg in indemnity for the part ceded; the district of Maestricht was also partitioned, but with the fortress of that name remaining to Holland; and the common debt of the kingdom of the Netherlands was to be apportioned on the footing of 8,400,000 florins to be annually paid by the Belgians, and 5,050,000 to be provided for by the Dutch government. This treaty was not implicitly adopted by either of the states concerned;

¹ Treaty, Oct. 13, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 145, 150; Louis Blanc, ii. 185, 186.

fresh negotiations took place, and a memorable siege ensued, to be recounted in the next volume, before the rival pretensions of Holland and Belgium were finally adjusted.¹

If the effects of the new-born alliance of the liberal governments of France and England were proclaimed to the world in the affairs of Flanders in this year, they were not less clearly evinced in an event which took place, inconsiderable in itself, but very significant of accomplished change, at the mouth of the Tagus. Some French subjects had grounds of complaint against the government at Lisbon, and some abusive articles had appeared in the Portuguese newspapers against the French monarch. These grievances, which would have been the fit subject of pacific remonstrance and negotiation, were taken up by the Cabinet of Louis Philippe as the subject of national quarrel; and they resolved to demand reparation at the cannon's mouth. It was indispensable, however, to obtain the assent of the British government to any armed intervention in the Tagus; but this was without difficulty obtained, the English government and people being so completely absorbed in the Reform contest, that foreign affairs, even when of the

most pressing kind, and touching on the most interesting recollections, excited scarcely any attention. The consent of the British cabinet to the hostile demonstration being thus obtained, the French government fitted out a fleet of six ships of the line and three frigates, under the command of Admiral Rous-¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 552, 555; Cap. v. 226, 227.

The first step of Admiral Roussin was to send a flag of truce ashore, with a statement of his demands, which were—^{77.} The French compel the submission of the Portuguese government. July 11. the dismissal of the captain of the Portuguese frigate which had captured a French packet-boat, the *St. Helena*; a compensation in money for several proprietors who had suffered during the blockade of Terceira by the Royalist fleet; and the dismissal of all the magistrates, who were said to have violated the privileges of French subjects. These terms not having been complied with, the French squadron entered the Tagus, passed, without sustaining almost any damage, the batteries of Fort Belem, on which the vessels, in moving up, opened a heavy fire, and, continuing their victorious course, anchored abreast of the royal palace. Nothing now remained to the Portuguese government but submission. The conditions, so far as the individuals claiming damages were concerned, were at once complied with, and any questions of a general nature referred to the Conference at London; but the Portuguese fleet was carried off in triumph to Brest. This vigorous demonstration was not of any very material importance in itself; but it assumed great magnitude from the indication it afforded of the entire change in the policy of Great Britain, which the accession of the Whig party to power had occasioned. Don Miguel had appealed to the British government for protection, when the attack was impending, and been refused. Europe was confounded at beholding England calmly abandoning its ancient ally to the hostile attacks of its former rival; and although the English people, engrossed with the Reform struggle, and incapable of taking in more than one idea at a time, paid little attention to the subject, there were many thoughtful persons in England who concurred in the mourn-² Ann. Hist. xiv. 554, 557; Ann. Reg. 1831, 445, 446; Cap. v. 228, 230; Louis Blanc, ii. 393, 397.

Although these vigorous demonstrations of French power in Flanders and in the Tagus went far to restore the credit of France in the eyes of foreign nations, and beyond all question saved the ministry of Casimir Périér from the shipwreck with which it was threatened at the very commencement of the session, yet in the end they rather increased than lessened the difficulties of Government. The enthusiasm of the people at these successful foreign interventions became speedily such that it was altogether ungovernable. The spirit of propagandism into which democratic fervor, when successful, invariably runs, became so

^{76.} Forcible intervention of the French at Lisbon.

^{78.} Vehement excitement in Paris from these events.

violent that nothing within the power of Government could satisfy it. The Parisian journals would gladly have faced the hostility of the whole world for the spread of their principles. They loudly demanded the immediate march of one army into Italy, to excite the Italian patriots; another into Belgium, to support the cause of insurrection in Flanders; and a third into Germany, to make its way through the three hundred thousand armed men of the Confederation to the shores of the Vistula, and lend its aid to the heroic and laboring Poles. Secure of the support, or at least the forbearance, of England, they felt confident against the world in arms. Such was the excitement produced by these events, that for three weeks they exclusively occupied the attention of the Chamber, to the entire stoppage of all other business. The danger of the crisis, and the difficulties of the Government, will be best appreciated by recapitulating what, in a thousand different

forms, and with the utmost violence of language, was advanced on either side.¹

The debates began in the Chamber on the 9th August, and lasted, without intermission, for three weeks. They elicited on both sides the whole oratorical talent of France, and were characterized from the very first by uncommon violence of language. "We accuse you," said M. Bignon, General Lamarque, Marshal Clausel, and M. Mauguin, "of having compromised the interest of France, which lies in its honor, and the interests of humanity, which are centred in the greatness of France. Recollect what we were a year ago, and reflect on what we now are. How vast was the prestige with which we were then surrounded! In the midst of nations astounded, and kings struck with terror, we had grasped again, and for far nobler purposes than he wielded it, the sceptre of Napoleon. Never was situation so dazzling as ours then was, and we had no need to disturb the world to attain our object, for it lay at our mercy. Now, what can we do? what influence do we possess in Europe? To know how to assist when you are strong is the mark of a wise moderation; but to tolerate injustice when you are strong, is the distinctive mark of pusillanimity. Look around you, and see what you have permitted! In Italy the Austrians trampling a noble people under foot, without any other title than that of the strongest; the Conference in London cutting asunder nationalities, without regard either to traditions, interests, or affections, at the dictation of four kings; the Russians proceeding to exterminate a generous people—to punish them for having found their tyranny intolerable. These are your works. This you have permitted, in this you have concurred. Every where around you you have allowed the rude empire of force to be re-established, to our eternal disgrace, and the not less durable misfortune of those who loved us, who relied on our support, and who were betrayed.

"Boast not of your interventions; they are not so many titles of honor, but badges of servitude. You have demanded the retirement of the Austrians from Italy in March, and when did you obtain it?

In July, when their work was done, the patriots dispersed and destroyed, your own influence in the peninsula lost. You have intervened in Belgium, and in what character, and at whose dictation? Not as the apostles of freedom, not as the pioneers of civilization, but as the gendarmerie of the Holy Alliance, to carry into execution the dictates of the London Conference, to place the sovereign of England's choice on the throne of Flanders. You might have had that beautiful country as you might have had the fields of Lombardy, and its inhabitants panted for a reunion with you, but you rejected their advances for fear of giving umbrage to England! Umbrage to England! It was not thus that our fathers felt: there was no terror of England then. If these are the fruits of the English alliance, better, far better, to brave at once its hostility. There is little cause for congratulation on the expedition to Lisbon, how honorable soever to those engaged in it. We went there, not of our own free-will, but by the license of England, to avenge her causes of complaint more than our own—to displace a sovereign whom she deems it for her interest not to recognize. Such is the degradation to which we have been brought by the English alliance and the policy of Ministers, that the cabinet of St. James's has no longer any need to get out fleets or armies of its own to avenge its wrongs or carry into execution its decisions; it has only to issue its mandates from London, and the fleets and armies of France become the instruments of its vengeance—the ministers of its will.

"We are always told we must await the decisions of a congress, the decisions of the Conference. Why a congress, why a conference? What is the need of a conference after the insurrection at Brussels—of a congress after the revolution at Warsaw? Had you at once recognized the nationality of Poland, what effect would it have produced on the banks of the Vistula? Lithuania, Podolia, Volhynia would immediately have been in arms; Galicia and Hungary would have responded to the cry; a word would have disarmed Russia and Austria, re-established the balance of power, and restored France to its proper rank and lead in Europe. What could the Continental powers have done in presence of such a decided policy? Austria would have found its Poland in Italy, Prussia in the Rhenish provinces, England in Ireland. Driven back into their deserts by the heroic armies of the Sarmatians, the Muscovites would have ceased to be any longer formidable to the liberties of Europe—the independence of nations. Whereas the result of your timorous policy has been, that England has disposed of the crown of Belgium, which was laid at your feet; that Austria has established her supremacy in Italy; and Russia has found in the treacherous neutrality of Austria, the open support of Prussia, the means of extinguishing the last remnants of Polish nationality."¹

Strong as these arguments were, and powerfully as they spoke to the national and patriotic feelings which are ever springing up in the breasts of the French people, they were met on the part of

Argument of the Opposition on foreign affairs.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 271, 286.

^{80.} Continued.

¹ Moniteur, Aug. 7-10, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 219, 253; Louis Blanc, ii. 428, 430.

^{82.} Answer of Ministers.

Government by others, if not equally heart-stirring to the feelings, perhaps more convincing to the reason. "What," said M. Casimir Périer, M. Guizot, M. Thiers, and General Sébastiani, "are the grievances of which the Opposition complain? Born of a tempest calculated to drive nations into chaos, the French government has sought to appease every thing around itself and in itself. Is there nothing grand in that lofty moderation? Was it blamable, because to the savage pleasure of overturning the world it preferred the glorious title of saving it at once from the double scourge of democracy and conquest? We are reproached for having abandoned Belgium to the English, Italy to the Austrians, Poland to the Russians. Vain and declamatory reproaches! We have done all in Italy which could reasonably be expected. The ministry of the 13th March (Casimir Périer), on arriving at the helm, found the Austrian army in the Roman States, the sad bequest of the weakness of the preceding cabinet. It demanded, it obtained their evacuation by the Austrian troops. What more could be expected of it? If our frontiers have not been advanced to the Rhine—if Flanders has not been incorporated with our dominions—if the King, doing violence to his family affections, has refused the crown proffered to his son—it was because considerations of the highest political gravity were opposed to such projects of national or family aggrandizement. Was it expedient, for no other object but aggrandizement, to light up in Europe the flames of an immense conflagration? Was it advisable, in the hope of a doubtful conquest, to arm against us the English people, that powerful ally which has done so much to establish the throne of the Revolution? Would it have been wise to threaten the European nations with the revival of our ambition, which for fifteen long years kept them in agony and humiliation? Was France degraded because she showed herself at once formidable and disinterested?

"No one can admire more than we do the heroic valor of the Poles, and be filled with a warmer commiseration for their undeserved fate; but the question is not what all must feel, but what any could have done? Separated from us by a breadth of four hundred leagues, inhabited by neutral and powerful nations, our geographical position condemned us to a mournful and sterile sympathy. To have marched to their succor would have been to have resumed, at the point where they began to become fatal, the gigantic enterprises of Napoleon. And what would be the object gained, supposing it successful? To force Austria and Prussia, in their own defense, to conclude a close alliance with Russia, that our troops, on arriving at Warsaw, might find nothing but a desert and ashes. Napoleon himself at Tilsit was unequal to the task of restoring Poland, though he was at the head of five hundred thousand invincible soldiers. Could the ministers of 1831 have undertaken with impunity that which Napoleon, with his gigantic forces, failed in accomplishing, possessing as they did a much inferior army, for the most part composed of mere conscripts? To have recognized the independence of Poland when we could not support it, would have been an idle

rodomontade, alike evincing the weakness of the one country and the impotence of the other.

"Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore, or be led away by vain declamation.

Government has done all that was ^{84.} Concluded. in its power to do for the Poles, when it offered its own mediation, and invited that of the other powers. It is time now for the Opposition to explain themselves. What do they really desire; what would they be at? Is a universal war—a war for life or death—the object of their desires? If so, they had better announce at once that the question is no longer between war and peace, but between war and liberty, for no one supposes that freedom can take root or flourish amidst the dire crash of war. Combats and battles abroad induce at home silence and repose: despotism is the counterpart of victory. Napoleon proved it; and before his time the Convention had proved it by deeds which will never be effaced from the memory of man. 'Have you concluded an agreement with victory?' was once asked in that terrible assembly. 'No,' was the reply of Bazire, 'but we have made a compact with death.' Death soon came to claim performance of the promise: a year had not elapsed when the head of Bazire fell from the scaffold. If the Opposition does not grow pale at the employment ¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 424, 426; of such resources, and the mere ² Moniteur, Aug. 14, 1831; memory of these terrible examples, ³ An. Hist. xiv. 237, 250. let them at least have the courage to avow it."

Matters were brought to a perfect climax in the Chamber by a proposition of M.

Bignon to insert in the address the words—"In the touching words of your Majesty regarding the misfortunes of Poland, the Chamber fondly hopes to find a '*certainly*' that the nationality of Poland shall not expire." M. Bodin, on the part of Ministers, contended that the words "*firm hope*" should be used instead. Such was the enthusiasm excited by this interesting topic, that at the words of General Lamarque, "Let us save Poland!" the whole Assembly rose like one man, and was proceeding, amidst loud acclamations, to adopt M. Bignon's motion, when Casimir Périer, foaming with rage, and quivering with emotion, rushed into the tribune, and insisted to be heard. The cry of "Spoke, spoke! order, order!" arose on all sides, and he could not make himself heard. Still standing in the tribune, and making frantic gesticulations, amidst a din which rendered any voice inaudible, the minister contended for the privilege of being heard. Upon this a frightful tumult arose, some contending that he should be heard, others that he should not—all with equal violence. Soon the whole Assembly, galleries and all, were on their feet, shouting and gesticulating in the most tumultuous manner; and at length the President, after ^{85.} Violent scene in the Chamber on the debate on Poland.

in vain trying to restore order by ringing his bell, covered himself, and the Chamber broke up in an indescribable state of agitation.^{2*}

* In one of these violent debates, General Sébastiani, addressing General Lamarque, said, "C'est faux; vous en avez menti." These words led to a hostile meeting be-

Great as was the excitement which these debates in the Chambers on the subject of Poland occasioned, it was as nothing to that which took place when the intelligence of the fall of Warsaw saw, to be recounted in the next chapter, arrived. It was on the 15th September that the mournful intelligence arrived in Paris, and the grief and excitement was so intense that it seemed a question whether it would not prove fatal to the new-born dynasty. It exceeded even that felt at the taking of Paris in 1814, or the battle of Waterloo in the year after; for national humiliation was then softened by a sense of delivery from evil, but here it was aggravated by the extinction of hope. The public excitement was wound up to the highest point by an imprudent and ill-timed expression of General Sébastiani, in announcing the mournful intelligence on the 16th in the Chamber of Deputies—"Order reigns in Warsaw;" and again, on the 19th, when he said, "Poland will never rise from its ashes if France is wise." Such was the excitement produced by these words, that Casimir Périer and General Sébastiani were assailed by a furious mob when entering the hotel of the minister of war in the Place Vendôme, and narrowly escaped with their lives. So universal was the grief, so passionate its expression, that the theatres were all closed—a thing which had not occurred in the worst days of Robespierre or the Convention. For four days Paris continued in a state of stupor and prostration, to which nothing had been seen comparable in any former period of its history; and the public sorrow, as that of an individual, at length wore itself out by excessive indulgence. The intensity of emotion evinced by the people on this occasion proved that it was not mere sympathy with a foreign state which agitated them, but an interest nearer home which was the cause of the excitement, and that the republican historian spoke the voice of millions when he said, "The fall of Warsaw and the sterile effervescence in Paris completed the ruin of the revolutionary principle in Europe."¹

In the midst of these violent storms and altercations the ministry of Casimir Périer not only stood its ground, but sensibly acquired strength—the evident necessity of supporting Government in the critical circumstances in which the country, both externally and internally, was placed, prevailing over the known democratic feeling of the majority of the Chamber. But at the same time the republican feeling, which had swayed the greater part of the elections, appeared in various domestic acts of the Legislature. The majority in the Chamber, by the

smallest possible number, was Liberal,* and their hostility to the Crown was evinced in two important subjects. The first was on the civil list for the Crown, which amounted to 18,000,000 francs (£720,000), and did not pass without the most violent opposition. The second was an amendment brought forward by M. de Bricqueville on the law for the banishment of the Bourbons, which, from having not been brought forward in time, had not passed the Peers in the last session, though it had been carried by a large majority in the Deputies; and it was now proposed, as an amendment, that the penalty of DEATH should be pronounced against any member of the elder Bourbon family who should set foot on the French territory. This sanguinary law, worthy of the worst days of the Convention, was voted almost unanimously, to the extent of being sent to committee; M. Berryer and M. de Chartroun alone opposed it. But the committee rejected the capital sanction, and reported that the family of Napoleon should be included in the decree of banishment. The discussion on the report came on on 15th November, and gave rise to some very striking observations on both sides.¹

"There is but one measure," said M. Pagès, "which really suits the dignity of our situation, and may signalize it in the eyes of Europe. Do not try to inspire fear; that only betrays fear in yourselves. Pass to the order of the day: as to the five laws against the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, repeal alike the law of 1816 against the family of Napoleon, and prove to all the world by that lofty measure of prudence and courage that you labor under no apprehension, that you despise vain words and criminal enterprises, and that you know that no one can ascend the throne of France but by the will of the French. France, say the courtiers, is renowned among nations by its loyalty to its sovereign; but history tells a different tale; and truth gives the lie to flattery. It was by the assassination of the last of the Valois that the first Bourbon ascended the throne. Henry IV. died cruelly assassinated. During their respective minorities, Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. found with difficulty a shelter for their heads; the dagger of an assassin pierced the breast of Louis XV.; Louis XVI. died on the scaffold; Louis XVII. wasted away in chains. There is Bourbon blood to be seen in the fosse of Vincennes; its stains are visible on the steps of the Opera. Louis XVIII. has been twice proscribed; Charles X. has three times set out on the path of exile. Is it in a country which so often has brought before its eyes the miseries of royalty that it is allowable, under a monarchical govern-

tween the two generals, which happily terminated in no serious result. It is remarkable how often military and naval men, so cool in the field of battle or the quarter-deck, lose their temper, and become ungovernable in debate. It is that weakness which makes them in general incapable of ruling pacific assemblies. Accustomed to command, they can not brook contradiction or resistance; and they too often forget that, in civil conflicts, the influence exercised is in general in the inverse ratio of the temper displayed.—See *Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiv. p. 249; *Chron.* p. 257; *CAPEFIGUE*, vol. v. p. 343.

* STATE OF PARTIES IN THE NEW CHAMBER.

	Ministerial.	Opposition.
Old members	145	150
New members	84	80
	229	230

A majority of ONE for the Opposition—the same as brought on the French Revolution, and the Reform Bill in England.—See *CAPEFIGUE*, vol. v. p. 278.

86.
Vehement excitement in Paris on the fall of Warsaw.

¹ Louis Blanc, ii. 473, 484; Cap. v. 339, 346; *Ann. Hist.* xiv. 272, 277; *Moniteur*, September 17, 1831.

87.
Bloody law against the Bourbons.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xiv. 338, 343; *Moniteur*, September 20, 1831.

88.
Speech of M. Pagès against the law. November 15.

² *Moniteur*, November 16, 1831; *Ann. Hist.* xiv. 344.

ment, to add to that load of oppression, and to inscribe deliberately in its statute-book a tyranny which has hitherto been found only in the dagger of the assassin, or the madness of the people?"

Notwithstanding the historic truth and generous eloquence of these words, such was the terror inspired by the prospect of a civil war in La Vendée, lighted up by the threatened descent of the Duchess de Berri, that it is more than doubtful whether the sanguinary clause would not have been replaced by a vote of the Chamber in the law, had it not been for a noble and most moving appeal of M. de Martignac. This able and estimable statesman, who had tried in vain to check the perilous career of Charles X., immediately before the accession of the Polignac administration, had risen from the bed of sickness to oppose the motion, and spoke now, in a feeble and faltering voice, for the last time in the Assembly. "Gentlemen," said he, "banishment is in our law a punishment for infamous offenses, pronounced by the judge after a mature examination of the evidence; and it is now proposed to declare it in advance against entire generations, without a trial, without evidence, without knowing even whom you are condemning! One of your orators has lately said from the tribune, 'In France proscription absolves.' That profound and just sentiment condemns the amendment. Should a pretender arrive in France, the Government will immediately be warned of the danger which the public security will run, and the risk will be prevented. But if a proscribed person, condemned beforehand, arrives on your shores, where will you find a man who will clap the executioner on the shoulder, and say to him, 'Look at that royal head; get it identified, and cause it to fall?' When I had the misfortune to be minister, a proscribed regicide appeared on the territory of France. The minister, informed of his appearance, so far from causing him to be arrested, hastened to provide for his retreat. He was an old man, and he was nursed, for he was sick; he received succor, for he had need of it; he was conducted, with the respect due to his age and misfortunes, to the frontier. I rendered an account of what I had done, and it was approved of, as I know I should be by you to-day." "Yes! yes!" broke from all parts of the Assembly. "What, then," he added, "would have been the case if the penalty had been death? I believe, in truth, I would not have spoken of it. Let one of the proscribed, whom the amendment submitted to the Chamber proposes to punish with death, return to France, to seek an asylum there; let him knock at the door even of the mover of the amendment; let him give his name and come in, and I will engage beforehand for his security." The effect of this appeal was irresistible among a people so accessible to the generous sentiments as the French. Profoundly moved, the whole

Assembly rose as one man; and, amidst universal acclamations, the amendment, proposing the capital sanction, was withdrawn, and the law passed as proposed by the committee,¹ which bore, "The eld-

er branch of the Bourbons is banished forever from France."

These incidental discussions, however, were all preliminary merely to the grand question of the session, which was the ABOLITION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE. This was so emphatically the question of the day, that it might be said without exaggeration that the mission of the new Chamber was to destroy the peerage, as that of the House of Commons in England, elected in the same year, was to destroy the nomination boroughs. So strongly was hatred of the hereditary aristocracy rooted in France, in consequence of the extravagant pretensions it had asserted, and the exclusive privileges it had acquired, that the first Revolution may be said to have been mainly directed to its overthrow. It was this which was meant by its watch-word, "*Liberté et Égalité*." Its abolition, accordingly, was one of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly in 1791. Napoleon, however, who saw clearly that a hereditary monarchy could never exist without a hereditary aristocracy to support it, restored titles of honor, and declared them hereditary; and it was one leading object of his policy to effect a "fusion," as he called it, of the ancient and modern nobility. Louis XVIII. on his accession wisely followed the same conciliatory system, and pronounced several sonorous periods on the noblesse on one side of the throne recalling the ancient honors of the monarchy, and on the other the new-born glories of the empire. In secret, however, he was by no means favorably inclined to a hereditary nobility. A House of Peers named by himself was much more to his taste, and he was only prevailed on to permit its restoration upon condition that the Crown was to retain the form at least of calling the eldest sons of peers to the Upper House. During the tumult, however, of the Revolution of 1830, the prejudice against the aristocracy greatly increased, and the number of deputies pledged to effect its overthrow was so much increased by the lowering of the suffrage, and the vast increase of republican mem-
bers whom this introduced into the Legislature, that its abolition in the next session became a matter of certainty.¹

The question first came on for consideration on the 27th August, when the Government proposed a simple decree "that the hereditary peerage should be abolished." M. Casimir Périer was known to be a decided supporter of the hereditary peerage, but, aware of the strong feeling which existed on the subject in the country, and the decided majority in the Chamber, he yielded to necessity, and concurred in the measure. Although all knew that the fate of the peerage was sealed, the arguments used on both sides were not the less worthy of attention, and, as not unfrequently happens, the more weighty were adduced on the side which proved unsuccessful. On the part of the abolition it was argued by M. Odillon Barrot, M. Bignon, and General Lafayette, and M. Remusat: "In whatever way you consider the hereditary peerage, it appears equally useless, dangerous, and fatal. If we regard it as the hereditary branch of the

90.
Question of the abolition of the hereditary peerage.

¹ Cap. v. 349, 351; Louis Blanc, iii. 20, 25; An. Hist. xiv. 297, 300.

91.
Argument for the abolition.

Legislature, what security have we that it will not introduce into the possession of power persons without elevation of character, without patriotism, without talent? No function is more important than that of making laws—none more difficult. What folly, then, can be so great a solecism as to deliver ourselves over to chance for the choice of legislators? Can there be such madness as to cast aside those who might be recommended to such high functions by their probity or their merit, and to select from the first-comers the rulers of the State? Yet is not the folly of a hereditary Legislature still greater, because a greater number of persons are there admitted entrance to power, and the chances therefore of an overwhelming majority of fools is increased?

“It is possible to conceive the advantages of a hereditary monarchy, because it is obviously expedient to prevent contests for the crown, and a responsible ministry will always watch over an imbecile king. But who is to watch over an imbecile body of hereditary peers? Where is the cabinet of young aristocratic fools? England was never governed with more energy and wisdom than by Pitt, the minister at one time of an insane king; but what similar remedy could be applied to a numerous assembly? But the peerage, it is said, is a moderating power. If so, can there be so strong an argument for the instant abolition of its hereditary rights? for what can be figured so dangerous as to give to the steady power a special and separate interest which may awaken the most dangerous passions? The pride of man feels a greater pleasure in exciting a movement than in arresting it: the reason is, that action supposes liberty, that is, force; while resistance implies necessity, that is, weakness. What is true of an individual is much more true of a numerous assembly, for it is the nature of all power to emerge from its limits, and to employ, for action and its own purposes, the arms which it has received for resistance and the common good.

“To what does this restraining power, of which so much is said, in reality amount? Nothing. If an aristocracy is strong, it takes possession of the movement; if weak, it follows it. It is a danger the more in every situation to the perils of the state; not a danger the less. Did the House of Lords oppose any barrier to the encroachments of the Long Parliament? It wished to save Strafford—it condemned him; it wished to preserve the bishops in itself—it voted their exclusion; it desired peace—it voted civil war. It is mere delusion to suppose you can moderate a movement which has got possession of society, by opposing to it a body of hereditary legislators. It is the same thing as to attempt to keep up an aristocracy in the middle of a republic. Reflect on the old contests between the patricians and plebeians, which so long kept on fire the Roman Republic. Do not suppose you lessen the chances of a similar disaster by simply calling the aristocracy a mediating power. At best it will only be a war of two against one; an increase rather than a diminution of difficulties. And if we suppose our peerage hereditary and

really independent, how are we to succeed in bending its will when, braving alike the throne and the elective Legislature, it sets itself to oppose the reforms which are deemed necessary? Are we to have recourse to a creation of peers? If so, adieu to all consideration or respect for the hereditary body. It has ceased to moderate—it has come only to obey.

“If we consider the peerage as in reality a representative assembly, what interest does it represent? With what order is it allied in the state to which revolution has now brought the country? Have not the fiefs been abolished? Is not feudalism dead and buried? Where shall we find in France the superior class which in England is united with the people against the oppression of the throne, and has acquired a sort of hereditary title to the respect of generations to come? Where shall we find in France any trace of the relations of patron and client, of proprietor and tenant? In this country, therefore, whatever may be the case elsewhere, a hereditary aristocracy is liable to the objection of being linked to no existing interest in the State, and yet recalling the remembrance of the odious privileges, against which, in 1789, the nation rose *en masse*. At this moment, what is it but the immense middle class which is striking down the aristocracy? What more is needed to prove it is adverse to the intelligence, the spirit, the light of the age? If the hereditary peerage had had its roots in the nation, would it of late years have given proofs only of its impotence? What has it done for Napoleon, vanquished at Waterloo? What has it done for Louis XVIII., when himself exiled by the exile of the island of Elba? What did it do on the 29th of July for Charles X.? What did it then do for liberty? and on the day following, the 9th August, 1830, what did it do for its own credit or reputation? Impotent to save, it is powerful only to destroy; bereft of respect, it exists only to degrade.

“The supporters of the hereditary peerage are consistent only in error. They say that there are always in the world two opposite principles—movement and rest; that the elective chamber represents the first, the hereditary the second. But if it be really true that the coexistence of the antagonistic principles is not an accidental or transitory circumstance, but an essential and permanent condition of human society, what conclusion are we to draw from it? What but this, that society contains in its bosom the seeds of a permanent and lasting contest; that war without truce is the law of the world; that, condemned to undergo alternately the triumph of one or other of these opposing powers, the people must always be either swept up in the whirl of a devouring flame, or struck with stupor in a stagnation fatal to all improvement? Do you really suppose it is possible, by interposing a third party between these mighty antagonists, to prevent them from coming into collision? The Crown, which is supposed to be this intermediate power, must inevitably soon become a mere weapon in the hands of one or other of them. The truth is, the supposed existence of these antagonistic powers is a vain illusion, arising from their having been found, from acci-

dental circumstances, in the states of modern Europe. There is but one lasting and eternal condition of society, and that is *durability in progress*. To doubt this is to deny progress, to blaspheme God, to deliver the world in advance to the government of chance. The existence of these opposite principles in modern kingdoms is a fact, but it is an evil. It should be the object of the legislator to eradicate, not perpetuate it. *Unity in power* is the great principle of good government. England is no example to the contrary. Its three separate powers are in reality but so many emanations of one supreme authority: *tria juncta in uno* should be its motto. To attempt to frame consistency out of opposition is to organize anarchy, to perpetuate chaos.⁹⁶

To these able arguments, which carried with them four-fifths of the Assembly, it was answered by a small but enlightened minority, headed by M. Guizot, M. Thiers, M. Royer Collard, and M. Berryer. "We are all agreed," said they, "that the great object in framing the constitution of a Legislature is to adopt that which is likely to secure the greatest number of able and competent legislators. The only question is, which system is most likely to attain that object? But experience has proved that nothing but a hereditary peerage can effect this. It alone can create, on the side of Government, a number of fixed situations, the holders of which are identified in interest with the Crown, and yet have permanent possessions which may render them independent, and exempt from the passions or ambition which must animate the Government in its struggle with the democracy. What we have need of is to find in society a class of men who make of politics and the science of government *their fixed and habitual study*, their business, their profession, as others do of law, arms, merchandise, or physic. We need a class of men *essentially and by caste politicians*. By a hereditary peerage you attain that object; by no other means is it possible to do so. You rear up a class of men for whom situations are ready made, and who are in a manner born politicians. Placed at the summit, however, they will never fail to receive, at the proper time, the impulse of that democracy which is always the most extensive and powerful element in society, and from the most eminent members of which it will always draw its recruits. Madame de Staël says, 'A hereditary magistracy, of which the recollections of birth form a part, is an indispensable element in a limited monarchy.' The destruction of the hereditary peerage was an idea of 1789; but how many ideas of that year have now been found by experience to have been erroneous? The charter itself is based upon the rejection of the greater part of them. Shall we then adopt this one erroneous idea from them, and in so doing destroy the constitutional throne which we profess a desire to establish?"

"The peerage is essentially representative, and what it represents in society is superiorities—superiorities of every kind—of birth, of fortune, of services, of genius, of learning. Would you cause the peerage to spring, like the Chamber of Deputies,

from popular election? All these classes will remain unrepresented; and elevate the elective franchise as much as you please, it will always represent material interests—it can never become that citadel of superiorities which a hereditary chamber, placed beside the Government, of necessity does. Would you form the Peers out of persons chosen by the sovereign out of a certain number of categories prescribed by law? Then the peerage would represent nothing but the will of the monarch, and become an instrument the more for ministerial corruption or tyrannic power. By the first system, you will merely have two chambers elected by the same persons, and devoted to the same interests, and alike hostile to the superiorities, now defenseless, and the Crown. By the second system, the Chamber of Peers is struck at the heart—its respectability, its independence are gone; it can serve only to veil the despotism of the sovereign. Take away its name, you will have a falsehood the less in the structure of society.

"It is in vain to oppose to these eternal truths the common argument that merit is not hereditary, that the talents of the father do not pass to the son, and that a hereditary chamber may become a mere chamber of fools. Be it so. Talents do not always pass; but traditions pass, feelings are communicated by descent, and that suffices for our argument. But is it true that talents are not hereditary? There are many examples to the contrary, especially in descent by the mother's side. The peerage is composed of two or three hundred families: if talent is wanting in some of them, it will not be wanting in others; and allow me to say, if men of talent sometimes are the fathers of fools, fools are as often the fathers of men of talent.

"Nothing but hereditary succession can render the peerage independent of the influence of the Crown on the one hand, and the favor of the people on the other. If experience has proved that an upper chamber is indispensable to form a check upon the precipitance of the lower, is it not expedient that it should be respected? But how can it ever be so, if it is either the instrument of a sovereign's pleasure or a people's caprice? As now constituted, the peerage is not a privilege; it is a political right, like royalty or the elective franchise, accorded to particular persons or families, not for their own, but for the general good. Hereditary right, in forming the basis of a new aristocracy, can never now revive the abuses of the ancient régime; they have forever been rendered impossible by civil equality, and the eligibility of all to all offices. Aristocracy, as an exclusive caste, has been destroyed, without return; but it is otherwise with a generic assemblage of great families, modern glories, scientific celebrities, senatorial services. Their preservation and progressive increase is an essential part of the social system as it exists in our day. By a universal and indelible instinct of our nature, so long as the transmission of fortunes is permitted will mankind look in the son for the illustration of the father.

"Families already founded exist in society; more are every day added to them.

What is to become of their descendants? If you do not identify them

98. Continued.

99. Continued.

100. Continued.

with the Government, they will become hostile to it. By making the aristocracy hereditary, you do for it what you have already done for the throne by declaring its descent fixed; you will neutralize all the tyrannies which might aim at elevating themselves to supreme power. In the hereditary peerage they will be blended together, and actuated by an interest conservative of society; standing separate, they might, from individual ambition, tear it in pieces. The most effective way to render an aristocracy harmless is to declare it hereditary; for then its members, for their families' sake, are restrained from doing evil; and every one, seeking to preserve and transmit what he has acquired, becomes a check upon his neighbor. Should the system of an elective aristocracy triumph, it is easy to foresee what will be the consequence. The sons of the great families will no longer submit to be nullified in the elective peerage. They will aspire to seats in the Chamber of Deputies; and what barrier will be adequate to restrain their ambition, if to the lustre of ancient descent and the influence of present fortune, they add the prestige of popular favor, the sway of ready eloquence in a popularly elected assembly? It was thus that Cæsar overturned the liberties of ancient Rome. The elective chamber is, and ever will be, in a free country, the chamber of ambition. Thence it was that Chatham said to his son Pitt, "Never enter the House of Peers." If you deprive the peers of their hereditary right, the great families will throw themselves into the elective chamber, as formerly they did into the ante-chambers of the Emperor.

"It is from want of this element that all governments hitherto constructed have been incomplete. Republicanism is 101. Concluded. but a sketch; it leaves the principal figure unfilled up, which is that of royalty. Democracy is but a sketch; it also leaves a question unresolved, that of an aristocracy. A representative monarchy leaves none; it is complete in all its parts. As a government, it has the unity of monarchy; as a republic, it has the perseverance of aristocracy, the energy of democracy. That is the government which the country requires. The most liberal writers on government—M. Manuel, the President of the Commission on Government during the Hundred Days; M. Benjamin Constant, in his published work on Political Constitutions—admit this. It is now permitted to us, *probably for the last time*, to arrest the course of our innovations, I dare not say of our destruction. We have had enough of ruin, of changes introduced against the lessons of experience. We are now invited to repose. Maintain then, consecrate anew, the hereditary peerage, and you will not only have preserved an institution, the protector alike of liberty and order, but you will have repelled the invasion of anarchy, and restored the social edifice tottering to its fall."¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 299, 311; Cap. v. 356, 361; Louis Blanc, *in*. 30, 32; *Moniteur*, October 20–29, 1831.

Such is a summary of the arguments on both sides on this great question, the stirring of which was the first lasting result of the Revolution of July. But it was known throughout what the result would be; the Chamber was bound, by imperious mandates from the electors, to destroy

the hereditary peerage. Casimir Périer and the orator of the Commission confessed with a sigh that the hereditary peerage was on principle the most advisable, but that circumstances, which were irresistible, compelled its abandonment. The vote was taken, amidst great anxiety, on the 18th of October, and the result was a majority of 346 against the hereditary Chamber—the numbers being 386 to 40. The nomination of peers, who were to hold their seats for life only, was committed to the Crown; but it was restricted in the choice to certain "categories," as they were called—that is, certain classes of persons eminent in civil or military affairs—from whom alone the selection could be made. These categories, however, were so numerous and capacious as to admit nearly every person who could by possibility be dignified by the peerage, and thus gave the sovereign, practically speaking, the choice of the whole nation to form a senate for the purpose of putting the last seal upon the laws.¹

102. The Lower House pass the bill by a great majority.

Oct. 18.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 319, 320.

There remained, however, the existing Chamber of Peers for the bill to pass before it could become law; and servile as the Senate on many occasions had shown itself to be, it was doubtful whether it would put the final seal to its degradation by voting its own abolition. A month elapsed before the question was brought before the Upper House, during which the point was anxiously deliberated in the Cabinet what means should be adopted to overcome the opposition of the peers. During this period of anxious suspense, it was ascertained that the majority against the proposed measure would be at least thirty. In these circumstances, the Cabinet, deeming a crisis as having arrived, which must terminate either in a creation of peers, a popular insurrection, or a *coup d'état*, preferred the former alternative. On the 20th November there appeared in the *Moniteur* a royal ordinance creating thirty-six persons—all, of course, of the liberal party—peers for life. This step was decisive of the fate of the measure. Toward the end of the next month it was introduced into the now swamped and degraded Chamber of Peers; but so strongly rooted was the opposition to the measure, that, even after the creation of 36 peers to carry it through, the majority was only 33, the numbers being 103 to 70. But for the creation, the measure would have been lost by a majority of 3. Next day thirteen of the peers, embracing the representatives of some of the oldest families in France, resigned their seats in the Upper Chamber.²

103.

Creation of peers to force it through the Upper House, where it passes. Nov. 20.

² *Moniteur*, Nov. 20, and Dec. 28, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 319, 333.

Thus was finally effected, after its restoration by Napoleon and Louis XVIII., the destruction of the hereditary peerage in France. The unanimous concentration of the efforts of the liberal party in France upon this object, to the entire neglect of others of far greater moment in the interest of freedom, is one of the most curious circumstances in the history of the Revolution, and most characteristic of the disposition of men, even the most enlightened, to look all day

104.

Reflections on this event.

to the east, expecting still to see the sun rise there. In 1789, when the first Revolution broke out, the aristocracy was with reason the object of dread, because it was more powerful than either the king or the people; and it was against it, accordingly, that the fervor of popular indignation was in the first instance chiefly directed. But in 1831, circumstances were entirely changed: the aristocracy had been, by the effects of the first convulsion, as much weakened as the executive had been strengthened, and the danger to the cause of freedom was no longer from the privileges of the nobility, but from the power of the sovereign. The confiscations of the Convention had deprived most of them of their estates; the revolutionary law of succession had parceled out their fortunes; and the pitiable state of dependence of the majority of their number was revealed by the fact that they each received a pension of £300 a year from the Crown. On the other hand, the centralizing system, and the immense increase of government patronage, had augmented the power of the chief magistrate, whether emperor or king, as much as it had thrown into the shade the influence of the nobles; and the dispenser of £50,000,000 annual revenue might soon be able to despise the impotent resistance of the Legislature which was to record his decrees. Yet, while the Liberals destroyed the hereditary aristocracy, the last barrier against despotism, they concurred in all measures likely to increase the power of the executive. "The triumph of the *bourgeoisie*,"

says the republican historian, "was complete, but its ruin was hidden in its victory."¹

Not less remarkable was the mode by which this great democratic triumph was effected, or the lesson which it taught to the friends of freedom in future times less important. From the first breaking out of the Revolution, in 1789, every era had been marked by successive blows to the power of the aristocracy, and every one had been followed by a vast increase of the power of the executive, but no addition to the liberties of the people. By the union of the Chambers, and the abolition of nobility, its power had been totally destroyed in the commencement of the struggle, and then ensued the tyranny of the Convention, the despotism of Napoleon. With the restoration of the Upper House, and the rights of hereditary succession by the charter of Louis XVIII., a mixed constitution was given to the country during fifteen years—the only period, according to the confession of all the liberal historians, when real liberty was enjoyed in France. But during this period successive *coups d'état* weakened the power of the Upper House, and numerous *creations of peers* at once destroyed its independence and lessened its respectability. The placing of Louis XVIII. on the throne was immediately followed by the creation of eighty-two peers, required to neutralize the influence

of Charles X. signalized his accession by a creation of seventy-six peers;¹ and then followed, within a few years afterward, the Polignac ministry, and Ordonnances of July. The seizure of the throne by Louis Philippe was immediately succeeded by the expulsion of all these new members from the House of Peers; and within eighteen months after, the popular voice had become so strong that thirty-six were created to destroy their own hereditary rights! It will appear in the sequel whether the cause of balanced freedom gained any thing by this step, and whether the remainder of the reign of Louis Philippe was any thing more than a continued struggle of the people against the executive, now rendered well-nigh irresistible by the destruction of the last barrier against its influence. It is a singular circumstance, indicative of the inability of the lessons of experience to teach wisdom to a heated generation, that, at the very moment that the creation of peers was the engine employed to destroy the last barrier of constitutional freedom in France, the same step was vehemently pressed upon the King of England to lay the foundation, as it was thought, of general liberty in this country.

Probably the wit of man, to the end of the world, will add little to the arguments, of which an abstract has now been given, drawn from general considerations, for and against the abolition of a hereditary peerage. But, without being so presumptuous as to attempt what is obviously hopeless, the English historian may be permitted to observe, that *experience* in his own country has added much to the strength of the arguments advanced against the abolition. What is very remarkable, it has done so, chiefly by adopting, and reducing to practice, the strongest reasons adduced for that measure. No one can doubt that the interest of society requires that as able a body of legislators as possible should be secured for an independent branch of the Legislature; but experience has now proved, contrary to what was generally supposed, that this is not to be done by vesting its nomination for life either in the sovereign or the people. The House of Peers of England has not only exhibited for a century past, but *exhibits now*, an amount of statesmanlike talent and capacity which we will look for in vain either in the nominees of the French Emperor, or in the popularly-elected Senate of America. If any one doubts this, let him read the debates on any of the great questions which have been agitated in the country, during the last half century, in the Peers and the Commons; the superiority of the former is self-evident. The proof of the reality of this superiority is decisive. By the Reform Bill, the middle class in the towns have gained the entire command of the country; they have enjoyed for twenty-five years the appointment of the Cabinet, and by successive small creations of peers they have obtained the majority in the Upper, as, by the influence of the borough members, they have of the Lower House. The prerogative of the Crown, the votes of both branches of the Legislature, have been at their disposal; but they have never yet been able to form a government

105.
Previous
degradation
of the heredi-
tary peerage.

² Ante, c.
iii. § 20.

³ Ante, c.
vi. § 96.

106.
Experience of
Great Britain
in regard to a
hereditary
peerage.

of their own. The more liberal the party has been which was called to the helm, the greater has always been the number of the noblemen in its Cabinet. The abolition of the corn laws, and the imposition of the tax on landed succession, and many other measures, prove that this has not been owing to the want of power in the popular party, so far as votes are concerned. It has been entirely owing to the want of power in debate and statesmanlike wisdom in its leaders in Parliament.

The reason of this is apparent to any one who considers the structure of English society, and the mental training requisite for success in representative assemblies. The sons of the hereditary aristocracy have proved themselves superior to those of the middle or working class in the arena of Parliament, for the same reason that their ancestors were superior in the tournament. It is their *business to joust*, and practice improves the natural powers not less in the tilts of the mind than in those of the body. No amount of natural talent or of practice, or success in other professions, can supply the want of this essential requisite. The common observation, that even the most eminent lawyers seldom attain any great success in Parliament, is a proof that even the profession, the habits of which are most akin to those required in representative assemblies, does not afford the requisite training for their direction. No one supposes that a Cabinet could be formed out of the Manchester school, or the mercantile representatives of great towns; they are valuable, from their local or peculiar information, in Parliament, but they are incapable of taking a lead in it. The reason is, they have not been trained to its contests in their early years. Success in the other walks of life is not an earnest of eminence in Parliament, but a bar to it, because it has arisen from a long-continued bent of the mind in another direction. It is as impossible for great success at the bar, in the army, or in commerce, to qualify a person, even of the greatest talents, to obtain the lead in Parliament, as it is for the lead in Parliament to qualify for a surgical operation, or the command of the Channel fleet, or the direction of the siege of Sebastopol.

While this cause of lasting influence renders the existence of a hereditary class of legislators the best security for capacity in the direction of affairs, by training a body of men to that direction as their end and aim in life, it operates not less powerfully in elevating the character and improving the

talents of that class, and qualifying them for the direction of affairs. Foreigners often express surprise at the long-continued ascendancy of the English aristocracy in the affairs of their country, so different from the fate which has overtaken that order in so many Continental states; but whoever is acquainted with the different *strata of society* in the British empire will have no difficulty in discerning the reason. They have kept the lead so long, because the constitution had made them legislators, and thus trained them to its duties. Had they been as politically nullified as the nobles of France and Spain were under the old régime, they would have been equally inefficient. If any one will compare the capacity and conversation of the landed proprietors, and still more of their wives and daughters, *below the line of Parliament and above it*, the difference will appear extreme. The moment we emerge from the class in which hunting, shooting, and fishing form the great objects of life, and rise into that in which political questions are the subject of thought and conversation, we feel as if in another world.

Add to this, that it is of the last importance that one branch at least of the Legislature should be for the most part composed of those whose position is fixed—*who have not their fortune to make*, whose interests are identified with those of production, and who have an inheritance to leave to their descendants which might be endangered by precipitate innovation. A fly-wheel is required in the political not less than the mechanical machine. Without it the very force of the generated power may in critical periods tear it in pieces. The great danger in an old, wealthy, and mixed community is, that the inhabitants of towns will, from their superior wealth, concentration, and intelligence, get the command of those of the country, and in consequence pursue a series of measures, for their own immediate advantage, fatal in the end to the best interests of society, and ruinous to the national independence. Without asserting that the existence of a separate Legislature, composed of a hereditary Legislature, is able entirely to obviate this danger, which seems inherent in the very structure of society, it may at least safely be affirmed that it tends greatly to lessen it, and that if perpetually recruited, as the English aristocracy is, by accessions of talent and energy from the middle classes of society, it may long serve as a barrier alike against the despotism of the executive and the madness of the people.

107.

Reason of the superiority in general of the aristocracy as statesmen.

108.

Increased vigor and capacity this gives to the higher branches of the aristocracy.

109.

Importance of the interests of the hereditary peers being identified with those of production.

CHAPTER XXVI.

POLISH REVOLUTION AND WAR, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN NOVEMBER, 1830, TO ITS TERMINATION IN SEPTEMBER, 1831.

SURVIVING all the changes of time, of religion, of empire, and of dynasty, one great contest has in every age of the world divided mankind. It is the war of Asia and Europe—the strife of the descendants of Shem with the sons of Japhet. All other contests sink into insignificance in comparison. The nations of Europe and Asia have had many and bloody wars among each other, but they have been as nothing compared to those terrible strifes which in different ages have in a manner precipitated one hemisphere upon the other. This enduring warfare has alternately pierced each hemisphere to the heart: it brought the arms of Alexander to Babylon, and those of England to Cabool; it conducted the Saracens to Tours, and Attila to Chalons. In one age it induced the disasters of Julian, in another the Moscow retreat; it led to the fall of Rome and Constantinople; it precipitated Europe upon Asia during the Crusades, and Asia upon Europe during the fervor of Mohammedan conquest. Cæsar was preparing an expedition against the Parthians when he was assassinated; Napoleon perished from attempting one against Russia. The Goths, who overturned the Roman empire, appeared first as suppliants on the Lower Danube, and they were themselves impelled by a human wave which rose on the frontiers of China. It is the East, not the North, which in every age has threatened Europe; it is in the table-land of Tartary that the greatest conquerors of mankind have been bred. The chief heroes whose exploits form the theme of history or song, have in different ages signalized themselves in the immortal contest against these ruthless barbarians. Achilles, Themistocles, Leonidas, Alexander, Pompey, Marius, Belisarius, Constantine Paleologus, Charles Martel, Godfrey of Bouillon, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, John Hunniades, Scanderbeg, John Sobieski, Don John of Austria, Prince Eugene, Charles XII., Lord Clive, Lord Lake, Napoleon, have in successive ages carried it on. It has been sung in one age by Homer, in another by Tasso; it has awakened at one period the powers of Herodotus, in another those of Gibbon. It began with the siege of Troy, but it will not end with that of Sebastopol.

It is owing to the different characters of the races of men who have peopled the two continents that this strife has been so long-continued and terrible. Though all profane history, not less than Holy Writ, teaches us that the human race originally sprung from one family in the centre of the eastern continent, yet the descendants of Adam who sojourned in Asia were essentially different from those who wandered to Europe. Nor was this surprising: we see differences as great in the same household every

day around us. It was the difference of character which rendered their seats different: the Asiatics remained at home, because they were submissive; the Europeans wandered abroad, because they were turbulent. Authority was as necessary to the one as it was distasteful to the other. So essentially was this the distinctive character of the two races, and the original cause of their separation, that it characterized the opposite sides in the very first ages of their existence. Priam governed the tributary states of Troy with the authority of a sultan; but the Grecian host *elected* the King of men to rule them. It was composed of many different independent bodies; and the first epic in the world narrates the wrath of one of its chieftains, and the woes his insubordination brought upon the children of Hellas.* The first great strife recorded in authentic history was between the forces of the great king and the coalesced troops of the European *republics*; and the same character has distinguished the opposite sides to this day. Athens and Lacedæmon were the prototypes of France and England; Thermopylæ of Inkermann, Cyrus of Nicholas. So early did Nature affix one character upon the different races of men, and so indelible is the impress of her hand.

From this original diversity in the character of the two great dominant races of men has arisen a difference not less remarkable in the sources of their strength and the means of their resistance. Unity renders Asia formidable; diversity has constituted the strength of Europe. Multitudes of slaves, impelled by one impulse, obeying one direction, follow the standards of the Eastern sultan; crowds of freemen, actuated by opposite passions, often torn by discordant interests, form the phalanxes of Western liberty. The strength of Asia consists mainly in the unity of power and administration which, in the hands of an able and energetic monarch, can be perseveringly directed to one object; that of Europe is found in the resources which the energy of freemen furnishes to the state, and the courage with which, when danger arrives, it is repelled. The weakness of the despotic dynasties of Asia is to be found in their entire dependence on the vigor and capacity of the ruling sovereign, and the destruction of the national resources by the oppression or venal-

* “Μηνιν αἶεδε, θεὰ, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρ’ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκε·
Πολλὰς δ’ ἰθὺίμονες ψυχὰς αἶδι προΐαψεν
Ἥρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν
Οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι—Δίος δ’ ἐτελέετο βουλὴ—
Ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἀτρεΐδης τε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.”
Iliad, i. 1-7.

ity of subordinate governors. The weakness of the free states of Europe arises mainly from the impossibility of giving habits of foresight to the ruling multitudes, and their invincible repugnance to present burdens in order to avert future disaster. If it were possible to give to the energy of Europe the foresight of Asia, or develop, under the despotism of the East, the energy of the West, the state enjoying even for a brief period the effects of such a combination would obtain the empire of the world. This accordingly is what happened to Rome in ancient and British India in modern times. But universal dominion, except under peculiar circumstances, and for a very brief period, is not part of the system of Nature; and to eschew it, the gifts of power are variously distributed to its various offspring.

Two great sins—one of omission, and one of

4. Disastrous effects of the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks, and of the partition of Poland.

commission—have been committed by the states of Europe in modern times, and it is from their combined effect that the extreme difficulty of the Eastern Question, and the perils with which it is now environed, have arisen. The sin of omission was allowing the By-

zantine Empire to be overrun by the Turks in the fifteenth century—the sin of commission, the partition of Poland in the nineteenth. It is under the effects of both that we are now laboring; for they broke down the barrier of Europe against Asia, and converted the outworks of freedom against despotism into the outworks of despotism against freedom. It is historically certain, but not generally known, that the balance between the Christians and Turks hung even a few years before the taking of Constantinople in 1454, and that a very slight support from the Western powers would have enabled the former to drive the latter back into Asia. In 1446, when John Hunniades, with his noble Hungarians on the Danube, and Scanderbeg in Epirus, with heroic constancy made head against the Osmanlis, Constantinople was still in the hands of the Greek emperors; all the fortresses on the Danube had been wrested from the Turks; Macedonia and the western provinces were in arms for the Cross; and twenty thousand auxiliary troops from France or England would have enabled Hunniades, in the decisive battle of Varna, to have forever expelled the ruthless invaders from the soil of Europe. But the Western powers, divided by separate interests, or incapable of just foresight, did nothing: the Pope in vain endeavored to form an efficient league of Christendom against the Mohammedans; the strength of Europe held back, that of Asia was brought to the very front by the genius of Mohammed II.; Constantinople was taken, the Greek empire overthrown, and a chasm made in the defenses of Europe against Asia, which all the efforts of later times have been scarcely able to repair.¹

The sin of commission has been still greater, 5. Sin of Europe in the partition of Poland. for it was done from baser and more guilty motives, and it was obviously attended by a more formidable and lasting danger. The partition of Poland was not the work merely

of Muscovite strength or ambition, great as they were—the frontier powers of Europe concurred in it; and Austria, in particular, which had been indebted to Polish valor for deliverance from the sabres of the Osmanlis, requited her gallant deliverers by joining in their destruction, and receiving a share of their possessions as a reward of her ingratitude. To say that this partition was a flagrant violation of the law of nations, a shameless instance of national ingratitude, and unparalleled even in the annals of Christian atrocity, is to express only what has since been the unanimous opinion of mankind. It is of more importance to observe what lasting political effects this great measure of spoliation has had on the subsequent balance of power in Europe, and how completely the justice of the Divine administration has been vindicated by the results, especially to the partitioning powers, with which it has been attended.

The partition of Poland first broke down the northern barrier of Europe against 6. Asia, and brought the might of the Orientals to the very heart of European civilization. What the conquest of the Byzantine Empire had done in the south, that fatal spoliation effected in the north of Europe.

Being the most powerful of the partitioning powers, the Semiramis of the north obtained the lion's share to herself. By the successive partitions of 1772 and 1794, the whole of Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, which fell to Russia, contained no less than nine millions of inhabitants. By the treaty of 1815, Russia obtained in addition the grand-duchy of Warsaw, containing four millions, which had been raised up by the Treaty of Tilsit, and her frontiers were brought to within one hundred and eighty miles of both Berlin and Vienna. It may safely be asserted that by these acquisitions the strength of Russia as against the states of continental Europe was more than doubled; for not only was the barrier which had hitherto restrained her advances swept away, but the strength, great in a military point of view, of the Sarmatian nation, was added to her arms. Thenceforward she became irresistible in eastern Europe; nothing but a coalition of the Western powers, the last hope of freedom, could arrest her advance. The great war of 1854 was the legacy bequeathed to Europe by the partition of 1794.

Yet, because the guilt of the partitioning powers was great, it is not to be supposed that the fault of the Poles 7. Faults of the Poles which led to their subjugation. themselves had been small, or that they are justified in raising the cry of injured innocence among the other nations of Europe. On the contrary, they fell mainly in consequence of their own misconduct; and every other nation which imitates them will, to the end of the world, undergo the same punishment. The Sarmatia of the ancients, Poland, on the first settlement of the northern nations after the fall of the Roman empire, was the most extensive kingdom in Europe. Extending from the Baltic to the Sea, from Smolensko to Prague, it was the most powerful state on the Continent, so far

as material resources went. Prussia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia, as well as Poland Proper and Lithuania, were comprised in its mighty domains. Its forests, abounding with fir and oak, formed inexhaustible supplies for the construction of houses and ship-building; its soil, every where perfectly flat, and enriched in most places, like the American, by the perennial vegetable decay of the forests, was admirably adapted for grain crops, and has ever rendered its harbors the granary of Europe for wheat; its great rivers supplied, ready-made by the hand of Nature, as in the Valley of the Mississippi, the immense advantages of a net-work of water communications penetrating every part of the country; its inhabitants, intrepid and brave almost beyond any other in Europe, had always been distinguished by a passionate love of freedom and attachment to their country; and they have been characterized, with truth, by Napoleon, as the men in Europe who most readily and quickly form soldiers. There must, therefore, have been some great national fault, some overpowering defects in constitution or character, which neutralized all these advantages, and rendered the nation to which Nature had given the greatest means of power, and placed on the frontier of civilization to shield it from the barbarians, the weakest and most unfortunate.

It is not difficult to see what it was which brought this about. The "ignorant impatience of taxation" did the whole. Poland being a country in which, probably from homogeneity of original race, and the absence of any of the distinctions of rank consequent on foreign conquest, equality was really and practically, not nominally, established, the preservation of their equal rights became the ruling passion of the people, to which every other consideration, how pressing soever, was sacrificed. Among these rights the most important and the most valued was that of being free from taxation. In all countries where the people have really got the power of government into their own hands, and where they are not ruled, as in ancient Rome, by a hereditary senate, or in modern France, by a despotic Committee of Public Safety, this is a favorite object; and accordingly, in America, no statesman has ever ventured to hint even at any direct taxes. So strong was this feeling in Poland that it amounted to a perfect passion. No danger, however great—no calamities, however threatening—no perils, however overwhelming, could induce them to submit to the smallest present burden to ward off future disaster. In Sidney Smith's words, "they preferred any load of infamy, however great, to any burden of taxation, however light." They constantly trusted to their own valor and warlike spirit to avert any dangers with which their country might be threatened; but although their heroic qualities often extricated the republic from perils which seemed insurmountable, it could not supply the want of a regular army, or the preparation in peace of the means of effective defense in war. When all the adjoining states were putting on foot powerful standing armies and constructing strong fortresses, they had

only a few regiments of mercenaries as a durable force, no fortified towns or arsenals, and they trusted the national defense entirely to the *pospolite*, or armed convocation of the nobles. The consequence was, that, in the last struggle under Kosciuszko, they could not oppose 25,000 men to the united armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In a word, the Poles did, during three hundred years, what Mr. Cobden and the Peace Conference so strenuously urged the English government to do; and had their advice been equally implicitly followed, England, like Poland, would beyond all question, in the course of time, have been swept from among nations.

A strange and mysterious connection has existed for a long period between the cause of Poland and that of European democracy. It is more than a mere ardent sympathy of the one for the other; it is a linking together of fate, apparently by the decree of Supreme Power. As Poland was the frontier state of European civilization, so it seems to have been destined to stand as the advanced guard to warn the other nations by its fate of the danger which awaited them if they listened to the voice of the tempter within their own bosoms. Its long-continued misfortunes, despite the valor of its sons, and ultimate subjugation, was beyond all doubt owing to the violence of the passion of equality in its inhabitants, which led them to retain an elective government when they should have exchanged it for a hereditary, and neglect all provision for defense when their neighbors were daily augmenting their means of attack. When the volcano broke out in France, and Polish nationality was extinguished, the same connection continued. It was the anxiety of the partitioning powers to provide for the division of Poland in 1792, 1793, and 1794, which led them to starve the war with France, and permit its insane demagogues to precipitate the French nation into the frightful career of the Revolution, when they might, by uniting their forces, with ease have captured Paris, and restored a constitutional monarchy in a single campaign. With the crushing of the revolutionary spirit in France in 1814, and the capture of Paris, Poland again emerged from its ashes; it obtained from the efforts of Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna the shadow at least of nationality, and the progress it made during the next fifteen years, and the strength it displayed during the contest with Russia in 1831, proved that the division and weakness of democracy had hitherto been the cause of its ruin. With the triumph of the barricades, the dark cloud again came over the fortunes of Poland; her nationality was destroyed, and a long period of humiliation, of suffering, again presented the lesson to Europe of the national punishment of democratic institutions.

Though far from enjoying the blessings of real freedom, the small portion of Poland which was erected in 1815 into a separate state, with the Emperor of Russia on its throne, enjoyed a degree of prosperity, and made an amount of progress, far beyond any that it had ever experienced under

8.
It was the
impatience
of taxation
which ruined
Poland.

9.
Mysterious
connection
between Poland
and the
cause of democracy.

10.
Prosperity of
Poland under
the Russian
rule from 1815
to 1830.

the weak government of its elected kings, or the blind rule of its stormy Diets. The statistical facts already given place this beyond a doubt.¹ The army was thirty thousand strong, and in the very highest state of discipline and equipment; while the growing information and intelligence of the people, owing to the great extension of the means of education among them, and the vast increase of their material comforts, had augmented in a surprising degree the resources of the country. Many grievances, indeed, were still complained of, and some existed. It is scarcely to be expected they should at once disappear under the sceptre of the Czar. Though fond of Poland, to a native of whom he was married, and proud beyond measure of its troops, Constantine, its viceroy, was by nature capricious and passionate. Several acts of tyranny occurred during his government, and it was too evident that the attempt to ingraft the constitutional freedom of Europe upon the traditional despotism of Asia was of all human undertakings the most difficult. The sittings of the Chambers, which never lasted more than a few weeks, had been discontinued June, 1830, for five years before 1830, when they were held for a month by the Emperor Nicholas. The debates were not made public, and the most rigorous censorship of the press shut out the communication of independent thought throughout the community. But with all these restraints and evils, which were far from imaginary, the condition of Poland had marvelously improved, from the mere effect of a steady rule, since it fell under the government of Russia. The proof of this is decisive. Strong as Russia was, and immensely as her resources had augmented since the last partition in 1794, the strength of Poland had grown in a still greater proportion. Skrzyniecki made a very different stand from Kosciuszko, and a quarter of its old territory and population maintained, for the first time, in 1831, an equal contest with the forces of the Czar.²

But this very circumstance of the increased strength and improved condition of the people only rendered more intense the desire for independence, and more galling the sense of subjugation. The sight of the Polish arms over the public edifices, of the Polish uniform on the soldiers, of the Polish standards over their ranks, perpetually recalled the days of their independence; while the sense of the growing prosperity and resources of the country inspired the hope of at length succeeding in re-establishing it. The reviews of Constantine's guards and the garrison of Warsaw, often twenty thousand strong; the magnificent squadrons of the cavalry, the steady ranks of the infantry, the splendid trains of the artillery, all in the Polish uniform, composed of national troops, and in the finest possible state of discipline and equipment, inspired them with an overweening idea of their own strength. No force on earth seemed capable, to their fond and ardent imaginations, of resisting the gallant arrays of armed men, equal to the élite of the French or Russian Guards, which were constantly passing before their eyes. The military

spirit became universal, from the frequent exhibitions of its most attractive spectacles; patriotic ardor wide-spread, from the progressive revival of its hopes. The officers of the Polish regiments, composed entirely of the nobles, in whom the passion for independence burned most strongly, mutually encouraged each other in these sentiments; the young men at the military schools and the university of Warsaw, all drawn from the same class, embraced them with still more inconsiderate and generous ardor. Out of the rising prosperity of Poland, and the gradual removal of its grievances, sprung very naturally a consciousness of national strength, and a desire for the restoration of national independence. It is a mistake to suppose that the most serious insurrections arise from the extremity of suffering; it breaks rather than excites the spirit. It is true, as Lord Bacon says, that the worst rebellions come from the stomach; but it is not when it is most sorely pinched that they arise. It is when the pinching is coming on, or going off, that they are most to be dreaded.

Ever since the year 1825, when the great rebellion broke out in the Russian army, which was repressed, as already recounted, by the vigor and intrepidity of Nicholas,¹ and even before that time, an immense secret society had existed in Poland, having for its principal object to restore the national independence. It was not so much directed, like the Carbonari of Italy, the Red Republicans of France, or the Ribbonmen of Ireland, to objects of social change or disorder, as to the grand object of replacing Poland in its ancient place in the European family. Accordingly, it embraced a greater number of classes, was actuated by more generous sentiments, and was less likely to be stained by crime. It was a fixed principle in these societies, that nothing should ever be committed to writing, but every thing trusted to the fidelity and honor of the affiliated. And so worthy did they prove of the trust, that the existence of the gigantic organization, which had its ramifications not only in the kingdom of Poland, but in Galicia and the grand-duchy of Posen, the portions which had fallen to Austria and Prussia on the final partition, was not even suspected when its designs were approaching maturity. There is no example recorded in history of so great a conspiracy, embracing so many thousand individuals, having been so long and faithfully kept secret — a decisive proof of the ardent spirit and sentiments of honor by which its members were actuated.²

The French Revolution of 1830, as might naturally be supposed, excited the warmest sympathy, and produced the most unbounded enthusiasm in Poland; and the subsequent democratic movements in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, still farther fanned the flame. The effervescence soon became such that it was obvious it could not be restrained; and the chiefs of the conspiracy, accordingly, held several meetings at Warsaw, in the end of September, at which the plan of operations was discussed and agreed on. Two different projects were laid before the meeting, and their

11. This prosperity increased the passion for independence.

1. Ante, c. viii. § 9, 10.

2. Cap. iv. 40, 46.

12.

Secret societies in Poland.

1. Ante, chap. viii. § 129.

2. Roman Soltyk, Pologne et la Révolution en 1830, i. 24, 27.

13.

Different plans of the conspirators.

Sept. 29.

respective chances of success fully discussed. The first was, to embrace not merely the kingdom of Poland, now under the domination of Russia, which was comparatively of very small extent, but the whole ancient provinces of the empire, in the insurrection. According to this plan, not only Poland Proper, but Lithuania, Podolia, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Galicia, and the grand-duchy of Posen, in all of which the conspiracy had ramifications, would have been embraced in its flame. The conspirators calculated that, taking into view the regular troops in these provinces, all of whom, it was expected, would join them, and the landwehr, which might immediately be rendered available, they might reckon within a few weeks on bringing a hundred and eighty thousand men into the field, with two hundred and seventy-six guns; and in six months this force might be doubled. On the other hand, the objection to this plan obviously was, that it would induce the certain hostility of Austria and Prussia, as well as Russia, upon them, and these united powers might, within a few months, bring three hundred thousand men against them. The second project was, to confine the insurrection to Poland Proper, make Warsaw its head-quarters, and provoke an insurrection only in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, with which Russia only was concerned. After mature deliberation, it was determined to adopt the latter project, as likely to embroil them, in the first instance at least,

¹ Roman Soltyk, i. 25, 33; and as withdrawing more from the ranks of their enemies than it added to those of their friends.¹

The insurrection was originally fixed for the 20th October, on which day the Polish regiment of the Guard would be on service, and occupy all the posts, which were held two days alternately by the Poles and Russians. Thirty determined young men, armed with pistols, and wrapped in cloaks, were, at the inspection of the troops, to mingle with the crowd which always surrounded the Viceroy on such occasions, and dispatch him; while fifty more, with drawn sabres, were to destroy the Russian generals who surrounded him. The immediate and unanimous support of the Polish Guard, and the whole Polish troops, 10,000 strong, in Warsaw, was confidently relied on; and, with their aid, it was hoped they would, without difficulty, succeed in surrounding and disarming the Russian troops, only seven thousand in number, most of whom were of Polish origin, in the capital. A provisional government was to have been immediately proclaimed by acclamation, the members of which were all fixed on, leaving its formal appointment to flow from the Diet, which was to be immediately convoked. The whole details of this plan were arranged, and it had every prospect of success; but it was prevented by the police having obtained some dark hints of what was in agitation, and arresting some of the leaders. It was fortunate for Poland that it was so; for little could have been expected from an insurrection, even in the most justifiable of all circumstances, which was

² Rom. Solt. i. 43, 44. to have commenced with the murder of the Viceroy and the principal persons in the state.²

Meanwhile Constantine, with that mixture of ferocity and *insouciance* which formed the leading feature of his character, and is the distinctive mark of savage descent, did nothing. Though he had taken an active part in several general battles, especially Austerlitz, his personal courage was seriously doubted; of moral courage he was entirely destitute.¹ Like most of other men who are not gifted with that commanding quality, he persisted in declaring there was no danger, because he could not bear to look it in the face; he made no preparations against it, because he shrunk from its contemplation. Though the police were very imperfectly informed as to the details of the conspiracy, and entirely ignorant of its extent and formidable character, they knew enough to be aware that serious danger threatened; and they repeatedly warned the Viceroy to be on his guard, and be prepared for an outbreak. But he uniformly declared that there was no danger, and that he was too popular with the troops to render any insurrection possible. Encouraged by this supineness, the conspirators proceeded rapidly with their preparations, and several new clubs were formed, which came to embrace nearly the whole officers in the army, and the whole youth at the university and public schools. In this conduct of Constantine there is nothing extraordinary, considering his character. To look danger calmly in the face, and make preparations to meet it when still afar off, is the mark, not of a timid, but of a resolute mind. The greater part of the want of previous arrangements, which so often doubles the weight of misfortune to nations as to individuals, is the result of cowardice. Men are *afraid of being afraid*, and therefore they do nothing till the evil day has arrived, just as they delay making their wills till it is too late.²

After having been several times adjourned, the insurrection was finally fixed for the 10th of December, when several events, without and within, made its leaders sensible that it had become necessary to strike sooner.

Numerous arrests were made by the police, which led the conspirators to apprehend they were discovered, or on the point of being so. The national troops in Galicia were all withdrawn into Hungary, and replaced by Austrian or Hungarian regiments; while, in the grand-duchy of Posen, the whole landwehr, thirty thousand strong, was either disbanded or removed into the fortresses of Silesia, and their place was supplied by battalions of German troops. These steps at once showed that the objects of the conspiracy were known, and that the powers interested in the partition were taking precautions against it. It was resolved, accordingly, to delay no longer, and the insurrection was fixed for the 29th November, when the Polish Guards were to be on service at the palace and in the city. On that day, at seven o'clock in the evening, a messenger from the conspirators came to the gate of the barrack military school, where he was anxiously expected, and announced that the "hour of liber-

15.
Supineness of
Constantine,
and progress
of the conspir-
acy.

1 Hist. of
Europe, c.
xi. § 131.

2 Rom. Solt.
i. 44, 50, 52;
An. Hist. xiii.
655.

16.
Insurrection
of 29th No-
vember at
Warsaw.

ty had struck." Instantly the guard turned out, and were joined by the whole scholars, armed to the teeth, who proceeded at a rapid pace, without saying a word, by the bridge Sobieski, from whence they came to the Belvidère Palace, inhabited by the Grand Duke, without experiencing any resistance. The guards at the palace, in part in the secret of the conspiracy, in part intimidated by the sight of so many young men whom they knew to be of the first families in Warsaw, made scarcely any resistance; those who attempted it were instantly cut down. The victorious conspirators in a few minutes inundated every part of the palace; and while part of them dispatched Ludowieski, the chief of the police, and General Legendre, the first aid-de-camp on service, the main body, containing the most determined, made straight for the private apartments of the Grand Duke. So rapid was their approach that Constantine had the utmost difficulty in making his escape

by a back way; and the Princess Lowicz, his wife, for whom he had renounced the throne of Russia, had only time to carry with her a casket of diamonds and three shifts.¹

Masters of the palace, the insurgents, whose numbers rapidly increased, spread themselves over the streets, calling out, "To arms! to arms!" The agitation in the barracks was soon extreme. The officers did not venture to lead out the men for fear of their joining the insurgents, and

in many cases they were in the secret, and favored their cause. Soon the 4th regiment of the line, an especial favorite of the Grand Duke's, and one of the finest in the service, issued from its barracks, and joined the insurrection. The greater part of the regiment of grenadiers, the horse artillery, and the sappers of the Guard, followed their example. Such was the enthusiasm which prevailed, that the inmates of the hospitals, who were able to walk, left their beds, and joined their comrades. Meanwhile a body of the students made themselves masters of the arsenal, where there were forty thousand muskets, which were immediately distributed among the people. A part of the Polish troops, especially the chasseurs of the Polish Guard, and all the Russians, remained faithful to Constantine, and several combats took place in the dark between them and the insurgents, in which General Potocki, commander of the Polish infantry, Generals Sernontkowski and Blume, and several other officers of distinction, both in the Polish and Russian armies, were slain. But when morning dawned, it was evident that they were overmatched. The whole city was in a state of insurrection, and more than half the troops in it had joined the insurgents. In these circumstances, Constantine, who was far from having displayed the courage and energy with which his brother Nicholas had fronted the rebellion of the Guards in St. Petersburg in 1825, despaired of the cause, and retired with the troops which still adhered to

him, consisting of nine thousand men, including the whole Russians, the Polish Guards, and foot artillery, to Wirzba, a village a mile and a half from Warsaw,² leaving

the capital in the entire possession of the insurgents.

The insurgents had gained an immense advantage by obtaining command of the capital, and of the banks, arsenal, and seat of government; but they were without rulers, and the worst dangers might be apprehended if the people, now wrought up to the highest pitch, were not speedily subjected to some sort of government. Already conflagrations had broken out in several quarters, which were with difficulty arrested, and pillage had begun, and many murders been committed. There existed at Warsaw, at this time, a council of government, which, in the absence of the Viceroy, was intrusted with the executive power, and to it the leaders of the insurrection turned to establish order in the mean time, and form the skeleton of a future government. This council, which consisted of seven members, including Prince Lubiecki, who afterward became distinguished, met during the frightful tumult of the night of the 29th, and resolved to continue its functions, in the hope of obtaining the direction of the movement; but in order to appease the people, and induce them to submit to their authority, they associated several of the most respected and popular of the nobles with them in the government. These were Prince Adam Czartoryski, Prince Michael Radziwil, the Senator Kochanowski, General Lewis Pac, M. Julian Niemcewicz, a celebrated writer, and companion of Kosciuszko, and GENERAL CHLOPICKI. The known patriotic spirit and high character of these distinguished men gave a consideration to the government which it could never otherwise have obtained, and enabled it to acquire a degree of authority even over the stormy elements of a revolution.³

It could hardly be said, though Constantine had been driven from the capital, that the country was in a state of insurrection. The enlarged government still administered in the name of the Czar. A proclamation, issued by it on the day of its installation, earnestly counseled order, and abstinence from blood;* and its first care was to dispatch a deputation to Constantine with proposals for an accommodation. The declared objects of the insurgents, as stated by the deputation, which had Prince Czartoryski at its

18.
Appointment of a provisional government.

¹ Rom. Solt. i. 65, 68; Ann. Hist. xiii. 657; Cap. iv. 53, 57.

19.
First act of the new government, and negotiation with Constantine. November 30.

* "Polonais! Les événemens aussi attristans qu'inopinés, qui ont eu lieu hier au soir, et pendant la dernière nuit, ont déterminé le Gouvernement supérieur à se compléter par des personnes de mérite, et à vous adresser la proclamation suivante. Son Altesse Impériale le Grand Duc et Czarowitz vient de spectacle aux soldats Russes toute opération ultérieure; car il ne faut charger que les Polonais de la réconciliation entre les esprits divisés de leur compatriotes. Le Polonais ne doit pas teindre sa main du sang de son frère; et ce ne peut être votre intention de donner au monde le spectacle d'une guerre civile. C'est la modération seule qui peut détourner de vos têtes les malheurs qui sont prêts à fondre sur vous. Revenez donc à l'ordre et à la tranquillité; que la nuit qui vient de se passer couvre de son voile toute l'effervescence qu'elle a vue naître. Réfléchissez à l'avenir et à votre patrie menacée de tous les côtés: Eloignez tout ce qui peut mettre son existence en question. Quant à nous, notre devoir nous prescrit de maintenir la tranquillité publique, les lois, et les libertés assurées au pays par la constitution."—Warsaw, 30th Nov., 1830; CAPEFIGUE, vol. iv., p. 54, 55.

head, was to obtain the faithful establishment of the constitution as it had been established in 1815, and, in particular, the fulfillment of the promises of Alexander, that Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia should be incorporated with the kingdom of Poland, and detached from the empire of Russia. The deputation was instructed also to sound Constantine on his designs, and, in particular, to inquire whether the army of Lithuania, stationed on the Polish frontier, had received orders to advance toward Warsaw. He assured them, on his honor, that none such had been given, and evinced the utmost courtesy and respect toward the deputation. He even went so far as to assure them

¹ Rom. Solt. i. 73, 74; Ann. Hist. xiii. 658, 659.

of his favor to the "culpable." "There are none such," proudly replied Ostrowski, one of the deputation.¹

It rested with the Emperor Nicholas, not Constantine, to say what terms were to be granted to the insurgents; but the latter, seeing the temper of the Polish troops which remained with him daily declaring itself more strongly in favor of the Revolution, had the generosity to issue a proclamation, granting permission to such of them as still adhered to his standard, to withdraw and join their comrades in Warsaw.* They set out one and all immediately for the capital, which they entered the same day amidst transports of joy such as had never before been witnessed within its walls. The nation seemed invincible, now that the whole of its gallant defenders were engaged in its cause. Meanwhile Constantine, with the Russian troops, now not more than six thousand strong, retired by slow marches toward the frontier of Volhynia, without being molested in his retreat. He seemed more anxious about his adored princess, who fell dangerously ill on the road, from fatigue, hardship, and anxiety, than the loss of a vice-regal throne, second to none in the world for importance and splendor.²

Meanwhile the provisional government, though still keeping up a negotiation with the Emperor Nicholas and his brother Constantine, were making considerable preparations for an appeal to arms. The enthusiasm of the people, which had been strongly excited by the arrival of the Polish corps from the Russian camp, commanded by Generals Szembek and SKRZYNECKI, on the 2d December, was roused to the highest pitch on the following day by the entrance of additional Polish troops from the camp of Mokotow. The soldiers broke from their ranks and embraced the citizens as they passed through the streets; the windows were all filled with elegantly-dressed ladies waving their handkerchiefs in the highest state of rapture; and every steeple

* "Je permets aux troupes Polonaises qui sont restées fidèles jusqu'au dernier moment auprès de moi, de rejoindre les leurs. Je me mets en marche avec les troupes Impériales pour m'éloigner de la capitale, et j'espère de la loyauté Polonoise, qu'elles ne seront pas inquiétées dans leurs mouvemens pour rejoindre l'empire. Je recommande de même tous les établissemens, les propriétés, et les individus à la protection de la nation Polonoise, et les mets sous la sauve-garde de la foi la plus sacrée.—CONSTANTINE. Warsaw, Dec. 3, 1830."

rung forth a merry chime to usher in the approaching deliverance of their country. Yet, even in this moment of universal joy, symptoms of danger appeared, and it was too evident how nearly allied are overthrow of government and license to crime. General Krasinski, who had alone voted for the death of the prisoners implicated in the conspiracy of 1826¹ in Poland, marched in at the head of his regiment of Polish grenadiers of the Guard. He was immediately recognized; hisses and murmurs were heard; the mob fell upon him, and would have murdered him on the spot but for the efforts of Chlopicki and Szembek. The same fate awaited General Kur-natwiski, who had ordered the troops to fire on the people during the insurrection of the 29th. He was dragged from his horse, and the sabre was already at his throat, when he was saved by the earnest entreaties of Chlopicki.²

Taking advantage of this universal enthusiasm, the administrative council began to take steps for the formation of a powerful national army. The Diet was convoked for the 18th December. A hundred thousand national guards were ordered to be put on permanent duty, and efforts made to raise corps of volunteers in various quarters. But this measure was far from corresponding to the ardent passions of the people, which were daily increasing, and soon reached such a point that the administrative council saw they were no longer able to stem or direct the torrent. They resigned accordingly, and a provisional government, composed of Prince Czartoryski, Kochanowski, Pac, Dembrowski, Niemcewicz, Lelewel, and Ladislaus Ostrowski, of their own authority, but with general consent, took possession of the government. It soon appeared, however, that a single authority was required—disorders were increasing on all sides; and Chlopicki, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army and national guards, cut the matter short by declaring that he would accept the command on no other terms but that of being declared dictator. On the 5th December, he suddenly entered the hall where the Government was sitting, and after breaking out into a violent invective against the disorders of the people, the fury of the clubs, and the insubordination of the army, he said, "It is time to put a period to these vacillations. The country, in such grave circumstances, stands in need of a man devoted to its cause, and who will watch over its interests. I take upon myself the dictatorship—a burden which I will relinquish with joy when the Diet meets." Such was the universal sense of the necessity of the measure, that although these words were wholly unexpected, and excited at first unbounded astonishment, they provoked no resistance, and Chlopicki assumed without opposition the function of dictator.³

It is one thing to assume the government of a country when it opens the prospect of a pacific or glorious reign; it is another, and a very different thing, when it seems the avenue only to danger, difficulty, and death. The seizure of power by Chlopicki proceeded from

¹ Ante, c. viii. § 136.

² Rom. Solt. i. 83, 85.

²² Chlopicki seizes the dictatorship. December 5.

³ Rom. Solt. i. 105, 106; Ann. Hist. xiii. 660, 661.

²³ Chlopicki: his biography and character.

very different motives, and was a very different thing, from that of Napoleon. The character of the two men was not less opposite; unfortunately for Poland, their intellectual capacities were not less dissimilar. Chlopicki was a noble character—a brave soldier, a devoted patriot, a great general; but he wanted the audacity and recklessness necessary for success in revolutions. Born of a noble but not illustrious family, he had entered the army in 1790, and made the disastrous campaign of 1794 under Kosciusko. After the fall of Poland in the close of that year, he entered the Polish Legion, which was organized in Italy under the orders of Dembrowski, and bore a part in all the glorious actions under Napoleon by which its career was distinguished. At the head of the 1st regiment of the Vistula, he signalized himself in the campaigns of 1806 and 1807 in Prussia and Poland, and not less so in the checkered fields of Spain. In 1812 he was appointed general of brigade by Napoleon, and in that capacity was distinguished at the battles of Smolensko and Valoutino, in the last of which he was wounded. In 1814, when Poland fell again under the dominion of Russia, he had risen to the rank of general of division; but he quitted the service soon after the accession of Constantine to the viceroyalty, in consequence of an altercation with that irascible prince.¹

Accustomed to military rules and subordination, Chlopicki had a perfect horror for conspiracies and the domination of clubs. Accordingly, he kept himself entirely clear of the great conspiracies of 1825 and 1826, connected with the insurrection in Russia in those years, and lived in retirement down to 1830. He was inspired with a thorough contempt for levies *en masse*, and all those devices by which the ardent but inexperienced in all ages endeavor to supply the want of regular soldiers. He dreaded the clubs of Warsaw even more than the Muscovite bayonets. It was his great object to achieve the liberation of his country and the establishment of its rights by other means than democratic fervor, which he considered as alike short-lived and perilous. Thus he was the man of all others least calculated to retain the suffrages of the clubs of Warsaw, which early acquired so great a weight in the revolution; and one of his first steps, after he became dictator, was to close them by a general military order. But he possessed an immense military reputation, and was known to have military talents of the very highest order, which rendered his sway over the soldiers unbounded; and as his patriotism was undoubted, and his character elevated and disinterested, his rule was for some time unresisted even by the burning democrats of the capital. He despised and detested them as much as Napoleon did the "*avocats et idéologues*" of Paris; and it was his great object, without their aid, and while retaining the direction of their movements, to work out the independence of Poland by negotiation with the Czar, and without coming to open rupture with his authority. But to achieve this object he

² Rom. Solt. i. 104, 107. was well aware that military preparations were indispensable, and his measures to attain this end,² though

not of the sweeping kind which the clubs demanded, were energetic and successful.

His first care was to organize a considerable increase to the regular army, which he effected by several decrees re-^{25.} Chlopicki's military preparations. calling all the old soldiers to their standards, and calling out the first bans of the levy *en masse*, embracing all persons between twenty and thirty years of age, which was estimated as producing eighty thousand men. Those from thirty to fifty, who were also to be enrolled, but not moved from their homes, would, it was calculated, produce two hundred thousand more. The national guard of Warsaw alone was twenty thousand strong—an immense force in a city at that period containing not more than a hundred and forty thousand souls. The regular army was by this means raised to forty-five thousand men; and officers, though by no means in adequate numbers, were obtained for the national guard from the retired officers—nearly three thousand in number—who existed in Poland. At the same time, cannons were made with the metal of bells melted down, muskets were manufactured with the utmost rapidity, and considerable purchases of arms made in foreign states. Several battalions in the country were, in default of better weapons, armed with the scythes which they used in husbandry. Patriotic gifts flowed in on all sides; the ladies, even of the highest rank, were employed night and day in preparing bandages and sheets for the wounded; and considerable stores of ammunition and provisions were laid in by the Government. Every thing, however, was done by the authority of and through the Government; and not only were several tenders of volunteer corps refused, but several free bands of some thousand horse, which had formed themselves in the forests, were disbanded. To this repression of the republican spirit at the outset of the insurrection, the patriotic writers of Poland ascribe much of the misfortunes which afterward befell them; but, in the mean time, Chlopicki deemed himself more than compensated for its loss by the surrender of the fortresses of Modlin and Zamosc, which opened their gates at the first summons of the patriotic forces.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 661; Rom. Solt. i. 116, 140.

While these events were in progress in Poland, Constantine, irresolute and dejected, was moving by slow marches toward Russia. A mutual intercourse of civilities took place between him and Chlopicki. The Polish dictator sent to the Grand Duke eight hundred Russian soldiers who had been surrounded and disarmed near Warsaw, without exchange; and the Grand Duke, in return, treated kindly and hospitably entertained such of the Polish troops as he met on the road to Russia, hastening to their respective corps. The strange character of the Prince strongly appeared on these occasions. "There," said he, "is another of my brave Polish soldiers: ah! the Polish army is the first in the world;" then, approaching the man, he would say, "*But your belts are not straight*: see that you put them on better the next time."*

* "J'ai tout oublié," said the Grand Duke, "car je suis au fond meilleur Polonais que vous tous. Je suis marié à une Polonoise, je suis établi parmi vous. Je vous ai

Then he would break out into the most violent invectives against the Polish troops for their ingratitude and shameful return for all his kindness, and conclude by again praising them, and dismissing them to a copious repast. The generals who surrounded him, if less generous, were more consistent in their language. Looking at the white ribbons and cockades, the national color of Poland, which were on the breasts of the soldiers, they said, "You do well to mount white cockades, for they will show off the scarlet. They will soon be stained with your blood."¹

¹ Rom. Solt. i. 94, 95.

Clinging to the last to the hope of a reconciliation with the Czar, Chlopicki, soon after his seizure of the dictatorship, sent a deputation to St. Petersburg, consisting of Prince Lubecki, the Minister of Finance, and Count Jezierski, to explain the causes of the insurrection, the grounds of the Polish complaints, with the concessions which would convert them from determined rebels into faithful subjects. These were the same as those which were shortly after published to the world on each side, and shall be immediately given. They embraced chiefly three points: the union of the provinces of Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia with the kingdom of Poland, in conformity with the promises of Alexander; the strict observance of the Charter; and the removal of the Muscovite garrisons from the entire kingdom of Poland. But the envoys met with the coldest possible reception from the Emperor Nicholas. They who hoped to bend that soul of iron little knew him. With a stern air and a determined voice he reproached them with their treason and ungrateful oblivion of all his benefits, and threatened them with the last extremities of military vengeance if the insurrection were any longer persisted in. He warned them that "the first cannon-shot fired would be the signal of the ruin of Poland." At the same time, declaring that he knew how to distinguish the guilty from the innocent, he offered an unconditional amnesty to all except the leaders of the revolt, and those actually engaged in the murders at Warsaw. These terms were of course rejected, and the envoys having returned to Warsaw, and the substance of the conference been published in the papers there, the public effervescence was greatly increased, and all classes, seeing an accommodation hopeless, less, prepared with unanimous resolution for the decisive conflict.²

The neighboring powers were far from being indifferent spectators of the revolution at War-

saw. No sooner did it break out than the Russian ambassadors at Vienna and Berlin inquired of these courts what would be the conduct of their cabinets if it terminated in a war. The answer was in the highest degree satisfactory. Austria and Prussia both declared that they would collect an army of observation on the frontiers—the one of Galicia, the other of the grand-duchy of Posen; and they both entered into the following engagement, which was rigorously acted upon during the war: "To permit no correspondence to pass from Poland through their dominions; to give no succor or assistance to the insurgents; to keep the harbors of Dantzic and Königsberg closed against all convoys of ammunition, of provisions, even if they should come from England or France; to sequester the funds belonging to the kingdom of Poland in the bank of Berlin, and place them at the disposal of the Emperor Nicholas; and should the revolt extend to Cracow, the grand-duchy of Posen, or Galicia, immediately to unite their forces to those of the Emperor of Russia, to maintain in full force the treaties of 1814 and 1815, without paying any regard to the notes or menaces of France." The effect of this agreement was to surround the little kingdom of Poland on all sides with a hedge of bayonets, and leave it no chance of foreign succor in maintaining the contest with its gigantic enemy.¹

^{28.} Preparations and conference of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

But although Austria and Prussia were thus to appearance united on the subject, and their measures were throughout the war entirely regulated by the policy thus agreed on, yet in reality there was a wide division between them, and little was wanting to have made the former of these powers take part with France and Poland in the contest. Had the efforts of the Poles been founded only on the principle of independence, and unconnected with the cause of revolution, she in all probability would have done so. The danger to Austria from the incorporation of the kingdom of Poland with the Russian empire, was so obvious and pressing that it overcame all the terrors of the cabinet of Vienna as to a revolutionary state. The Austrian consul, accordingly, in the first instance, did not leave Warsaw; and a secret negotiation was opened with the cabinet of Vienna, the result of which was, that Austria would not object to the restoration of the nationality of Poland, and even to contribute to it by the abandonment of Galicia, provided Poland would agree to accept as king a prince of the house of Austria, and that the whole arrangements were made with the concurrence of the cabinets of Paris and London. M. Walewski, accordingly, was charged with a mission to sound these two cabinets on the subject. He met with a favorable reception at the Tuileries, where he arrived in the beginning of March; but M. Casimir Périer, who had just succeeded to the lead in the French government, said he could do nothing without the concurrence of the cabinet of St. James's.²

^{29.} Secret views of Austria and France at this juncture.

² Louis Blanc, ii. 448, 451.

donné des preuves de mes sentimens en défendant aux troupes Impériales de tirer. Si j'avais voulu, on vous aurait anéanti dans le premier moment. J'étais le seul dans mon état-major qui voulût qu'on ne tirât pas; car j'ai pensé que dans une querelle Polonoise les Russes n'avaient rien à faire. J'aurais désiré que nous pussions entrer parmi vous; nous avons tous des liens bien chers à Varsovie; mais votre gouvernement m'a fait dire par la députation que je devais m'en aller ou me mettre à la tête des troupes Polonoises pour rentrer dans la capitale. J'ai refusé ce parti pour ne pas être rebelle à mon souverain: Jamais je ne jouerai le rôle du Prince d'Orange. Mais mon cœur a été navré, je l'avoue, et ce qui me peine le plus c'est que cette révolution a été teinte de sang, et marquée de rapines. La postérité accusera de barbarie cette armée et cette nation Polonoise que j'aimais tant, et fera peser cette tâche ineffaçable sur leur mémoire."—CAPE-FIGURE, iv. 58, 59.

In consequence of this answer, M. Walewski came on to London, where he had some con-

ferences with Lord Palmerston, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject.

30. The hands of the English government, however, were sufficiently full at that time with the affairs of Belgium, in regard to which it was sufficiently difficult to keep

the representatives of the five powers assembled in London at one. It was thought, therefore, and probably with justice, that if, in this unsettled state of the several cabinets, a fresh apple of discord were thrown among them, and Russia was irrevocably alienated by support given to Poland, the conference would at once be broken up, Belgium would be incorporated with France, and a general war would ensue, in which it was more than probable that, from their superior resources and state of preparation, the legitimate states would prevail over the revolutionary. The Polish envoy, therefore, was informed, with every expression of regret, that England could not interfere; and Poland, for the present at least, was left to its fate.* All that France did was to send M. de Mortemart to St. Petersburg to endeavor to obtain favorable terms for the Poles; but Nicholas gave him his answer by a significant motion of his hand across his throat, showing he was not unmindful of his father's fate, and which may be

¹ Louis Blanc, rendered by the familiar English ii. 445, 451; phrase, "It is neck or nothing with Cap. v. 53. me."¹

Faithful to his promise, Chlopicki resigned his dictatorship as soon as the Diet met, on the 20th December. So much had the benefit of his firm and intrepid hand been felt since the overthrow of the former government, on the 29th November, and so general was the hope

among the more moderate that he might yet bring matters to an amicable arrangement with the Czar, that this resignation excited a great and general consternation. The Diet hastened, however, to allay it, by re-appointing him, with full powers, civil and military, under this restric-

tion only, that his powers were to cease when he was displaced by a commission named by the Diet itself. This appointment was made by a majority of 108 to 1, so that it had almost the weight of unanimity. It was received with unbounded applause, the members embracing each other with tears of joy. The transports were increased when Chlopicki, amidst profound silence, with a noble air, but a voice trembling with emotion, said, "Gentlemen, I only accept the power with which you have invested me, with the firm intention to employ it for the good of the country: I will retain it only till it is your pleasure to resume it; then, obeying the commands of the nation, I will peaceably retire to my home, rich only in the approbation of a pure conscience, and proud of having consecrated my last efforts to the liberation of my unhappy country."¹

Unbounded general enthusiasm succeeded this moving scene, and the patriotic ef-

orts of the Poles were such as seemed to give a hope of success even against the colossal power of Russia, and unquestionably against any lesser state would have secured it. No less than 800,000 florins (£80,000) were next day subscribed for the service of the state by the citizens of Warsaw—a prodigious sum in a city only containing a hundred and forty thousand inhabitants, and without manufactures or external commerce of any kind. Chlopicki added to the general enthusiasm by refusing for himself the salary of 200,000 florins (£20,000) a year, which the decree of the Diet had attached to his office. The first act of Chlopicki, after his election, was to appoint a national council, consisting of Prince Czartoryski, Ladislaus Ostrowski, Prince Radziwil, Leon Dembrowski, the senator Kartellan, and the deputy Barzykowsky, to administer the government under him. At the same time, the utmost efforts were made to increase and render efficient the military force of the kingdom, which the official states published by the government made amount to 80,000 regular troops and 300,000 national guards. But it turned out that these estimates were greatly exaggerated, and the effective force in the field never amounted to a half of either of these numbers. Meanwhile powerful batteries were erected in front of Praga, and intrenchments begun around Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula, which proved of the utmost service in the last extremity of the nation. But though doing his utmost to augment the regular force, the dictator still declined all offers to form detached corps of volunteers, under the orders of partisan leaders, deeming the hazard of that species of force greater, in the excited state of the country, than any advantage that might be expected from it.²

The Poles, however, had need of all their ef-

* The note of the English government, in answer to the proposal of the French for an intervention in favor of Poland, was in these terms: "Le soussigné, en réponse à la note que lui a présentée l'ambassadeur de France, à l'effet d'engager le gouvernement Britannique à intervenir de concert avec la France dans les affaires de Pologne, par une médiation qui aurait pour but d'arrêter l'effusion de sang, et de procurer à la Pologne une existence politique et nationale, à l'honneur d'informer S. E. le Prince de Talleyrand, que malgré tous les desirs que pourrait avoir le roi de la Grande Bretagne de concourir avec le roi des Français à toute démarche qui pourrait consolider la paix en Europe, surtout à celle qui aurait pour effet de faire cesser la guerre d'extermination dont la Pologne est aujourd'hui le théâtre, S. M. se voit forcée de décliner; qu'une médiation toute officieuse, vu l'état actuel des évènements, ne pourrait pas manquer d'être refusée par la Russie, d'autant plus que le Cabinet de St. Petersburg vient de rejeter les offres de ce genre qui lui ont été faites par la France; que par conséquent l'intervention des deux cours, pour être effective, devrait avoir lieu de manière à être appuyée en cas de refus. Le roi d'Angleterre ne croit devoir adopter aucunement cette dernière alternative; l'influence que peut avoir la guerre sur la tranquillité des autres états, n'est pas telle qu'elle doive nécessiter ces démarches, et les relations franches et amicales qui existent entre la cour de St. Petersburg et S. M. ne lui permettant pas de les entreprendre. S. M. B. se voit donc forcée de décliner la proposition que vient de lui transmettre le Prince Talleyrand par sa note du 20 Juin, jugeant que le tems n'est pas encore venu de pouvoir l'entreprendre avec succès, contre le gré du souverain dont les droits sont incontestables. Pourtant S. M. charge le soussigné de témoigner à S. E. l'ambassadeur de France combien son cœur souffre de voir tous les ravages qui ont lieu en Pologne, et de lui assurer qu'elle fera tout ce que ses relations amicales avec la Russie lui permettront pour y mettre fin, et que déjà les instructions ont été données à l'ambassadeur de S. M. à St. Petersburg pour déclarer qu'elle tiendra à ce que l'existence politique de la Pologne, établie en 1815, ainsi que ses institutions nationales lui soient conservées. PALMERSTON. 25th June, 1831."—L. BLANC, vol. ii. p. 451, 452.

31. Chlopicki resigns the dictatorship on the meeting of the Diet, 20th Dec., and is reappointed.

¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 663, 664; Rom. Solt. i. 150, 156.

32. His first acts after his appointment.

² Ann. Hist. xiii. 664, 665; Rom. Solt. i. 157, 165.

forts and all their enthusiasm, for the forces which the Czar was accumulating against them were immense. An army of 110,000 men had already been collected in Lithuania, stationed in echelon along the road from St. Petersburg to Warsaw. An animated proclamation, menacing to the Poles, was addressed by the Emperor to the Russian nation, in which he called on them to aid him in crushing their ancient enemies the Poles, who had made no other return for all the kindness they had received from Russia but treachery and treason.* Count Diebitch was appointed generalissimo, with the command, at the same time, of the governments of Grodno, Wilna, Minsk, Podolia, Volhynia, and Bialystok, which were all declared in a state of war; and a few days after, Diebitch, who added the proud title of Sabalkansky to this name, set out for the army, attended by a numerous and magnificent staff, in the full confidence that to the surname of *Passer of the Balkan* he would soon add that of Conqueror of Warsaw. The ancient and unforgotten animosity of the Russians against the Poles appeared in the strongest manner on this occasion. One only feeling existed in the whole nation, which was, that they must strain every nerve to crush the traitors; and great as was the enthusiasm of the Poles to regain their independence, it was equaled by the ardor of the Muscovites to retain them in subjection.¹

Before throwing away the scabbard, the Polish Diet, on January 10, 1831, addressed a manifesto to the other nations of Europe. It was stated in that noble document: "The world knows too well the infamous machinations, the vile calumnies, the open violence and secret treasons which have accompanied the three dismemberments of ancient Poland. History, of which they have become the property, has stigmatized them as political crimes of the deepest dye. The solemn grief which that violence has spread through the whole country, has caused the feelings of nationality to be preserved without interruption. The Polish standard has never ceased to wave at the head of the Polish legions; and in their military emigration, the

Poles, transporting from country to country their household gods, have never ceased to cry aloud against this violation; and yielding to the noble illusion, which like every noble thought, has not been deceived, they trusted that, in combating for the cause of liberty, they were combating also for their own country.

"That country has risen from its ashes, and, though restrained within narrow limits, Poland has received from the hero of the last age its language, its rights, its liberties—gifts in themselves precious, but rendered doubly so by the hopes with which they were accompanied. From that moment his cause has become ours, our blood become his inheritance; and when our allies, and Heaven itself, seemed to have abandoned him, the Poles shared the disasters of the hero; and the fall together of a great man and an unfortunate nation extorted the involuntary esteem of the conquerors themselves. That sentiment produced a deep impression; the sovereigns of Europe, in a moment of danger, promised to the world a durable peace; and the Congress of Vienna in some sort softened the evils of our unhappy country. A nationality and entire freedom of internal commerce were guaranteed to all parts of ancient Poland, and that portion of it which the strife of Europe had left independent, though mutilated on three sides, received the name of a kingdom, and was put under the guardianship of the Emperor Alexander, with a constitutional charter and the hope of future extension. In performance of these stipulations he gave a liberal constitution to the kingdom, and held out to the Poles under his immediate government the hope of being ere long reunited to their severed brethren. These were not gratuitous promises: he had contracted anterior obligations to us, and we, on our side, had made corresponding sacrifices. In proclaiming himself *King of Poland*, the Emperor of Russia was only faithful to his promises.

"But the hopes inspired by these circumstances proved as short-lived as they were fallacious. The Poles were ere long convinced, by dear-bought experience, that the vain title of Poland, given to the kingdom by the Emperor of Russia, was nothing but a lure thrown out to their brothers, and an offensive arm against the other states. They saw that, under cover of the sacred names of liberty and independence, he was resolved to reduce the nation to the lowest point of degradation and servitude. The measures pursued in regard to the army first revealed this infamous design. Punishments the most excruciating, pains the most degrading, were, under pretense of keeping up military discipline, inflicted, not for faults of commission, but mere omission. The arbitrary disposition of the commander-in-chief, his absolute control over the courts-martial, soon rendered him the absolute master of the life and honor of every soldier. Numbers in every grade have sent in their resignations, and committed suicide in despair at the degrading punishments to which they had been subjected. The deliberative assembly, from which so much was expected, has remedied none of these evils, it has rather aggravated them; for it has brought, in

* "Une infame trahison a ébranlé le royaume de Pologne uni à la Russie, des hommes malintentionnés qui n'ont pas discerné les bienfaits du restaurateur de leur patrie, le magnanime Empereur Alexandre d'éternelle mémoire, et qui, jouissant sous la protection des lois octroyées, du fruit de sa bienveillance, ourdirent en secret des intrigues pour renverser l'ordre qu'il avait établi, et choisirent le 29 Novembre pour commencer l'accomplissement de leurs desseins par la rébellion. . . . Le peuple Polonais, qui, après tant d'infortunes, jouissait de la paix et du bien-être à l'ombre de notre puissance, se précipite de nouveau dans l'abîme de la révolte et des calamités, et un ramas d'êtres crédules, quoique déjà saisis d'effroi à la pensée du châtiment qui les attend, osent rêver quelques instans la victoire, et nous proposer des conditions, à nous, leur maître légitime. Russes! vous savez que nous les repoussons avec indignation. Vos cœurs, brûlant de zèle pour les intérêts du trône, comprennent tout ce que le nôtre éprouve. A la première nouvelle de trahison, votre réponse fut un serment répété d'inébranlable fidélité, et dans ce moment nous ne voyons qu'un mouvement dans toute l'étendue de notre vaste empire, dans le cœur de chacun vit un seul sentiment, le vœu de ne redouter aucun effort pour l'honneur de son empereur, pour l'inviolabilité de l'empire, et d'y sacrifier sa fortune et même sa vie. NICHOLAS. Dec. 24, 1830."—*Ann. Hist.*, vol. xiii. p. 179. *Doc. Hist. de Partie*.

a sensible form, the reality of servitude home to the nation. The liberty of the press, the publication of debates, was tolerated only so long as they resounded with strains of adulation; but the moment that the real discussion of affairs commenced, the most rigid censorship of the press was introduced, and after the sittings of the Diet closed, they prosecuted the members of it for the opinions they had expressed in it.

"The union, on one head, of the crown of the Autocrat and of the constitutional King of Poland, is one of those political monstrosities which could not by possibility long endure. Every one foresaw that the kingdom of Poland must be to Russia the germ of liberal institutions, or itself perish under the iron hand of its despot. That question was soon resolved. If Alexander ever entertained the idea of reconciling the extent of his despotic power with the popularity of liberal institutions among us, it was but for a moment. He soon showed by his acts that the moment he discovered that liberty would not become the blind instrument of slavery, he was to be its most violent persecutor. That system was soon put in execution. Public instruction was first corrupted; it was made the mere instrument of despotism: an entire palatinate was next deprived of its representatives in the council—the Chambers of the power of voting on the budget; new taxes were imposed without their authority: monopolies destructive of industry were created; and the treasury became a mere fountain of corruption, from whence, in lieu of the retrenchment which the nation had so often solicited, pensions and gratuities were distributed with the most scandalous profusion among the supporters of Government. Calumny and *espionage* soon invaded the privacy and destroyed the happiness of domestic life; the ancient hospitality of the Poles was converted into a snare for innocence. Individual liberty, so solemnly guaranteed, was every day violated; the prisons were filled, and courts-martial, proceeding to take cognizance of civil offenses, inflicted infamous and degrading punishments on citizens whose only fault was to have endeavored to stem the torrent of corruption which overspread the country.

"In the ancient provinces of Poland now incorporated with Russia, matters have been still worse. Not only have they not been incorporated with Poland, in violation of the promise to that effect made by the Emperor Alexander to the Congress of Vienna, but, on the contrary, every thing has been systematically done which could eradicate in them any sentiment or recollection of nationality. The youths at school have been in an especial manner the object of persecution. All who were suspected of a leaning toward liberal or patriotic sentiments were torn from their mothers' arms, and sent off to Siberia, or compelled to enter the army as private soldiers, though belonging to the first families in the country. In all administrative or public acts the Polish language was suppressed, as well as in the common schools; imperial ukases annihilated alike the Polish rights and tribunals; the abuses of administration reduced the

landed proprietors to despair. Since the accession of the Emperor Nicholas, all these evils have rapidly increased, and intolerance, coming to the aid of despotism, has left nothing undone to extirpate the Catholic worship, and force the Greek ritual in its stead."¹

When such were the feelings and manifestoes on the opposite side, there was evidently little chance of an accommodation without an appeal to arms. But Chlopicki still clung to the hope of a pacific arrangement, relying partly on the great danger to Russia of a war of *rares*, if once fairly roused, and embracing the whole Sarmatian family, partly on the magnanimous disposition which their flatterers generally ascribe, though seldom with justice, to absolute sovereigns. He continued to address Nicholas, accordingly, in terms of the most profound respect, adjuring him in the most touching terms to take pity on a gallant people, whom he could by a word raise up to the summit of happiness from the depths of woe.* But it was all in vain. The mind of Nicholas, lofty and magnanimous, but stern and unrelenting, was incapable of succumbing before difficulties; and even if he had been disposed individually to accede to the entreaties of the Poles, it was no longer in his power to do so. Public opinion is on great occasions not less irresistible in Russia than in England; and, when thoroughly roused, it makes itself heard in a still more decisive way, for its instruments are armed men, not pacific legislators, and its appeal in the last resort is not to the press, but to the bow-string. The national feelings of the Russians were so thoroughly roused by the revolt of their ancient enemies the Poles, that it would have cost the Czar his throne and his life if he had entered into any compromise with them. Absolute, unconditional surrender was therefore sternly insisted on; and as the Diet could not hear of this, both sides prepared for war. Upon this Chlopicki resigned the dictatorship, declaring his readiness to serve his country as a private soldier. "If," said he, "your conscience permits you with so much ease to break the oaths you have taken to your lawful sovereign, it is well. I feel differently. All that I do here is in the name of Nicholas. I resign the dictatorship."²

The Diet met on the 19th of January, 1831, to determine on the momentous question of peace or war. All minds were made up upon it; but the deliberations of the Diet were such as befitted the solemnity of the occasion, and were worthy of a gallant people cour-

¹ Manifesto des Peuple Polonais, January 10, 1830; Ann. Hist. xiii. 180, 182; Doc. Hist.

^{39.} Chlopicki's vain efforts to bring about an accommodation.

² Rom. Solt. i. 175, 178.

^{40.} The Czar is dethroned by the Diet. January 21, 1831.

* "Plein de confiance dans la magnanimité de votre cœur, Sire, j'ose espérer qu'une effusion de sang n'aura pas lieu, et je me regarderai comme le plus heureux d'hommes si je puis atteindre au but que je me propose par la réunion intime de tous les éléments de bon ordre et de force. Sire, en ma qualité d'ancien soldat et de bon Polonais, j'ose vous faire entendre la vérité, et je suis persuadé que V. M. J. et R. daignera l'écouter. Vous tenez, Sire, dans votre main les destinées de toute une nation; d'un seul mot vous pouvez la mettre au comble du bonheur, d'un seul mot la précipiter dans un abîme de maux."
—CHLOPICKI to the EMPEROR NICHOLAS, 29th December, 1830; Ann. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 174. App. Doc. Hist.

ageously making, in circumstances all but desperate, the last struggle for their independence. "Poles," said Prince Czartoryski, the president, "our cause is sacred, our fate depends on the Most High; but we owe it to ourselves to transmit intact to posterity the honor of the nation enshrined in our hearts: 'concord, courage, perseverance,' such is the sacred motto which can alone insure the glory of our country. Let us put forth all our strength, in order to found forever our liberty and national independence."

Jan. 21. On the 21st January the Diet conferred the command of the army on Prince Radziwil in lieu of Chlopicki, who received the perilous trust with these words: "I only accept the command in order to hold it till the war has raised one of those great men who save nations. My sole wish is for the independence and happiness of our beloved country. Such I have been—such I ever shall be." Then, on the motion of Roman Soltik, the Diet *unanimously* passed a resolution deposing the Czar and his whole family from the throne, and absolving the Polish nation from their oath of fidelity

¹ Rom. Solt. i. 241, 247. Ann. *whole assembly* of both Chambers, Hist. xiv. 485, amidst enthusiastic cheers, signed the Act of Dethronement.^{13*}

Before proceeding to recount the memorable war which ensued on the banks of the Vistula, and which cast a last ray of glory on the long annals of Polish heroism, it is essential to state the comparative strength of the two nations who then entered into the lists.† Such

* "Les traités les plus sacrés et les plus inviolables, ne sont obligatoires qu'autant qu'ils sont observés fidèlement. Nos longues souffrances sont connues du monde entier. La violation, tant de fois renouvelée, des libertés qui nous avaient été garanties par les sermens de deux monarques, délie également aujourd'hui la nation Polonoise du serment de fidélité qu'elle a prêté à son souverain. Les paroles propres enfin de l'Empereur Nicolas, qui a dit que le premier coup de fusil tiré de notre part, deviendrait le signal de la ruine de la Pologne, nous ôtent toute espérance de voir nos griefs réparés, et ne nous laissent plus qu'un noble désespoir.

"La Nation Polonoise, réunie en diète, déclare donc qu'elle forme désormais un peuple indépendant, qu'elle a le droit de donner la couronne Polonoise à celui qu'elle en jugera digne, à celui qu'elle jugera capable d'observer fidèlement la loi qu'il aura jurée, et de conserver intactes les libertés nationales.—Le Prince Adam Czartoryski, Président du Sénat; Le Comte Ostrowski, Maréchal de la Chambre des Nonces; et tous les Membres du Sénat et de la Chambre des Nonces."—Ann. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 488.

† The details were as follows of the inhabitants:

Russia Proper	43,700,000
Finland	1,250,000
Kingdom of Poland	4,050,000
Georgia, and to south of Caucasus	1,200,000
Cossacks, Calmucks, etc.	743,587
Siberia	400,000
	51,343,587

The revenue was raised thus:

	Rubles.
Capitation	15,000,000
Crown peasants' capitation	17,500,000
Levied on merchants	900,000
Custom-house	12,500,000
Monopoly of spirits	22,500,000
Salt tax	2,000,000
Mines	2,500,000
Mint	2,000,000
Stamps	1,750,000
Miscellaneous	1,500,000
Revenue unknown	21,850,000
	100,000,000,
	or £16,000,000

—Ann. Hist., vol. xiv. p. 647.

a detail, how brief soever, will add much to the fame of the vanquished, and take somewhat from that of the conquerors. Fortunately, a statistical survey of the whole Russian dominions, made in this very year, has furnished the materials of both with perfect accuracy. The Russian population at this time, including the Poles, amounted to 51,343,000 souls; without the latter, to 47,300,000; and its revenue was 100,000,000 rubles, or £16,000,000 sterling. Of this immense multitude 17,555,089 were free peasants on the crown-lands, or those of individuals; 18,781,812 were serfs, for whom the capitation-tax was paid; and 747,557 were on the rolls of the ¹ Ann. Hist. xiii. 647. army.¹

Inconsiderable when compared to these gigantic forces, the material strength ^{42.} of the fragment of Poland which was in the hands of Russia, and engaged in the war, was yet very large, considering its limited extent and number of inhabitants. The kingdom embraced at this period 4,050,000 inhabitants, of whom Warsaw alone contained 140,000, being an increase of 50,000 souls over its numbers in 1814. The revenue of the state amounted to 80,000,000 Polish florins, or £2,000,000 sterling, a national income by no means contemptible in a country where money was so scarce that the wages of rural labor were 3*d.* a day in winter, and 4*d.* in summer. The national bank had a treasure of 120,000,000 florins (£3,000,000), and a reserve of 20,000,000 florins (£500,000) was in the public treasury. These considerable resources in a country wholly agricultural, and not exceeding in extent the surface of Ireland, were the result of the peace and protection to industry which, despite all the rigor of the Muscovite rule, it had enjoyed under its firm government. No other testimony to this is required than that of the historian of the revolution, and the man who had the courage in the Diet to make the motion for the dethronement of the Emperor. "In general," says Roman Soltik, "the public credit was firmly established, manufactures were arising on all sides, and their produce since 1815 had increased ten-fold. Excellent roads facilitated transport in every direction, and establishments of beneficence, monuments of the arts, and splendid edifices were arising on all sides in the capital. Nor had the kingdom of Poland alone shared in this material prosperity; the little republic of Cracow possessed now 120,000 in- ² Rom. Solt. habitants, and enjoyed a revenue of i. 18, Introduction. 2,000,000 florins (£50,000)."²

The population and resources of the provinces of Old Poland, acquired on the different partitions by Austria and ^{43.} Prussia, were more considerable; Austrian and if they could have been rendered available, the contest would have been less unequal. Galicia had greatly increased in population and resources since it was ceded to Austria in 1772; it numbered now 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and rendered to the government of Vienna 60,000 excellent soldiers. The salt mines in the Carpathian mountains yielded the government a profit of 30,000,000 florins (£750,000) annually; the revenue amounted to 90,000,000 more (£2,250,000); and although this large revenue was generally felt as

oppressive, yet it was tolerably well paid; and 500 leagues of roads had been made through the territory, which opened up markets in every direction to the produce of the industry of its inhabitants. The grand-duchy of Posen was in a still more flourishing condition. The wise policy of the Prussian government had been to extirpate the national feelings of its Polish subjects by a gentle administration and experienced benefits. Predial servitude was in course of being abolished; property was much subdivided; roads and canals had been constructed; manufactures and machinery had been introduced in some places, and agriculture had flourished to an extraordinary degree. Considerable immigration of German settlers had taken place into its fields, and many sturdy Poles had left them, and settled in the kingdom of Poland, in anticipation of the re-establishment of Polish nationality. Provincial assemblies were established, and the Polish language was no longer used in public instruments. The population amounted to 2,000,000 souls, and yielded a revenue of 40,000,000 florins (£1,000,000) to the government of Berlin.¹

The vast territories which in the different partitions had fallen to the lot of Russia, viz., Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, the Ukraine, and White Russia, were far from presenting so satisfactory an aspect. Asiatic despotism pressed with its iron hand upon their immense natural springs of prosperity. The population of the whole provinces did not exceed 9,000,000 inhabitants, being a very small increase upon what it had been at the partitions; and, notwithstanding the marvelous fertility of the greater part of their soil, the revenue they yielded was only 50,000,000 florins (£1,250,000). In addition to this, the Polish provinces which had been conquered by Russia before the first partition, viz., Smolensko, Tchernigov, and Starodub, contained 2,000,000 of inhabitants, but they had been so long dismembered from old Poland that their inhabitants had been almost naturalized in Russia. Predial servitude, in all its severity, pressed on these magnificent provinces; the industry of the country was languid, that of cities in its infancy; commerce of every kind in the interior was entirely in the hands of the Jews, who made a lucrative profit of the labor or simplicity of the peasants; and the grain trade of the southern provinces, which had formerly been the main source of the riches of Athens and Venice, was scarcely felt, from want of internal communication, beyond a circuit of seventy miles around Odessa. These provinces were still governed by the ancient Lithuanian code, mingled with Russian ukases; but even in their rude state they presented immense resources in men and horses; and as the Russian domination was to the last degree hated over their whole extent, much might be expected from them, if opportunity could be afforded for shaking off the authority of the Czar.²

The military resources of the contending parties, though disproportionate, were not so much so as might at first sight have been expected, from the immense difference in their material resources. On the side of the Poles, 14,000 old

soldiers had repaired to their standards, and increased the regular army to 42,000 infantry and 9400 cavalry; the artillery, consisting of 126 pieces manned by 45. Military forces on the opposite sides. 2500 gunners, and 4000 new levies, presented a total of 58,500 combatants, all regular soldiers, brave, admirably disciplined, and animated by the highest spirit. From this, however, was to be deducted 10,000 men for the garrisons of Praga, Zamose, and Modlin, and 4500 on detachment, so that not more than 44,000 men could be calculated upon for active service in the field. There was, it is true, a reserve which had been decreed, which was expected to produce 47,600 men; but the greater part of these were still unequipped when the war broke out, and the whole were very imperfectly disciplined. On the other hand, the Russian army, which had been by great exertions collected on the frontiers of Lithuania, under the orders of Field-marshal Diebitch, consisted of 110,620 men, with 396 ¹ Rom. Solt. pieces, of which no less than 23,500 ^{i. 259, 272;} were regular and 4500 Cossack cavalry. ^{Ann. Hist. xiv. 489.}

When the disproportion between the opposite parties was so great, it seems ^{46.} almost impossible that the contest could have been of more than a few weeks' duration; nevertheless, it lasted nine months, was often very nearly balanced, and at last determined only by the active intervention of Prussia in favor of the Muscovite forces. The reason is to be found not merely in the valor of the Polish army, or the ability of their generals, great as they undoubtedly were, but in the military advantages of their situation. Small as the Polish forces were, they had the advantage, like those of Frederick the Great in the Seven Years' War, or Napoleon in Champagne in 1814, of being concentrated: vast as the legions of the Muscovites were, they labored under the disadvantage, like those of the Allies on both these occasions, of being dispersed. The Polish troops, concentrated in a space not much larger than Yorkshire, rested on the fortresses of Warsaw, Zamose, and Modlin, which were sufficiently fortified to be beyond the reach of a *coup-de-main*; while the Vistula, which flowed through its centre, gave them the advantage of water-carriage, and all the bridges over it were in their hands. On the other hand, the Russians, spread over a space of four hundred miles in breadth, from Kowno to Wlozdzierz, were at an immense distance from their magazines and resources, and this distance increased every mile they advanced in the Polish territory. The military resources of the empire had been strained to their uttermost, to produce the army under Diebitch on the frontier; and from the vast distance of the reserves in the interior, no reinforcements of consequence could be looked for for a very considerable time. Add to this, that if the Polish partisans could succeed in lighting up the flames of civil war in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia, they might turn the resources of nine millions of Russian subjects against their enemies, and more than double their own.² In these circumstances, much would obviously come to depend on the Russians striking a decisive blow in the outset, and,

² Rom. Solt. i. 19, 20.

² Rom. Solt. i. 264, 271; Ann. Hist. xiv. 489.

taking advantage of their immense numerical superiority, to destroy the Polish power before it had an opportunity of extending the flame of the insurrection into their own dominions.

Diebitch broke up from his quarters in Lithuania on the 5th February, and advanced in three columns toward Warsaw.

^{47.} The right wing, under General Szachoffskoi and Manderstein, twenty thousand five hundred strong, entered the Polish territory by Kowno and Grodno, so celebrated in the wars of Napoleon.

The left, ten thousand strong, consisting almost entirely of cavalry, with forty-eight guns, under General Geismar, debouched by Wlodawa, and moved upon Lukow and Lublin; while the centre, eighty thousand strong, with two hundred and eighty guns, under Diebitch in person, and divided into four corps, under the orders of General Pahlen, Rosen, the Grand Duke Constantine, and General Dewitt, advanced by Tykoczyn, on the direct road to Warsaw. The whole of these troops were admirably organized, and provided with every thing necessary for an active campaign. Unable to contend against forces so immense, Radziwil wisely retired, without attempting any resistance, toward the capital, in the hope that the invaders might be weakened by the waste and fatigues of the march, as Napoleon had been in the advance to Moscow, and that an opportunity might occur near Warsaw for engaging the enemy on terms more nearly approaching to equality.¹

But the dimensions of the kingdom of Poland were very different from those of the empire of Russia, and the Poles soon found that they had retreated as far as was possible, and that a stand must be made to defend the capital. No serious resistance was experienced at the passage of the Bug, and the Polish army, gradually retiring, but in perfect order, took post, on the evening of the 18th February, a league in advance of Warsaw, near the village of Grochow. The forces on the opposite sides, though still disproportionate, were not so much so as might have been anticipated from the great difference between them which existed at the opening of the campaign. Diebitch had not more than seventy-four thousand men, as his centre and part of the wings alone was in the field; while the army of Radziwil had been raised, by reinforcements drawn from the national guards and depôts, to forty-eight thousand men. But the Russians had a great superiority in artillery, which amounted to two hundred and seventy-six pieces, while the Poles had only one hundred and twenty-six. The Russian army was divided into two columns: the right, twenty-seven thousand strong, was under the orders of Rosen; the left, of no less than fifty thousand combatants, was under Count Pahlen and General Dewitt. The Polish army was drawn up in battle array in front of the woods which environ the village of Grochow: the right, under Szembek, rested on the marshes which adjoin the Vistula; the centre, under Radziwil in person, occupied in force the great road to Warsaw; the left, under Skrzynecki, extended as far as the village of Grod-

zisk. The cavalry, with the exception of three regiments which occupied that village, was all in reserve behind the infantry. The Russians had the advantage of the position, for they had the forest in rear, in which their columns would find shelter in case of disaster; while the Poles, with their backs to the Vistula, traversed by the single bridge of Praga, were exposed to total ruin in the event of defeat.¹

The battle commenced at ten in the morning, by an attack by Pahlen, who debouched from the forest by the great road, and, turning to the left, attacked Szembek's men; but he was received with so warm a fire from the Polish right that his troops fell into confusion, and a charge from the Polish hussars, who were brought up from the rear, drove them back headlong into the wood. Upon this Rosen's corps, which had by this time debouched from the wood, advanced to its aid, and took Szembek's corps, which had advanced considerably in pursuit of Pahlen's men from the ground it had occupied at the commencement of the action, in flank. In consequence Szembek fell back to his original ground; and, as the whole Russian army had by this time got clear of the wood, and deployed in its front, directly opposite to the Poles, the battle became general along the whole line. Diebitch, taking advantage of his immense superiority in men and guns, made the utmost efforts to force the centre, where the great road to Warsaw passed through both armies; but although above a hundred pieces of cannon were brought to bear on that point, to which the Poles could not oppose more than half the number, the Russians were unable to gain any decisive advantage. The Poles fought with the most heroic resolution, and although, toward the evening, after combating all day, they lost a few hundred yards of ground, yet, when the firing ceased, their ranks were unbroken, their courage unsubdued, and they had lost neither prisoners, cannon, nor standards in the fight.²

To have maintained so obstinate a conflict with forces so superior was not less honorable to the Polish arms than advantageous to their cause; but the Russians were numerous, ably led, and inured to victory; and as they had driven the enemy a short distance from the field of battle, they attributed to themselves, not without reason, the advantage. The resistance of the Poles, however, had been so obstinate that Diebitch did not venture to renew the offensive till he had called up his whole right wing, which again raised his forces to nearly 80,000 men. Radziwil, on his side, had also repaired his losses, though chiefly with new levies, little inured to discipline. In making the movement from the Russian right to its centre, where Diebitch was concentrating his forces, the Russian division Szachoffskoi was attacked and worsted by the Poles under Krukowiecki, but they nevertheless continued their march, and by nightfall were in line with Diebitch in front of the Polish army, which maintained its old position in front of PRAGA. There it was attacked on the following day by the Russians

^{47.} Advance of Diebitch toward Warsaw. Feb. 5-7.

¹ Rom. Solt. i. 269, 272; Ann. Hist. xiv. 489, 490.

^{48.} Position and forces on the opposite sides.

¹ Rom. Solt. i. 270, 280; Ann. Hist. xiv. 489, 490.

^{49.} Battle of Grochow. Feb. 19.

² Diebitch's Dispatch, Feb. 21, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 490; Rom. Solt. i. 280, 282.

^{50.} Battle of Pragan. February 24 and 25.

in the same position which it had occupied on the 20th, with this difference, that SKRZYNECKI with his division was in the centre, and the left, under Zimirski and Krukowiecki, were on the left, and occupied in strength a little wood which had been obstinately contested in the preceding action, and became the theatre of a still more murderous conflict in that which succeeded.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 490, 491; Rom. Solt. i. 287, 288.

The battle began at daybreak, and continued with the utmost obstinacy and various success the whole day. There was little generalship or manœuvring on either side: like Waterloo in former years, it was a regular stand-up fight between two gallant nations; like Inkermann in after days, it was a stand-up fight rather than a battle of manœuvres. The principal efforts of both parties were directed to get possession of the little wood on the Polish left, and it was repeatedly carried and again lost during the strife. At length, after a bloody conflict of two hours' duration, it was carried by Diebitch, who succeeded in bringing eighty pieces of cannon to bear upon it, and fairly shelled the Poles out. Some of his aids-de-camp having come to Chłopicki, who commanded there, to ask for orders, he replied, "Go and ask Radziwil; for myself, I only seek death." He did not find it, but was soon after severely wounded, and carried off the field of battle in an insensible state. General Zimirski, who tried to regain the wood, soon after fell, desperately wounded; and Szachoffskoi, who had now effected his junction with the general-in-chief, succeeded in establishing himself in it in a durable manner. The Polish army, disheartened by the loss of its chiefs, now fell back on all sides, and took post under the cannon of Praga, still, however, maintaining an undaunted front, and without sustaining any loss in prisoners or cannon. Diebitch endeavored to convert the retreat into a rout by a vigorous attack of cuirassiers in the centre, but it led to a signal disaster. The Russian horse, by a headlong charge, succeeded in forcing their way through the Polish centre; but, pursuing their advantage, they came within the range of the batteries of Praga, which opened a tremendous fire upon them, and while recoiling in disorder from the terrific cannonade, they were charged in flank by a brigade of Polish cavalry under General Kieki, and almost totally destroyed. The Polish generals, however, fearful of having the bridge of boats in their rear cut off by the swelling of the Vistula, retreated at night into Warsaw, leaving Praga occupied by a strong rear-guard.²

² Rom. Solt. i. 289, 291; Ann. Hist. xiv. 490, 491.

Such were the desperate battles of Grochow and Praga, which signalized the commencement of this terrible strife: and though they terminated, upon the whole, to the disadvantage of the Poles, since they were driven back into Warsaw, yet they conferred more honor on the vanquished than the victors, and presaged a frightful contest before the conflict could be terminated. The loss on the opposite sides was nearly equal. The Poles were weakened by eight thousand men, the Russians by ten thousand. Few prisoners, and no guns or colors, were taken on

either side, which, considering the prolonged and obstinate nature of the battles, sufficiently evinced the courage and resolution which had been displayed on both sides. The Poles might with reason attribute to themselves, upon the whole, the advantage, since, though driven from the open country, their army in unbroken strength still held the capital; the Vistula had not been passed at any point; Warsaw was not even invested; the *tête-de-pont* of Praga was still in their hands, which enabled them to debouch at pleasure on the right bank, and the first effort of a hundred thousand Russians had failed in crushing less than half that number of their opponents. On the other hand, though the Poles had inflicted a loss on their adversaries greater than they themselves had sustained, their own loss was the more sensibly felt, from the inferior strength of their army, and less considerable resources from which it might be recruited.¹

While these dreadful battles were signalizing the commencement of the war on the Russian right and centre, a most brilliant success attended the opening of the campaign on the Polish right. There Dwernicki, with not more than two thousand eight hundred foot and horse, and six guns, was left to make head against Geismar, who had nine thousand three hundred horse and forty-eight pieces of horse-artillery under his orders. It seemed scarcely possible for the weaker party, with such a disproportion, to avoid destruction; nevertheless, such was the talent of the Polish general, and the heroism of his followers, that he achieved the most brilliant success. Geismar's great superiority of force induced him to form the design of surrounding his opponent, and with this view he arranged his troops into two columns—the first of which, consisting of 4480 horse and twenty-four guns, met Dwernicki on the 13th February, who had crossed the Vistula on the ice near Sieroczyn. The second column, which was intended to attack the Poles in flank and rear, was sent round by a circuit, at such a distance as to be unable to lend aid to the first in a sudden fight; but as each column was of greater strength than the whole Poles, it was thought there was no danger in making the division. But Geismar little knew the quality of the troops with whom he had to deal; and Dwernicki, with the eye of a real general, instantly resolved to assume the offensive, and attack the one division before the other came up. Forming his horse, which consisted only of nine squadrons, about one thousand strong, into two columns, he charged Geismar's men with the utmost vigor, who awaited the attack with their twenty-four guns advantageously placed in battery. Such was the vigor of the Polish horse, whose exploits rivaled those of the Paladins of former days, that both attacks proved entirely successful. In a few minutes the first column routed the cavalry opposed to it, and took three guns; while the second, disregarding the showers of grape which fell upon them, threw themselves on the guns, captured eight, and, passing through them, charged twelve Russian squadrons drawn up behind, with such impetu-

^{53.} Splendid success of Dwernicki on the Polish right.

¹ Ann. Reg. xiv. 490, 491; Rom. Solt. i. 287, 288.

osity that they were totally routed, and their commander slain by a sabre-stroke from Lieutenant Dunin, one of Dwernicki's aids-de-camp. Upon this the whole Russian division took to flight, leaving in the hands of the Poles eleven guns and three hundred and eighty prisoners, taken in fair fight, besides i. 295, 300.

It is a curious circumstance, indicative of the lasting impress which nature has put upon all the families of the European race compared with the Asiatic, that these battles of Grochów and Sieroczn with Inkermann and Balaklava, the closest resemblance to those of Inkermann and Balaklava in after times. The Poles resisted the enormous masses of the Russians with the same intrepidity and firmness, in front of Praga, that the English did their assailants, five times their own number, in front of Sebastopol; and if a gallant allied force had come up at the close of the day, to render the balance somewhat more equal, the result would have been the same on both occasions. The Polish squadrons threw themselves on the Muscovite artillery with the same intrepidity as the English light horse, in after days, on the shores of the Crimea; and, like them, after passing through the guns, charged and routed the enemy's cavalry, three times more numerous than their own, in rear. Dwernicki's leading was the prototype of that of Lord Cardigan. These facts lead to a conclusion of great and lasting importance for the interests of civilization and freedom in future times. This is, that the forces of Europe, animated by the spirit of liberty and the energy of intelligence, are still as superior to the hosts of Asia as they were in the days of Marathon and Plataea; and that the ceaseless encroachments and menacing strength of Russia is not owing to any advantage which the Asiatics possess in courage over the Europeans, but to the greater foresight of its government, and unity of purpose in its inhabitants—qualities in which the people of the West, unfortunately, are often as deficient as they are superior in vigor and knowledge.

This brilliant success elevated the Poles as much as it depressed the Russians, and it would have been attended with the most important consequences had the government of Warsaw possessed any reserve force to support it. But as Radziwil's army had been obliged to seek shelter behind the cannon of Praga, it was justly deemed too hazardous to allow Dwernicki, with his little band of heroes, to maintain an isolated contest with the immense forces of the Muscovites on the right bank of the Vistula. Add to this, the Polish government were alarmed by the progress of General Kreutz with four regiments of cavalry, who had crossed the river, and threatened to cut off the communication between Warsaw and Cracow. Dwernicki, accordingly, received orders immediately to recross the Vistula, which he did on the 17th at Feb. 17. Goru. Two days after, he met the advanced guard of Kreutz, which he defeated, and took four pieces of cannon;

but having pursued their advantage too far, the Poles fell under the cross-fire of some Russian guns, and were driven back with heavy loss. After this, Dwernicki took post opposite Karczew, and hindered the Russians from crossing the Vistula; and soon after turned against his old antagonist, Kreutz, February 26. whom he forced to recross the river, with the loss of two entire squadrons, which were made prisoners in the town of Pulawy. Such was the exaltation of the Polish cavalry, and depression of the Russians at these repeated defeats, that Dwernicki, on the 3d March 3. March, again crossed the Vistula on the ice, and attacked the Russians in position on the road leading to Kurow, totally defeated them, drove them headlong through that town, taking four guns and three hundred men prisoners. Dwernicki, upon this, got the surname of the "Furnisher of Cannon" in the Polish army; and such was the terror which his husars inspired in the enemy, that whole squadrons took to flight at the sight of a few Polish uniforms. Kreutz retreated with the utmost expedition, recrossed the Wieprz, and never rested till he got across the Bug; while Dwernicki, to whom the route of Zamosc was thus opened, reached that fortress, which March 9. he entered in triumph, and gave some rest to his heroic followers. His ranks were there rapidly recruited by volunteers, who flocked from all quarters to join his victorious standard; but they did little more than compensate the losses by the cholera, ¹ Rom. Solt. the fatal bequest of the retreating i. 300, 309; Russians, which in a few weeks carried off five hundred men. ² Ann. Hist. xiv. 491.

Although the Poles might well congratulate themselves upon these glorious actions, and derive confidence from the stand they had made in the commencement of the war against the gigantic forces of their opponents, yet alarm not the less prevailed in the capital, and the public voice loudly demanded a change in the direction of the armies. Though their courage had attracted the admiration of all Europe, and rendered abortive the first efforts of the enemy, yet they could not disguise from themselves that their situation was beset with dangers, and that a single false step on the part of their general might land them in destruction. Their forces had been driven back into Warsaw; the fire of Praga had alone repelled the enemy from the capital, and rumor, with its hundred tongues, had already spread abroad through Europe the report that it was taken, and all was lost. Radziwil's military talents had not proved equal to the emergency: during the battles of Grochow and Praga he had given scarce any orders, and the troops had obeyed the commands of Chlopicki and Skrzynecki, whose coolness and military talents, in spite of themselves, forced them to the lead. The former, desperately wounded, lay stretched on the bed of suffering. The command of the armies was accordingly taken from Radziwil, and unanimously bestowed by the Diet on ² Rom. Solt. i. Skrzynecki, whose exploits and 305, 309, ii. 1. military talents ere long fully justified the choice. ³ Ann. Hist. xiv. 492, 493.

54. Parallel of Grochow and Sieroczn with Inkermann and Balaklava.

56. Skrzynecki appointed generalissimo by the Diet.

55. Operations of Dwernicki on the left bank of the Vistula.

Born in Galicia of parents in affluent circumstances, SKRZYNECKI received a liberal education, and he was introduced into the world under the auspices of the Czartoryski family. In 1809, when the war broke out between the French and Austrians, and Galicia was invaded by the Russian forces, he entered a regiment levied by Prince Constantine Czartoryski, and acquired, during the short campaign which followed, the reputation of a good infantry officer. Afterward, when the kingdom of Poland was re-established, he was promoted to the foot-guards of the Grand Duke Constantine, but having, like many others, fallen under the displeasure of that capricious tyrant, he was transferred to a regiment of the line; and being a sort of martyr, he immediately became popular with the army. After this he was for a time tinged with the mystical ideas on religion which, spreading from the Congregation in France, were, during the Restoration, so widely diffused over the higher classes in Europe. But this did not cause him to abandon his patriotic feelings; and during the trials in 1826 of the persons connected with the secret societies in Poland, he contributed not a little, by his energy and intelligence, to the acquittal of several of the accused. When the revolution broke out at Warsaw on the 29th November, he was in command of a regiment there, and was one of the first who joined the popular side. Though far from sanguine as to the issue of the contest, and by no means led away by the illusions which generally prevailed among the liberal enthusiasts on that subject, he actively contributed his part to the liberation of the country; and his military capacity and courage in danger at the battles of Grochow and Praga were such as clearly pointed him out for the situation of commander-in-chief, when the wound of Chlopicki disqualified him for further service in the field. He was at this time forty-five years of age; his figure was tall and countenance handsome, and his address and talent in conversation had already obtained for him much envied success in society. His ambition, like that of most eminent men, was great; but it was set on lofty things, and concealed from all but his most intimate friends under the charm of a polished and captivating manner.¹

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 15, 17; Biog. Univ. lxxxii. 234, 236, sup.

The first care of Skrzynecki, on being elevated to the supreme command, was to endeavor to open a negotiation with Marshal Diebitch for the restoration of peace. It was soon found, however, that this attempt was hopeless, as every similar one is with Russia when not preceded by defeat. The Russian commander had no power to treat, except on the terms of an unconditional surrender, and to those conditions the Poles could not for a moment be brought to listen. Both parties, therefore, made preparations for a renewal of the struggle; and the roads having become impassable in the two last weeks of March by the sudden thaw, both had a short leisure to complete these preparations. Diebitch spread his army out in extended cantonments, reaching over a breadth of eighty English miles, for the sake of provisions and lodgings for his numerous followers; and Skrzynecki made the utmost

efforts to raise the spirits and increase the number and efficiency of his troops. The recruits were clothed, armed, and disciplined with the utmost diligence; the new intrenchments round Warsaw were pushed forward with the utmost rapidity—the whole inhabitants, male and female, laboring night and day in the trenches; and the greatest efforts were made to provide the necessary supplies of ammunition for the troops. By these means, the chasms in the ranks occasioned by the battles of Grochow and Praga were rapidly filled up by ardent recruits; and the general-in-chief raised the enthusiasm to the highest by a noble proclamation, in which he called upon them to conquer or die in defense of their country.^{1*}

Skrzynecki's plan of operations, which bore the signet-mark of genius, was to take advantage of his central position, protected by the fortifications of Warsaw, and fall with his concentrated forces upon Diebitch's men while still dispersed in their cantonments, and inflict upon them, by a sudden irruption when unprepared, as great a loss as possible. The weight of the attack was to be directed toward Ostrolenka, in order to force back the Russian right wing, and reopen the communications with Lithuania, into which it was proposed to throw a division, which was to advance toward Wilna, and lend its aid to the malcontents in that province, with whom a correspondence had already been entered into. At the same time, taking advantage of the consternation produced by the sudden attack in the centre, Dwernicki with his little band of heroes was to move rapidly into Volhynia, and rouse the insurrection in that province and Podolia, where a large body of insurgents, for the most part cavalry, awaited only their approach to join the national cause. Every thing here depended upon the success of the first attack on the Russian centre by Skrzynecki in person; but the straggling positions of the Muscovites, and the vigor and secrecy of the Polish general, joined to the advantages of his central position, gave the prospect of decisive success in that quarter.²

The forces with which the Polish general had to undertake these various operations, though not considerable, were yet nearly adequate to their accomplishment. The troops at his disposal amounted to 55,000 men, of whom 16,000 were cavalry, with 125 guns. The first division, 9540 strong, with 18 guns; the third, under Malachowski, 11,096 bayonets, with 20 pieces of

* "Soldats! nous avons devant nous un ennemi fier de son bonheur, de ses forces, et du rang qu'il tient en Europe. Mais, s'il est formidable par sa puissance, les outrages dont il nous a accablés ont comblé la mesure, et le rend coupable aux yeux de Dieu et des hommes. Pleins de confiance désormais dans la sainteté de notre cause, et dans la Divine Providence, nous pouvons sans crainte nous mesurer avec lui. Jurons en notre âme et conscience que nous resterons fidèles à cette devise, 'Vaincre ou mourir pour la patrie' et nous servirons d'exemple dans l'histoire du monde aux défenseurs des droits sacrés et inviolables des nations. Si la victoire ne doit pas couronner nos efforts, du moins nous ne vivrons pas pour nous soumettre à son joug odieux. C'est à cette gloire que je vous convie, et je vous assure la couronne du martyr, si ce ne sont des couronnes de lauriers, au bout de cette carrière héroïque et semée de dangers. Nous les gagnerons certainement, si vous me secondez par votre valeur et votre soumission. SKRZYNECKI." —ROM. SOLT. vol. ii. p. 24.

cannon; and the fourth, of 7665 combatants, were under the immediate command of Skrzynecki, with Uminski's cavalry, 5700 sabres. The second division, of 8288 men, with 18 guns, under General Gielgud, was to force its way athwart the Russian right into Lithuania, while the cavalry of Lubienski and Skarzynski, mustering 7000 sabres, were, under Dwernicki, to diverge into Volhynia. If the insurrection in these provinces could acquire consistency before the Muscovite legions were upon them, the Poles had every chance of success; but the risk was very great that they would be cut to pieces before they were either disciplined or equipped as real soldiers. Every thing depended, in the first instance, on the vigor and secrecy of Skrzynecki's blows in the centre, which were to be struck with not more than 25,000 combatants against not less than 70,000; and this

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 32, 33; An. Hist. xiv. 493, 494. great inequality could be overcome only by the skillful use of a central position, and superior rapidity of concentration.¹

Skrzynecki's measures were taken with equal ability and secrecy. At midnight,

^{61.} Skrzynecki's brilliant success in the centre. March 31. on the 30th March, he set out from Warsaw at the head of the divisions Rybinski, Malachowski, and Gielgud, and in the utmost silence crossed the bridge of the Vistula,

which, with the roads for a little distance beyond it, had been laid with straw. With such skill was the movement conducted, that the Russians were in total ignorance of what was going forward, and the Polish advanced guard, favored by a thick fog, was upon them before they were aware that it had crossed the Vistula. The surprise was complete, the success beyond all hopes great. Geismar's corps, which was the first to be reached, was suddenly assailed, when the men were for the most part asleep, and almost entirely destroyed. The few that escaped endeavored to rally on the corps of Rosen, which was in battle array at Dembe-wielkie, sixteen miles from Warsaw. The position of the Russians was strong, the left being covered by the marshy banks of a stream which flows into the Vistula, their centre protected by thick brushwood, and their right by a wood. The approach to the position was

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 494, 495; Rom. Solt. ii. 40, 45. rendered extremely difficult by the spongy nature of the ground, which was all but impassable for artillery.²

Vain, however, were all these advantages of position against the heroic valor of the Poles. Part of Malachowski's division advanced on the right of the *chaussée*, supported by Skarzynski's horse; while Gielgud's division, and the remainder of Malachowski's, operated on the left. The Russians at first made a stout resistance; the fire, especially of artillery, was soon extremely warm along the whole line; and the contest was prolonged the more that the extreme wetness of the ground almost every where prevented the Polish cavalry from charging. The battle continued, with various success, and great loss on both sides, till the evening; but at seven o'clock a brigade of Skarzynski's horse, by a vigorous charge, carried the village of Dembe, broke the enemy's centre, and took

nine pieces of cannon. Upon this the whole of Rosen's corps took to flight, and nothing but the darkness of the night, and the extreme exhaustion of the Polish troops, who had marched and fought since the preceding midnight, saved any part of them from destruction. As it was, the Poles took six thousand prisoners, besides inflicting an equal loss in killed and wounded on the enemy, who dispersed in all directions, no longer preserving even the appearance of an army. Such of them as could be reached by the Polish horse surrendered without resistance; the peasants brought in great numbers who were straggling in the woods; and so great was the consternation of the Muscovites, that next morning the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of two peasants, without arms, bringing to the Polish head-quarters twelve Russian soldiers, whom they allowed to carry their muskets, to avoid the trouble of taking them from them.¹

The extreme fatigue of the troops prevented Skrzynecki from continuing the pursuit far on the 31st; but at day-break on the 1st April it was resumed by Lubienski, with his brigade of cavalry, who, having now got on the highway, pushed on with the utmost vigor, and rendered it totally impossible for the Russians to rally at any point. At the head of his lancers he passed in full trot through the towns of Minsk and Kaluckzyn, amidst the loud cheers of the inhabitants, and, without ever drawing bridle, pushed on above twenty miles, collecting prisoners at every step. So great was the consternation of the Russians, that whole battalions threw down their arms, and surrendered at the sight of the Polish advanced squadron. Before he halted for the night he had made six thousand additional prisoners, which was the more important as the greater part of them were Lithuanians, and four thousand of them entered the Polish ranks. Altogether the Poles in these two days made twelve thousand prisoners, besides six thousand of the enemy killed or wounded, and twelve guns taken—a victory about as great as that which, thirty years before, had broken the strength of Austria in the forest of Hohenlinden.²

After this terrible disaster, Rosen retired with the few remains of his troops to Siedlece, and Skrzynecki advanced his head-quarters to Kaluckzyn, where he was joined two days after by General Milberg with seven thousand men, which much more than repaired the losses of the preceding actions. A great career now awaited the Polish general, and he was strongly urged by his generals to adopt it. This was, to draw together all his disposable troops, which would have amounted to full forty thousand men, and attack the enemy in Lublin; and, after taking it, advance and assail the rear of the corps commanded by Diebitch in person, which, shut in between the Wieprz, the Vistula, and the Polish army, would have been in the most perilous situation. A council of war was held on the subject. "I have completely beaten," said Skrzynecki, "a part of the Russian army; I have got the command of the centre of operations, and it is in my power either to

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 45, 46; An. Hist. xiv. 494.

^{63.} Great success of the Poles in the pursuit. April 1.

² Rom. Solt. ii. 46, 47; An. Hist. xiv. 494.

^{64.} Chances which now awaited Skrzynecki.

push forward my left, pass the Bug at Nur, and attack the Russian guard which is opposed to it; or turn to my right, and take Diebitch in flank, who has not had time to collect the troops cantoned between the Vistula and the Wieprz. But the roads are impracticable for artillery; my information on that subject is positive; I am chained to the great road of Siedlece; I can not profit by my victory."¹

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 39, 40.

The other generals did not estimate so strongly the difficulties of an immediate advance either to the right or left. "We can not," said Prondzynski, "it is true, carry with us our guns, but the Russians are in the same situation; they have the same difficulties to contend with that we have. If we can not drag forward our cannon, they can not take theirs away, or bring them up to the front; our relative position is unchanged: let us then instantly advance; let us take advantage of the consternation into which the enemy has been thrown. We shall meet them with the ascendant of victory, and fortune will crown our efforts." Had Skrzynecki been supported by the resources of the French Republic, or even had the despotic authority which Napoleon wielded in Italy, he would probably have followed this bold advice, and possibly success as decisive might have attended his efforts as had done those of that great commander in Lombardy in 1796. But he had no reserves behind him; his army was the last hope of Poland; a single reverse might at once prove fatal; and Skrzynecki with reason feared that, if he pushed further forward on the great road without having his flank secured, Diebitch would collect his troops and cut off his communication with Warsaw by occupying Minsk or Dembe in his rear. Roman Soltyk strongly urged an immediate advance to Siedlece, where the Russian grand park of artillery was placed, and which would fall an easy prey, as it was not defended by more than ten thousand men; adding that this would be sure to draw on Diebitch, and expose him to a flank attack while striving to cut off the Polish communications. But this step was deemed by Skrzynecki too hazardous, and without moving further forward, or advancing to Siedlece, he remained inactive on the great road,

though Uminski with his division of cavalry joined him in the night between the 3d and 4th.²

² Rom. Solt. ii. 49, 51.

At length having drawn together every disposable sabre and bayonet, and adequately secured his rear, Skrzynecki determined on a forward movement, and for this purpose advanced with twenty-fivethousand of his best troops against Rosen, who was in position with an equal force on the Kostrzyn, covering the approach to Siedlece. The Polish plan of attack, which was very ably combined, was as follows: Prondzynski was to march by Jerusalem and Wodyrice with nine thousand men, so as to turn Rosen's left, while Skrzynecki himself with eleven thousand assailed him by the high-road in front, and Chrzanowski was to advance with five thousand men to Stoczek, so as to threaten Diebitch in person, and lead him to suppose the attack was to be directed against him, so

as to prevent him from sending succors to his menaced lieutenant. If these attacks succeeded, Rosen would be thrown back on the Livrie, a river flowing through marshy beds, and overwhelmed at the crossing of the bridge of Iganie. Had these plans been carried out as proposed, beyond all doubt Rosen's corps would have been totally destroyed. But by one of those chances so common in war, he had withdrawn the bulk of his forces from their position on the Kostrzyn before the attack was made, and half of them had defiled in retreat over the bridge of Iganie before Prondzynski was upon them. That general, too, had only six thousand men in hand when he commenced the attack on fifteen thousand, and Skrzynecki was not yet come up. Thus his position was critical, but such was the valor of the Poles that they overcame all opposition. Putting themselves at the head of their troops, the Polish chiefs advanced courageously against the enemy, of nearly double their strength, with twenty-four guns placed in battery. So disheartened were the Russians by their previous defeats that they made very little resistance, but fled tumultuously to the bridge, abandoning half of their guns and fifteen hundred prisoners to the victorious Poles. This success was the more remarkable that the troops thus defeated were the élite of Pahlen's veterans; and the old soldiers, in shame after their defeat, and indignant at their officers, who gave the first example of flight, tore their eagles from their shakos and trampled them under their feet.¹

Siedlece was now open, and must, with the park of artillery placed in it, have fallen into Skrzynecki's hands had he immediately advanced against it; but he was prevented from doing so by the dread of bringing the cholera into his army, which was raging in the Russian hospitals at that place. Vain precaution! The Poles took the contagion from the Muscovite prisoners taken at the bridge of Iganie, and it soon made as great ravages in their ranks as in those of their opponents. This misfortune for some days arrested Skrzynecki's advance, and the Russians, seeing they were not pursued, remeasured their steps, and advanced a body of twelve thousand men against Uminski, who had only six thousand. Notwithstanding the most heroic efforts on the part of the Poles, they were overwhelmed by numbers, and driven back with the loss of five hundred men, though not before they had inflicted a loss of double that amount upon the enemy. This check, however, terminated Skrzynecki's offensive operations in the centre at this time; and Diebitch, who had shown great indecision in the crisis, and was far from having sustained the reputation of the "Passer of the Balkan," was too happy to let him rest for a short time while he himself reorganized his shattered columns.²

During these brilliant operations in the centre, the right wing of the Poles, under Sierawiki and Pac, fifteen thousand strong, was ordered to cross the Vistula, and advance against General Kreutz, who was at Lublin, with twelve thousand, observing Dwernecki, who

65.
Opinion of Prondzynski and others, which is not adopted.

66.
Victory of the Poles at Iganie.
April 10.

67.
The cholera breaks out in the Polish army, which is arrested in its advance.

April 14.

² Rom. Solt. ii. 60, 66.

68.
Bad success of Sierawiki on the right.
April 17.

was at Zamosc, ready to throw himself into Volhynia, and stir up an insurrection in that province. The Polish generals, in two divisions, nine thousand being under Sierawiki, and six thousand under Pac, crossed the Vistula, and advanced cautiously against Kreutz, of the amount of whose forces they were ignorant. Unfortunately, Sierawiki, when alone, and with his cavalry in part detached, came upon Kreutz, who lay at Belzyec, in a strong position at the entrance of a forest, with twenty-four guns. The forces on the opposite sides were too unequal to admit of success; but as his orders from Skrzynecki were positive to attack the enemy, the brave Polish general did not hesitate to engage. He had only six thousand men, entirely new levies, and six guns, all of light calibre; but nevertheless they made so vigorous a fight, that, though the Russians repulsed them, they were unable to follow up their advantage, or

make any prisoners. Next day he retired to Kazimoiz, on the banks of the

Vistula, and there was attacked by the Russians. Notwithstanding the immense disparity of force,

¹ An. Hist. the Poles made a gallant resistance, but at length were driven across the river with the loss of fifteen hundred men in killed and wounded.¹

This misfortune drew after it another still

more considerable. Dwernicki, who was to have been supported by Sierawiki, advanced in the first week of April into Volhynia with his active and intrepid squadrons, and at first with signal success. He had

only one thousand three hundred infantry, and two thousand seven hundred horse, with twelve pieces of light horse-artillery. With these inconsiderable forces he crossed the Bug at Krilow on the 10th April, and marched against the Russian general Rudiger, who had thirteen thousand troops under his orders, and was to be supported by Roth, with twelve thousand more. Dwernicki's reliance to combat forces so immense was on the insurrection which was ready to break out in Volhynia, and the aid they would derive from the admirable light horse of the steppes, and the skillful marksmen of the forests, of whom twelve thousand were expected to be in arms as soon as the Polish uniforms were seen among them. He defeated a Russian detachment which tried to oppose a passage, and addressed an animated proclamation to the Volhynians, in which, referring with just exultation to the victory of Dembe, he called on them "now or never" to combat for their ancient liberties.* Few, however, at first answered the appeal; they knew too well the forces of the Russians, who had been long quartered among them. Ignorant of the small number of his opponents, whom he estimated at

twelve thousand men, Rudiger retired before the Poles, and several skirmishes ensued entirely to their advantage; but at

* "Nous avons déjà avec l'aide de Dieu battu les ennemis sur votre propre territoire; le régiment de dragons Russes de Kargopol a été presque entièrement détruit, et moitié de ses soldats sont nos prisonniers. Confians dans la sainteté de notre cause, levez-vous simultanément: les Polonais et les Lithuaniens combattent en ce moment les Moscovites et remportent des victoires. Je vous apporte la nationalité et vos anciennes libertés."

"A PRESENT OU JAMAIS."

—ROMAN SOLTYSK, II. 103.

length, having learned that they were only two thousand three hundred horse, he stood firm, and a general action ensued. Despite their inferior numbers, Dwernicki's hussars made several successful charges, and took eight pieces of cannon and eight hundred prisoners, and fairly drove the Russians, four times their number, from the field of battle. Next day he advanced toward Podolia, and on the 23d reached Kolodno; but there he was beset by Rudiger on one side, and Krasucki, with part of Roth's corps, on the other. Thus pressed by forces nine times his own, the brave Polish general had no alternative but to cross the Austrian frontier, and enter Galicia, where his men were immediately disarmed, and conducted into the interior. But so little zealous was the Austrian government at this time in favor of Russia, that they were negligently guarded, and almost all, though without arms, regained the standards of independence.¹

Although it terminated in this manner in disaster, the intelligence of the interruption of Dwernicki and his early successes roused a formidable insurrection in Podolia, the southern parts of Volhynia, and the Ukraine. The inhabitants of those immense

plains, trusting, like the Scythians of old, in the fleetness of their horses, and the ease with which they could escape in the boundless solitude of the steppes, eagerly hoisted the standard of independence. The insurrection was commenced before it was ready in other

quarters by the brothers Sobanski, who took the field at the head of 250 horse; and their followers soon swelled to 2000 cavalry and 500 excellent chasseurs under Kolysko. With this small band he advanced against the city of Kiow, containing 80,000 inhabitants, where he would have found ample supplies of all sorts, closely followed by 4000 men of Roth's division. The Polish rear-guard faced about, and by a headlong charge routed the Russian horse; but, following up their advantage with the ardor of young troops, they came on the enemy's infantry and artillery, by whom they were repulsed with great slaughter, and forced to retreat. This disaster had a ruinous effect on the insurrection. Tracked by a host of enemies, displaying in many detached actions all the valor of their chivalrous ancestors, and defeated only by forces four times their numbers, their loss was very great at every step, and at length, after performing prodigies

of valor, this little band of heroes, now reduced to 700 men, was obliged to cross the Austrian frontier, and take refuge in Galicia, where they were immediately disarmed.²

While those calamitous events were extinguishing the last hopes of national

existence in the southern provinces, the two grand armies in the centre

remained in a state of inaction. Diebitch was awaiting reinforcements to supply the immense chasms made in his ranks; and Skrzynecki, although his forces, including Pac's division, were about 57,000 men, did not deem it expedient to resume the offensive. Poland has since had abundant reason to regret that inaction, for so

March 26.

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 109, 114; Ann. Hist. xiv. 495, 496.

² 70. Insurrection in Podolia and the Ukraine, and its final discomfiture.

April 25.

May 17.

May 26.

² Rom. Solt. ii. 121, 126; Ann. Hist. xiv. 496, 497.

71. Operations in the centre.

favorable an opportunity of striking a decisive blow never again occurred, the two armies being of nearly equal strength, and the Poles exalted by victory, while the Russians were depressed by defeat. At length, yielding to the solicitations of the patriots in Lithuania, who were eagerly requesting a body of regular troops to enable them to commence their insurrection, he sent two detachments of troops, under Lowinski and Jankowski, to endeavor to penetrate into Russian Poland, but they were both met by superior bodies of Russians, and obliged to retreat. Nevertheless the insurrection, headed by some brave partisans, broke out in that province, and gave the Russians great uneasiness, as it lay directly on their line of operations. At length Diebitch, having been largely reinforced,

April 26. resumed the offensive, and advanced with 40,000 men to Jerusalem, while 15,000 marched on Kaluckzyn. Skrzynecki, instead of attacking him, retreated on his approach, anticipating what soon happened, that want of supplies, and the wasted state of the country, would soon compel him to retreat. On the 28th the Russians were again in Minsk, but they remained there only a few days, and

¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 496, 497; behind Siedlee, while the Poles Rom. Solt. ii. again resumed the ground on their 136, 142. front.¹

Having been informed of the first successes of Dwernicki in Volhynia, and not yet apprised of his ultimate disasters, Skrzynecki resolved to support him by a division of his best troops. With this view he detached Chrzanowski with six thousand three hundred men, with orders to march upon Lublin, attack Kreutz, and march by Zamosc into Volhynia. The Polish general, in the first instance, gained several advantages in detached combats, in one of which, near Lubartow, he made eight hundred prisoners. But Kreutz, having collected

May 9. his forces, attacked him with greatly superior numbers on the day following, and after an obstinate conflict, in which the Poles displayed the most heroic valor, they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. They made good their passage, however, to Zamosc, which they reached on the 14th, from whence Chrzanowski made various excursions

May 10. into Volhynia, which had no decisive result, as the defeat of Dwernicki had extinguished all the hopes of the insurgents in that quarter.²

While these operations were taking place on the right, Skrzynecki was engaged in a movement ably conceived, and which was likely to be attended with the most important results. His object was to force back the Russian right, the head-quarters of which were at Ostrolenka, and thereby open the communication with Lithuania, where the insurrection was making considerable progress, and which he intended to support by an entire Polish division, eight thousand strong, under Gielgud. This project was not without its dangers, as it left Warsaw nearly uncovered; but the prospect of rousing the great strength of Lithuania for the national cause, and the paramount necessity of moving the seat of war out of the Po-

lish territory, which was well-nigh exhausted, rendered it advisable to run the risk. In effect, though with severe loss to the Poles, it in the main succeeded. The Polish army, forty-six thousand strong, with one hundred guns, broke up on the 12th May from their position in front of Kostrzyn, and advanced against the Russian Guards, who were cantoned in and around OSTROLENKA, hoping to overwhelm them before the remainder of Diebitch's corps could come up to their relief. Uminski, with six thousand men, was left to make head against Diebitch, who, little suspecting what was going on on his right, advanced with twenty-four thousand men against him, expecting to encounter the bulk of Skrzynecki's army. Finding that the Guards were unconscious of his approach, Skrzynecki, after reaching Sicrosk, which he did on the 16th, formed his troops into three corps of attack, which was fixed for the following day. The Russians, however, though they embraced the élite of the Guards, did not venture to await the attack even in the intrenchments they had raised around Ostrolenka, and retired toward Bialystok, closely followed by Skrzynecki, who on the 21st attacked and defeated their rear-guard with great slaughter at Tykoczyn, which fell into his hands. By this advance the Russian right was so far driven back that the road to Lithuania was thrown open, and Chlapowski, with a Polish division four thousand strong, was immediately pushed forward into that province.¹

So far great success had attended this bold and well-conceived movement of Skrzynecki, and in its main object—that of opening up a communication with, and throwing succors into Lithuania—it may be said it had answered every expectation. But the difficulty was for the Polish army to get back and regain its communications with Warsaw after having gained this advantage. Diebitch resolved to concentrate his forces and attack them, as he had done the Turks at Kouleffcha, when striving to regain their strong-hold in Schumla two years before.² With this view, having drawn together all his disposable troops, amounting to sixty-five thousand men, he marched against Skrzynecki, who, after the detachments he had made, could not collect above forty thousand.

Fearful of being assailed in rear by this superior force, the Polish general rapidly retired, crossed the Narew, and occupied Ostrolenka with part of his forces. But the advance of Diebitch had been so swift that it had in a manner cut the Polish army in two. The divisions of Gielgud and Lubienski were separated from the remainder of the army in Ostrolenka. Having, by a night-march between the 25th and 26th, come close up to the two last Polish divisions, who were by no means aware of his approach, he commenced a vigorous attack on Lubienski's division with forces four times his own. Only two bridges were in the hands of the Poles to effect their retreat over the Narew, and if Diebitch's attack had been as vigorous as his night-march had been rapid, Lubienski's division would have been totally

72. Expedition of Chrzanowski into Volhynia, and its defeat. May 3.

74. Diebitch marches against the Polish rear.

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¹ Ann. Hist. xiv. 497, 498; Rom. Solt. ii. 167, 178.

² Ante, c. xv. § 126.

destroyed. But so completely had the Polish victories disconcerted the Russian commanders, that they attacked with so little vigor as gave Pac time to issue from Ostrolenka, recross the Narew, and advance to his support.¹

This brought on a general battle. Lubien-ski, seeing his communications so seriously threatened, and that certain destruction awaited him if his retreat were turned into a rout, made the most vigorous efforts to keep his ground. He was long seconded by the steady valor of his troops, but at length they were overwhelmed by numbers and driven back in disorder to the bridges over the Narew, which the Russians passed *pêle-mêle* with the last of the fugitives. The bulk of Lubienski's men got safely over, and drew up in two lines in good order on the left bank of the river. The Russians, however, crossed rapidly over, and supported the passage by two powerful batteries, one of thirty-four and another of thirty-six guns, on the right bank of the stream, and which thundered with terrible effect on the Polish lines on the opposite side. The moment was to the last degree critical; for if the Russians succeeded in establishing themselves in Ostrolenka, the Polish army was cut in two, and Gielgud's division, which was still on the right bank, in all probability would be destroyed. The surprise was complete. Skrzy-necki only reckoned on a warm affair of the rear-guard when crossing the river, and now he had the bulk of the Russian army upon his hands.²

Though taken unawares in this manner, the Polish general did all that skill and Repulse of courage could effect to repair the the Poles. check which had been sustained. Both parties brought up fresh forces every minute, and the field of battle, which was extremely narrow, was speedily crowded with combatants; the Poles straining every nerve to drive back the Russians to the left bank, the Russians to make good the footing they had got on the right. The Polish artillery consisted only of twelve pieces, which were quickly dismounted and silenced; while dense masses of Russians, soon wholly unopposed by artillery, crowded down to the water's edge. In despair, Langerman made a gallant charge with the bayonet, which checked the enemy, and two battalions laid down their arms; but the Poles were unable to collect the prisoners for want of cavalry, and they all escaped. Skrzynecki, who arrived on the field of battle at eleven o'clock, made the most incessant efforts to prevent the enemy from extending themselves on the right. Wherever danger was greatest he was to be seen, animating the troops by his voice and example; his clothes were pierced with balls, and nearly all his aids-de-camp were killed or wounded. The Polish artillery of Colonel Bern, which was at last brought up, replied with effect to the enemy's batteries, and made deep chasms in his ranks. Toward evening the fire slackened on both sides, owing to want of ammunition and the fatigue of the combatants; and at nightfall the Russians withdrew all their forces to the left bank of the river, leaving only detachments to guard the *têtes-de-pont* on the right.³

In this terrible battle, in which both parties displayed the most heroic valor, the Poles lost seven thousand men killed and wounded, including Generals Kieki and Kaminsky, who fell gloriously on the field. The Russian loss was not less than ten thousand men, owing to the dense masses in which they fought, and the unerring precision with which the Polish balls fell on their crowded ranks. Yet, although their loss was considerably greater than that of their opponents, and the Russians withdrew from the most obstinately contested part of the field, the battle was attended, to the Poles, with the consequences of the most serious defeat. Seven thousand men to them was a much greater loss than ten thousand to the Russians; and they found themselves entirely cut off from the division of General Gielgud, eight thousand strong, which was lost to the grand army, and abandoned to a doubtful fate in the forests of Lithuania. So strongly did these circumstances present themselves to the minds of the generals, who assembled in a council of war next day, that, with the exception of Skrzynecki, who resolutely maintained they should keep their ground, they all counseled a retreat. The opinion of the majority prevailed, and the army retired leisurely by Pultusk to Praga, without being disquieted in their retreat. But they were permanently severed from the division of Gielgud, who possibly might, by a prolonged stay at Ostrolenka, have been enabled, by a circuitous march, to rejoin the army.¹

Diebitch did not long enjoy the gleam of success which closed his long and honorable career. He had been severely chagrined at the previous disasters which his troops had undergone, and which had excited great irritation in the breast of the Emperor, who had resolved on his dismissal. The knowledge of this preyed upon his mind, and he sought a momentary relief in the immoderate use of ardent spirits, to which he was unhappily at all times too much addicted. The consequence was, that he became predisposed to the cholera, which at that time was raging in both armies. He died of that pestilence suddenly at Pultusk on June 10. the 10th June, and this was followed a few weeks afterward by the death of the Grand Duke Constantine, who expired at Witepsk, in the arms of his beloved wife, for whom he had sacrificed the throne of Russia. The sudden death, at the same time, of the two men who had borne the most prominent parts in the war in Poland, naturally led to a suspicion of poison or suicide; but there appears nothing to justify this surmise, and the termination of the lives of both is sufficiently accounted for by the pestilence which at that time prevailed with so much violence in Poland, and the disasters which, by their depressing influence, had so much predisposed both to receive it.²

After the battle of Ostrolenka, the two principal armies remained nearly a month in a state of inaction. Both parties had suffered too much to admit of hostilities being speedily resumed by either. Skrzynecki lay under cover of the cannon of Praga, recruiting his shattered ranks, and incorporating with them the new levies;

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 181, 187; An. Hist. xiv. 498, 499.

^{75.}
Battle of Ostrolenka. May 26.

² Rom. Solt. ii. 181, 190; An. Hist. xiv. 498, 499.

^{76.}
Repulse of the Poles.

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 192, 193; Ann. Hist. xiv. 499.

^{78.}
Death of Diebitch and the Grand Duke Constantine.

³ Rom. Solt. ii. 189, 193; An. Hist. xiv. 498, 499.

² Biog. Univ. lxii. 487; Ann. Hist. xiv. 500.

while the Russian army, which, after Diebitch's death, was intrusted to the skillful hands of Paskiewitch, was engaged in reorganizing its divisions, and receiving reinforcements from the interior. The retreat of the chief army to the neighborhood of Warsaw, however, and the knowledge of the severance of Gielgud's division, and the suppression of the insurrection in Volhynia, spread a great gloom in the capital, which was the more felt that it immediately succeeded the joyous anticipations which had been indulged in on Skrzynecki's former victories. This was sensibly increased by the hostile attitude of Austria and Prussia, which was daily inclining more from professed neutrality to open adhesion to Russia, and the certainty that no effective support was to be expected from the distant cabinets of London and Paris. So strongly did these feelings prevail in Warsaw, that it soon became evident that a political crisis was at hand. With the sovereign multitude continued success is as essential to the continuance of power as with the sovereign despot: the disaster of Ostrolenka presaged the fall of Skrzynecki as much as the rout of Dembe did that of Diebitch. The clubs were soon reopened, and resounded with violent declamations; the cry of "Treason!" was heard in the streets; an effort was made in the Diet to deprive the dictator of the command; and although the constitutional party succeeded in maintaining him in power, yet his authority was violently shaken, and it was evident that the next misfortune would overturn it altogether.¹

Such a disaster was not long of occurring, and it was felt the more sensibly that it occurred in the quarter where the most sanguine hopes had been entertained of decisive success. Chlapowski and Gielgud having been, by the retreat of the Russians from Ostrolenka, entirely cut off from the main army, had no alternative but to throw themselves into Lithuania, and endeavor to find support in the insurrection in that province. At first their advance was attended by surprising success. The two generals formed a junction at Minsk, and with their united forces, twelve thousand strong, with twenty-four guns, advanced into the heart of Lithuania, where a powerful and enthusiastic party only awaited their arrival to join the insurrection. The contest had begun there some time before: when Chlapowski had entered the country, some thousand insurgents had joined the Polish standard; but they were ill armed, destitute of cannon or magazines, and very imperfectly disciplined, and were repeatedly defeated by the Russians in detached bodies. Such, however, was the spirit of the country, that they continued the contest under every disadvantage, seeking shelter in the forests when defeated, and again rejoining their standards when the danger had passed away. No less than three hundred and forty young men from the university of Wilna had joined their ranks, and twelve hundred under Prince Oginski, and the conflict was still going on in the very centre of the country. Chlapowski, at the time of the battle of Ostrolenka, was at the head of seven

thousand men, in which a heroine, Mademoiselle Plater, held a command; and the arrival of Gielgud's corps, which nearly doubled his forces, encouraged the Poles to make an advance on Wilna. They defeated General Sacken, who with four thousand men tried to stop their progress, with the loss of two thousand men, crossed the Niemen, and advanced with eleven thousand men to the neighborhood of Wilna. This advance roused the whole country. Eleven thousand Lithuanians flocked to the Polish standards, but there was no time to organize or arm them before the contest was decided under the walls of the capital.¹

The Russians, who were seriously alarmed at the progress of the insurrection in their own dominions, had made the greatest efforts to strengthen themselves in Wilna. They had collected there twenty-one thousand men, eighteen thousand of whom occupied an intrenched camp under General Sacken in front of the town, while three thousand were kept in reserve within its walls to overawe the discontented, who, on the first reverse, were ready to break out into insurrection. The Polish generals had only fourteen thousand, of whom not more than one half were old troops fit to engage in a regular combat, and, what was even worse, they had little confidence in Gielgud, who had the chief command. Dembinski, with four thousand more, was at a distance, and took no part in the conflict. Zalewski, who commanded the Polish right, defeated the Russian left opposed to him; but Gielgud was repulsed in the centre, and his guns dismounted by the superior fire of the Russian artillery, and in the end the Poles were obliged to retreat with the loss of a thousand men.

This check, as is generally the case in wars of invasion and insurrection, proved fatal to the Polish cause in Lithuania. Zalewski, who remained last on the field of battle, was cut off from Gielgud, and driven to Merez, where he passed the Niemen, and sought refuge in the forests of the palatinate of Augustow. Gielgud himself, whose forces were weakened at every step by the desertion of the Lithuanian levies, who despaired of the cause, retreated with the troops which still remained with him toward the Polish frontier, leaving Dembinski and Zalewski to their fate. He was vigorously pursued by Sacken, and nothing but disaster attended his retreat. Repulsed in an assault on Szawle on the Niemen, the Polish division rapidly melted away, and at length, tracked by different corps of Russians, it was compelled to take refuge in the Prussian territory, where the men were immediately disarmed. Such was the indignation of the Polish officers at this catastrophe, that one of them, named Skalski, dashed out of the ranks mounted on a fiery steed, and, galloping up to Gielgud, discharged a pistol at his breast. The unfortunate general instantly fell, and died a few minutes after, protesting with his last breath his fidelity to his country. The event proved that he had been the victim of unmerited vengeance; for Roland's corps, to which the assassin belonged, was a few days after obliged to follow his example, and take refuge in

79. Suspension of hostilities of the two armies, and appointment of Paskiewitch to the command.

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 202, 204.

80. Insurrection in Lithuania, and final defeat of Gielgud. May 26.

May 27.

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 230, 234; Ann. Hist. xiv. 501.

81. Battle of Wilna, and defeat of the Poles. June 18.

July 7.

July 12.

July 16.

the Prussian territory, where it also was disarmed. More fortunate than either, Dembinski held to the south, and conducted his retreat with such skill, that, passing between all the divisions of the Russian grand army, stationed to intercept him, he made his entry into War-

Aug. 3. saw on the 3d August, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. Sixty thousand persons went out to meet him; the crowd pressed round his horse, embraced and kissed his feet, imploring on him the blessing of Heaven. They might well be proud of their hero. He had marched five hundred and fifty miles in twenty-five days, crossed ten rivers, and brought his corps intact through a host of enemies to Warsaw. The Rom. Solt. ii. annals of war do not record a more memorable exploit.¹

The disastrous issue of these attempts to spread the insurrection in Volhynia and Lithuania, and the irreparable loss of nearly twenty thousand men to the grand army with which they were attended, were fatal to all the hopes of Polish independence. No-

thing remained to its supporters but, like Cæsar, to meet their fate with resolution, and fall with honor. Yet such was the valor and constancy of the Poles, that they continued for above a month longer, with heroic courage, a contest which all the world saw had now become hopeless. Paskiewitch, who was a man of true military genius, as his brilliant campaigns in Asia Minor demonstrated, resolved to adopt an entirely different plan of operations from that which had proved so unfortunate under the direction of his predecessors. Instead of advancing, as Diebitch had done, on the direct road by Ostrolenka and Pultusk to the capital, where he would have the Polish army, backed by the formidable fortifications of Praga, to encounter, and a country utterly wasted to rely on for supplies, he resolved to cross the Vistula, and carry the war into the hitherto untouched country on the left bank, between that river and the Polish frontier. In doing so, it is true, he entirely abandoned his base of operations, and lost all his communications with Lithuania and Russia. But diplomacy had secured for him a new base, even superior in utility and convenience to that which was relinquished. Prussia, which had so often played a submissive and discreditable part on various crises of European history, had now become the entire vassal of Russia. Despite the remonstrances of England and France, which were vigorously exerted to retain the cabinet of Berlin in the path of real neutrality, the Prussian government openly, and in the most efficient manner, espoused the cause of Russia. Vessels laden with provisions, stores, and munitions of war, landed their cargoes at Dantzic, from whence they were forwarded forthwith to the Russian head-quarters; and the frontier was every where crossed by convoys of every sort from the Prussian territory.

Time will show whether, in so doing, that country has not put the seal to her own ultimate subjugation.²

Secure of the inestimable advantage of this base of operations on the left bank of the Vis-

tula, Paskiewitch assembled the bulk of his forces, sixty thousand strong, with three hundred pieces of cannon, at Pultusk, in the end of June, while Golowin and Rudiger, with twenty-three thousand men, were in reserve behind the Bug and the Wieprz. Skrzynecki in vain endeavored to bring the Prussian government back to a system of neutrality. The efforts of Count Flahault, who supported him on the part of the French government, were equally ineffectual. The answer of the cabinet of Berlin was, that it had never professed to be *neutral*, but only *inactive*. Finding themselves assailed by such immense forces, to which Skrzynecki had not twenty-five thousand to oppose, the Polish government ordered the *pospolite ruszenie*, or *levée-en-masse*; and the whole inhabitants worked night and day with incredible diligence at the fortifications. An energetic proclamation was published by the Government, which began with these words: "In the name of God; in the name of the liberty of the nation, now placed between life and death; in the name of its kings and heroes, who have combated in former days for its religion and independence; in the name of justice and of the deliverance of Europe, we call on all classes to come forward to defend their country." All nobly met the appeal. The nobles and senators who were absent all flocked to Warsaw to share the danger, and, if necessary, die on their curule chairs; the most energetic measures which the public defense required were adopted by the Government; and the interest excited in the adjoining states was so warm that no less than two-and-twenty counties in Hungary presented petitions to the Emperor of Austria, praying him to intervene by force of arms for the support of Poland.¹

Paskiewitch broke up from Pultusk on the 4th July, directing his steps, not to Warsaw, but to Plock on the Lowes. He made a circuit round Modlin, where Skrzynecki had established himself with twenty-one thousand men, which, with the garrison of that fortress, brought his forces up to thirty thousand combatants. The Polish troops, however, were much depressed by their numerous defeats, and far from exhibiting the spirit or discipline they had shown at Grochow and Dembe. The general, in consequence, did not venture to measure himself in the open field with an enemy more than double his strength, led by a consummate leader. He remained, wisely, under the cannon of Modlin; and meanwhile the Russian general advanced by Plock to Osiek on the Vistula, where the materials of three bridges had been prepared by the Prussian government. The bridges were quickly thrown across, and the army passed over. The Polish army upon this quitted Modlin and marched rapidly to Warsaw, while Paskiewitch drew the corps of Rudiger from Volhynia, which crossed the Vistula above Warsaw, and advanced down the left bank, in order to enter into communication with the main army, and join in the assault of the capital.²

The approach of these vast armies, numbering between them seventy thousand combat-

83.
Paskiewitch's plans and forces, and preparations of the Poles.

82.
Desperate state of the Poles, and plan of Paskiewitch.

¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 290, 302; Ann. Hist. xiv. 503, 504.

84.
Paskiewitch crosses the Vistula. July 19.

² Rom. Solt. ii. 291, 306; Ann. Hist. xiv. 504, 505.

ants, to whom the Poles could not at the utmost oppose more than thirty thousand, excited the utmost sensation at Warsaw, and roused to the very highest degree both the patriotic spirit and the savage passions of the people. Several councils were appointed by the Government to inquire into the conduct of the military operations, and the causes of the disasters which had recently been experienced. At length a commission was issued with full powers, extending even to his dismissal; and Skrzynecki, finding the current in the capital too strong to be resisted, resigned the command, and was succeeded by Aug. 18. Dembinski, who had the courage, in circumstances evidently desperate, to undertake a command for which the crown of martyrdom could be the only recompense. Krukowiecki was soon after appointed President of the Council of Government. Skrzynecki bore his fall with the equanimity which is the characteristic of a noble mind, protesting his readiness still to serve his country, were it only in the capacity of a private soldier. On the day following his dismissal, there was a review held of the whole troops around Warsaw, at which, to indicate the purity of his feelings, the displaced general rode beside his successor. At the sight of their beloved chief, abandoned and in misfortune, the troops could not contain their feelings. Tears were seen running down many cheeks which would never have been shed for any sufferings of their own; but they were turned into cheers of enthusiasm when Skrzynecki conjured them to exhibit the same submission to their new general which ¹Rom. Solt. ii. 337, 342; they had done to him, and Dembinski promised to follow in his footsteps.¹

History may well take a pride in recording this moving scene, in which noble parts were played by great actors on the tragic theatre of the world; but it would be well for the annals of Poland if the narrative of the change of government at Warsaw could stop there. Unfortunately, a very different scene was exhibited by the mobs in the capital. Excited by the approach of the Russians, and the declamations in the clubs, as the Jacobins of Paris had been by the advance of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792, they broke out into similar excesses. The massacre in the prisons of Warsaw on the 15th and 16th of August, 1831, is a fit companion to that in the prison of Paris on the 2d and 3d September, 1792. A furious mob, excited by the declamations of the violent orators in the clubs, and exclaiming "Treason! treason!" collected in the streets; and the whole armed force having been sent into the intrenched camp, the Government had no means either of subduing it or defending themselves. They first invaded the palace, where they overturned the Government, and then proceeding to the state prisons, they broke in and murdered all the state prisoners, including Jankowski and Bukowski, who had been tried to please the clubs, for their want of success in Volhynia, but acquitted. Forty-seven persons, including several Russian prisoners, and several unconnected with politics, and confined for debt,

fell victims to the fury of the populace on this calamitous occasion. Next day the Government, utterly powerless either to avert calamity or punish crime, gave in their resignation. They were succeeded by a new set of rulers, composed of the most violent of the clubs, at the head of which was Krukowiecki, whose talents were considerable, and energy of character well known.¹

But the hour was now approaching, and Warsaw, to avert it, stood in need of very different defenders from the assassins of disarmed captives in the prisons. Aware that it could not much longer be averted, both parties made the most vigorous efforts to collect all their forces for the decision of the final struggle. The Polish army, in the first instance, had taken post on the Bzura, considerably in advance of the capital, and some struggles had taken place there; but Dembinski, not feeling himself in sufficient strength to maintain his ground so far from his intrenchments, fell back to the intrenched camp, upon which the inhabitants of the capital had long been laboring; and Skrzynecki again gave a noble proof of his disinterested patriotism, by taking the command which was offered him of one of the columns. On the 18th August the whole Polish army was collected at Warsaw, and, considering the losses it had undergone, it presented an astonishing force. It consisted of 57,500 men in the intrenched camp at Warsaw, with 136 guns harnessed, besides 20,000 more with 10 guns in garrison at Modlin and Zamosc, or in partisan corps still at large in the country on the right bank of the Vistula. Paskiewitch's forces were considerably longer of being concentrated, from the more extended circumference from which they were to be drawn. By the end of August, however, they had all come up, and amounted to 89,000 men, including Rudiger's corps, which had arrived, and 12,000 in observation before Praga, and they had no less than 386 pieces of cannon.²

Paskiewitch gave the Government of Warsaw till the 5th September to surrender at discretion, insisting on this as the only admissible terms. The Polish government in this crisis, instead of despairing, had the courage to send 20,400 men under Ramorino to the right bank of the Vistula, into the palatinate of Podlachia; while Lubinski, with 2800 horse, was dispatched into that of Plock, to threaten the Russian communications. The remainder of the Polish forces, consisting of 34,000 more, guarded the intrenched camp at Warsaw, with 216 pieces of cannon. The intrenchments consisted of two lines, the first of which was mounted with 47 pieces of position, the second with 78; while the remainder, consisting of 84 field-pieces harnessed, were ready to carry assistance to any point which might require it. Ramorino, whose forces were greatly superior to those of Golowin which were opposed to him, gained considerable success. He defeated the united forces of Rosen and Golowin, with the loss of 1000 killed and wounded, besides 1500

86. Massacres in Warsaw. August 15 and 16.

¹Rom. Solt. ii. 337, 342; Ann. Hist. xiv. 505.

¹Ann. Hist. xiv. 506; Rom. Solt. ii. 340, 344.

87. Preparations and forces on both sides for the final struggle.

Aug. 18.

²Rom. Solt. ii. 388, 393; Ann. Hist. xiv. 506, 507.

88. Victory of Ramorino over Rosen and Golowin.

prisoners, and drove them back in confusion to Biala. But this success, great as it was, and important as it might have been at an earlier period, was attended with no material results. The contest was to be decided under the walls of Warsaw, and bitterly was the
 1 Rom. Solt. ii. 396, 402; want of Ramorino's 20,000 veterans An. Hist. xiv. 506, 507. felt in the decisive conflict which then ensued.¹

The assault of the intrenched camp commenced on the 6th September at day-break, and continued the whole day with the utmost fury on both sides. It was hard to say whether the attack or defense was conducted with the greater vigor or determination. The ancient and inextinguishable animosity of the Muscovites and Poles burned with the greatest intensity in both armies, blended with the sublime feelings of freedom and independence on the one side, and the indignation at supposed treachery on the other. The Russians, who were 70,000 strong, with 388 guns, made their chief attack on the village of Wola in the first line, which was garrisoned only by three battalions and ten guns, and in the end brought up no less than 100 pieces of cannon to concentrate their fire upon it. So vigorous was the cannonade, that the village, with the redoubts constructed around it, was carried at ten o'clock, and the Russians immediately occupied it in strength, and armed it with several additional batteries of their own, of heavier calibre than any the Poles could oppose to it. Malachowski, who commanded the Polish troops, made several desperate attempts to regain this important point, but all in vain. Wola was occupied by four strong battalions, which were fed by sixteen more placed in its rear; and the efforts of the Poles to retake it only led to a terrific slaughter, which ended in their troops being forced in that quarter back into the second line. There the troops made the most obstinate resistance; the officers encouraged the men by standing erect on the parapet amidst the hottest of the fire; and

among the most courageous who then distinguished themselves were Kausler, 684, more than one heroine arrayed in the dress and inspired by the courage of the other sex.^{2*}

While this bloody conflict was going on around Wola, Paskiewitch directed strong columns of attack against the village of Kruli Karnia, and soon the fire was general as far as the barrier of Jerusalem, close to Warsaw. The Polish generals, upon this, advanced in force, and drove back the enemy with great slaughter; but it was too late. The capture of Wola had decided the fate of the day, and Krukowiecki, who had never been beyond the second line, returned at three in the afternoon to the seat of government, declaring that all was lost, and that nothing remained but to surren-

* "Au milieu du feu je remarquai un soldat de la 5^e légion, qui restait constamment appuyé sur le parapet, ne s'inquiétant nullement des obus et des boulets, encourageant ses camarades, gesticulant et parlant avec vivacité. Comme il était au premier rang, je ne pus d'abord apercevoir sa figure; il se retourna, et je reconnus en lui une belle fille de dix-huit ans: il n'y avait pas de bataillon ou escadron de l'armée où il n'y eut une ou plusieurs de ces héroïnes."—ROMAN SOLTZYK, ii. 415, note. (An eye-witness.)

der. He even made no attempt to hold the remainder of the lines, till time was gained for Ramorino to return, whose 20,000 men might still have restored the day. He demanded, and had during the night, a long and secret conference with Paskiewitch; but, after a considerable delay, it led to no result, as the Russian general insisted on an unconditional surrender. At one o'clock on the next day the battle was renewed, the Poles having retired at all points to their second line, while the Russians, with 190 guns in front, advanced in dense columns to the attack. There were still 32,000 regular troops and 4000 national guards in the town, and they were animated by the courage of despair. Every thing announced a still more desperate conflict than had taken place on the preceding day.¹

The weight of the attack was directed against the faubourg of Wola and the bridge of Czysto, defended by two strong redoubts on one side, and three on the other. A tremendous fire was opened on the works by the Russian guns, which preceded their columns; but, notwithstanding this, the fire of the redoubts was so vigorous that the Muscovite columns of assault were shaken, and Uminski, by a flank charge, completed their defeat near the first of these points. The 20,000 men, absent under Ramorino, might then have saved Poland; and, as it was, the result was for some time doubtful. But toward four o'clock the Russian fire had established a superiority over that of the redoubts which defended the bridge of Czysto, and the corps of Pahlen and Kreutz, the élite of the Russian army, was formed in columns of assault. At a signal given, these noble veterans rushed forward, with drums beating, colors flying, and amidst warlike cries, toward the intrenchments. A terrible fire, first of canister, then of grape, spread death among them as they came within range; but the assailants pushed resolutely on, and, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance on the part of the Poles, several of the intrenchments fell into their hands. It was the superior fire of artillery which mainly occasioned this success. Upon learning of this disaster, Krukowiecki, finding the resistance could no longer be prolonged, agreed to a surrender at discretion, on condition that the Polish army was permitted to retire to Plock. Next day the Russians entered in triumph at the northern gates, while the Polish troops, in the deepest dejection, wended their way through the southern. Five thousand of their number had fallen; 4000 prisoners and 130 guns remained in the hands of the conquerors, whose loss in these two bloody days, admitted by Paskiewitch to have been 5378 killed and wounded, was in reality nearly 20,000 men.²

After the capitulation of Warsaw, Paskiewitch insisted that the army which had retired to Plock should submit to the will of the Emperor; but its chiefs disdained to surrender, and, in circumstances obviously desperate, insisted on continuing the con-

Sept. 7.

1 Rom. Solt. ii. 424, 426; Kausler, 686, 690; An. Hist. xiv. 507; Paskiewitch's Disp. Sept. 8, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 185, App.

91. Fall of War-

September 7.

2 Paskiewitch's Disp. Sept. 8, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 188, 189; Rom. Solt. ii. 425, 431; Kausler, 689, 690.

92. The remainder of the Polish troops take refuge in Austria and Prussia.

test. It was in vain: the death-blow had been given to Poland under the walls of Warsaw. Ramorino, whose absence had cost it so dear on the final struggle, retired toward the Upper Vistula, where he was closely followed by a large body of Russians, who summoned him to surrender. He indignantly refused, but in the

Sept. 17. night crossed the frontiers into the Austrian territory. Ryweki, who commanded another division of the Polish troops, hard pressed by the corps of Rosen and Doctroff, was driven to the confines of the republic of Cracow, and crossed the frontier of

Sept. 21. Galicia, where his troops were disarmed. The principal army under Malachowski, which had retreated from Warsaw, was raised in a few days by fugitives from various quarters to 27,000 men with 93 guns, besides the garrison of Modlin, to which it retired, which was 6000 more. But it was almost destitute of ammunition. The men, whose clothing was worn out, were without pay; magazines there were none to carry on the contest. The capitulation of Warsaw deprived them of hope, the last refuge of the destitute; dissensions broke out among the chiefs; Malachowski refused the supreme command, as he had been discredited by having signed the capitulation, and Rybinski was by a plurality elected general-in-chief. For a few days he continued the contest; but the forces which Paskiewitch directed against them were so great that the forces under him were obliged to cross the frontier and

Oct. 5. lay down their arms in the Prussian territory, to the number of 21,000.
¹ Rom. Solt. ii. 446, 479; An. Hist. xiv. 508, 509.

Short as this campaign had been, it had cost the Russians dear, and they had sustained more serious defeats than war to both parties.

93. Results of the war to both parties. The Poles had delivered six pitched battles and above thirty combats, with an army never amounting in all to 80,000 men, and the resources only of four millions of people. No alliances or external aid of any kind had added to their strength; they stood alone to front the conquerors of Napoleon. The losses of the Russians during the war, brief as it was, had been immense. It appeared from an official statement, published by the Russian government to justify a subsequent levy of four in five hundred of the inhabitants, that in this short war they had lost 180,000 men—an astonishing amount, indicating how much greater the losses in war are from disease and fatigue than battle; for certainly those who perished, or were disabled by the sword, were not a third of the number. In this statement the losses in the siege of Warsaw are set down at 30,680 men. The result is equally honorable to the courage and patriotism of the Poles, and characteristic of the perseverance and resources of the Russians; for never had they been more severely tried, or the scales of fortune hung more even in conflict with a foreign enemy.²

If the development of the resources of Russia during this memorable struggle, and the vigor and ability with which they were directed, were honorable to the capacity and firmness of

the Emperor Nicholas, the same can not be said of his subsequent conduct to the vanquished, which was characterized by all the stern resentment and implacable determination which, not less than vigor and capacity, distinguished that remarkable man.

The noblest families in Warsaw were seized, and dragged into exile in Siberia; the oath forced upon the soldiers by the threat of death and the terror of the knout; and the sons of the patriotic families, torn from their mothers' arms, and sent off to distant military colonies as common soldiers, where numbers of them perished of fatigue and misery. Equally characteristic of the iron will of the Emperor was his conduct during the period when the cholera made fearful ravages in the Russian empire. The deaths in a few weeks in St. Petersburg amounted to four thousand; and the people, ascribing it as usual to poison, assembled in tumultuous mobs, invaded the hospitals, and carried off the sick from their beds to their own houses, to save them, as they conceived, from destruction. No sooner did he hear of these disorders, than the Emperor repaired to the spot, boldly fronted the mutineers, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "Down on your knees, and ask pardon of God and your Czar for your sins." The people sunk with their faces on the ground, and the tumult was appeased.¹

The astonishing stand which Poland, with less than a fourth of its ancient territory and inhabitants, made without external aid against the whole strength of Russia in this memorable year, throws a clear and precious light on the causes of its previous decline and long continued misfortunes. It had received from the hand of nature all the gifts which are required to make a nation great and powerful; a noble and fertile soil, ample navigable rivers, spacious harbors, a bold and ardent people, passionately attached to freedom. On the other hand, Russia possessed originally far fewer natural advantages. She had, before Peter the Great, no seaport towns, her territory was less fertile, her inhabitants, till they were swelled by foreign conquest, less numerous, and incomparably less brave and chivalrous. What was it which rendered the one constantly victorious over the other—which rendered Polish history, during five centuries, nothing but a series of misfortunes, casually interrupted by glory—Muscovite, of durable victories and acquisitions, never stopped by passing disaster? The reason is to be found in the excess of the very spirit which constituted the spring of Polish vitality, which caused them at times to do such great things, at others to commit such enormous and unpardonable faults.

The spirit which animated Poland was not the regulated principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty, which has rendered England and America the admiration of the globe, but the wild excess of unbridled democracy.

Equality, not subordination, was their passion: their stormy comitia, their *Liberum Veto*, their delegated representatives, prove it. Their idea of freedom was absence from all control, and,

94. Conduct of Nicholas in Poland after the war, and in the cholera.

¹ Marquis Custine, ii. 272; Ann. Hist. xiv. 511, 512.

95. Reflections on the fall of Poland.

96. Excess of democracy in Poland ruined every thing.

² Ann. Hist. xiv. 509.

above all, *liberation from all taxes*. This is the first idea of liberty all over the world; unhappily the Poles never got beyond it. They clung to it to the very last, amidst all their misfortunes, till they were fairly swallowed up and partitioned by their former vassals. Russia, on the other hand, came in process of time to unite the lust of conquest and unity of feeling, which in every age have characterized Asia, to the steady policy, scientific acquisitions, so far as war is concerned, and far-seeing wisdom, of Europe. Thus Asia in its strength was brought up against Europe in its weakness; thence the conquest of the one by the other. And accordingly the first and only occasion when the balance really hung even between them, was when the resources of a fragment of ancient Poland had been drawn forth by foreign government, when foreign power had compelled its inhabitants to pay taxes, forced them to raise a regular army, and given consistency to their fiery squadrons.

As democracy had been the ruin of ancient Poland, and the cause of its dismemberment, so its excesses have been the barrier which, in recent times, have prevented its restoration. Every triumph of the republican spirit in Western Europe has been the signal for an increase the more to Russian power, a chance the less to Polish independence. Its partition in 1794 was unresisted by the Western powers, because France and England, from the consequence of the Revolution in the former country, instead of being united to withstand Eastern aggression, were engaged in deadly hostility with each other. The triumph of democracy in France, and the organization of its resources in appalling strength by the genius of Napoleon, led to no other result but the lasting acquisition of Finland and Poland by the Czar. The Revolution of France in 1830 led first to the entire subjugation of Poland by Russia, and its incorporation with the dominions of the conquering power, and then to the closing of the Euxine against foreign vessels of war by the fatal treaty of 1833, which, as will appear in the sequel, converted its waters into a Russian lake; that of 1848 brought a hundred and sixty thousand Muscovites to the banks of the Danube, and opened through subdued Austria a path for the legions of the Czar to Constantinople. It would seem as if Russia, backed by the ices of the pole, and inaccessible from its vast extent, is the scourge perpetually held up by Providence to repress the excesses of vicious civilization, and restrain men in free states within the bounds which reason and the lasting interests of freedom itself require.

These facts are fraught with a mighty moral, and teach a lesson of the very last importance to the permanent interests of liberty and civilization. This is, that Russia must be resisted by Europe, if the latter would preserve its religion, its civilization, its independence; but it must be resisted by Europe in its strength, not Europe in its weakness. The nations of the West must go forth to combat the hordes of the East; but they must go forth in their established ranks, under their tradition-

al leaders, and in their united strength, not with half their forces turned over, from the dread of revolutions, to the enemy. Democracy has tried its utmost strength against despotism, and failed in the struggle: no future age with that arm can hope to achieve what the genius of Napoleon and the fervor of 1830 and 1848 failed to effect. But this failure does not prove that Europe is unable to contend with Russia, that freedom must succumb to despotism; it proves only that *divided* Europe can not stand against *united* Russia, half the strength of liberty against the whole forces of despotism. Freedom has need of all its forces to resist the attack of fanatical zeal, and the lust of conquest led by regulated despotism aided by military skill. Had England been united to France in 1812, Russia would have been repelled to its deserts by the legions of Napoleon and Wellington: had the triumph of the Barricades and the Reform transports not paralyzed Britain and Germany in 1831, the independence of Poland would have been re-established by the arms of Skrzynecki. The strength of the East lies in its indissoluble union under a single head; the weakness of the West in its ceaseless divisions under many.

In the very front rank of the great league of the Western powers, which can alone preserve Europe from Russian subjugation, must be placed the Restoration of Poland. Such a measure would not be revolutionary; it would be conservative. Restoration is a work of justice, of which no government, how strong soever, need be ashamed: the principle of revolution is spoliation, not restitution. To restore Poland is not to introduce new ways, but to return to the old ones. In the courage and heroism of the Sarmatian race is to be found the real and the only effective barrier against the encroachments of the Muscovite: in their indelible feeling of nationality, the provision made by Providence for its resurrection, like the Phoenix from its ashes. Such a barrier is not to be found in Turkey. England and France may fight their own battle in the Crimea or on the Danube, but they will not find their real allies in the Ottomans. The Cross must defend itself; it is not to be defended by the Crescent. Europe committed a great sin in permitting the barrier of Poland to be swept away; it can be expiated only by aiding in its restoration. The extension of Austria to the mouth of the Danube, and the acquisition by it of Moldavia and Wallachia, under the burden of the stipulated payment to the Porte, is the obvious mode, without doing injustice to any one, of winning its consent to the cession of Galicia. If Prussia casts in its lot with the Muscovites, it can not complain if it undergoes the fate which it itself imposed on Saxony when its sovereign adhered to Napoleon in 1814. But to cement the league which is to achieve this mighty deliverance, the cause of independence must be severed from that of democracy; Poland must be restored by an effort of united Europe, not by arming one section of it against the other. Its partition was the sin of the sovereigns alone, and restitution must be made or retribution endured by the sovereigns, not the people.



